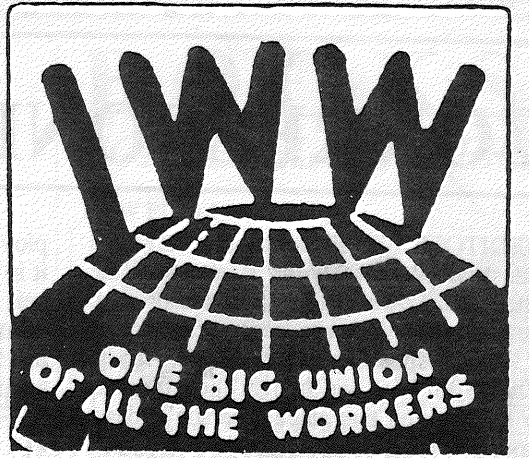


# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

*Industrial Workers of the World*



Vol. 86 — No. 4 WH 1512

May 1989

## AN OLD TIME WOBBLY

I am an old lady now. No longer in the workplace. I grew up in a milltown, and like most of my friends, as soon as we finished eighth grade, went into the silk mills where we spent our teenage years and matured into womanhood amidst the deafening sounds of the loom.

We took part in many a struggle to improve working conditions and make life a little more tolerable.

With the I.W.W. as our guide, we listened to such speakers as Gurley Flynn, Bill Haywood, Scott Nearing, Carlo Tresca, Norman Thomas, and other important and impressive men and women.

At educational meetings, arranged by the I.W.W., we were encouraged to read the old classics, discussed Shakespeare, the Russian Writers, read Tolstoy, and became idealists. We fought the good fight to change society and sang from the Little Red Song Book: "...But We have a Glowing Dream of How Fair the Earth Will Seem, When each Man can Live his Life Secure and Free ...!"

There were the family men and women, Italian, Polish, Jewish, and German with whom we worked. The wives of our militant working men were working class women: intelligent, strong with a passionate concern for the welfare of her family, especially her husband. She fought on all fronts against poverty and disease - and in the final analysis - survival!

The earnings at the mill were hardly enough to meet the basic needs for life. At least once or twice a week she would wake before dawn, take the old baby carriage, hurry off to the farmer's market to get there before the farmer went back to milk his cows, as the fresh produce that was not sold would be given away. Bags of potatoes, corn and bushels of tomatoes could be bought for very little. When she got back a few of the neighboring women were already waiting for her. The fresh vegetables were divided before the rest of the family awakened.

She breast-fed the young until their teeth were too sharp, scrubbed the clothes and hung them in the sunshine. Took in Boarders to help pay the rent. When the young children could be left with someone she would go into the mills and work at the looms beside her husband.

Together they fought and worked to improve conditions at the workplace and tried to get a few pennies more for the cloth they made. Together they went out on strike. At that time there was no strike fund or unemployment insurance. They were blacklisted if they were caught trying to bring the union. But throughout the years, as they worked, struggled, and fought in the labor movement, and won the right to belong to a union, these men and women gradually won vacation time, the five-day-week, and all the fringe benefits the organized American worker enjoys today!

But the climate in the workplace has changed with our changing society. More demands are made upon the individual worker.

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## UNION SPY

Leading members -especially women - of a growing rank & file oriented movement in Colorado have taken on the conservative hierarchy of the Rocky Mountain AFL-CIO. In a landmark expose by Bryan Abas, in an April issue of Denver's "Westword" paper, local labor leaders attacked regional AFL-CIO boss Steve Beringer for trying to undermine every militant labor action since his reign began 16 years ago.

In 1972, then AFL-CIO leader George Meany fired Colorado Labor Council chairman Herrick Roth over his endorsement of McGovern for US President, showing that the top bosses would not tolerate deviance from their conservative class collaborationist politics. Moreover, they were willing to enforce that.

Since then, progressive movements shelved by Beringer include the following and much more:

1. In 1979, local SEIU manager, Jan Bell organized the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Beringer first withheld support, then in Bell's absence, seized control of it, soon after which Bell's local SEIU 105 was trusteesd.

2. In 1987 Beringer fizzled out Adrienne Anderson's press conference about health hazards at Martin Marietta's aerospace plant by dissuading important labor reps from attending.

3. Last year, UFCW organizer, Linda Nixon,

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## IFFA INTERVIEW

### FLIGHT ATTENDANTS TAKE ACTION

For years they were sneeringly referred to as "stewardi", Barbie Dolls for the male flying public. Business men, college boys and bachelors looking to score grabbed their asses as a matter of right.

Fortunately the Flight Attendants at TWA didn't buy into the role. Through successive negotiations they struggled to define themselves as career women rather than disco bunnies and demonstrated that, when it came time to sit down at the bargaining table, they were fighters to be taken seriously.

Since 1976 the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), an independent union, has represented the inflight crews on TWA. The IFFA was created as the result of a dispute over bargaining tactics by the TWU International which had previously represented the Flight Attendants in collective bargaining.

Through the years more and more men have sought employment as Flight Attendants and most have been vigilant as union members, but the IFFA is perceived by the airline industry as predominantly a collection of "girls".

In March 1984 they began negotiating with TWA on a new contract to replace the one that ran out on July 31, 1984. The members of the IFFA struck TWA on March 7, 1986. Of the approximately 5,000 Flight Attendants who remained on strike in May 1986, 1300 still remain unemployed. Most of them are expected to be recalled to work before this year is over.

Their perseverance belongs in the record books, and, while they're not Wobs, they've followed in the tradition of IWW women who never could be kept off the front lines of any struggle they made a commitment to.

The following interview with Cynthia deFiueridedo took place at IFFA's Interna-

tional Headquarters in New York office on March 9, 1989.

### IN THE COURTS

CD: When I spoke to you yesterday you mentioned our cross-over case in the Supreme Court last week. Eastern has been using that to try to blackmail their people into coming to work, the flight attendants specifically, by deliberately misinterpreting the decision.

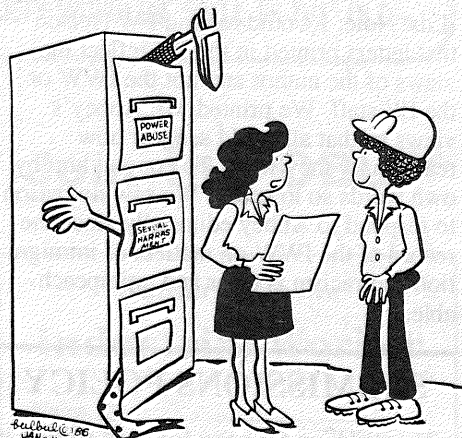
The basis of our case was, that in the past, under the Railway Labor Act, if strikers had been permanently replaced and the company had accepted crossovers, the company would keep its replacements. If there was a back to work agreement they would fill the other positions in seniority order.

We took the position that we recognized the company's ability to do whatever was

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... OUR FILE ON ABUSIVE SUPERVISORS

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*Liberty of circulation is as much a part of freedom of the press as liberty of publication.*

Justice William O. Douglas

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

# CORRESPONDENCE

(EDITORS' NOTE: Shortly after the March Industrial Worker hit the streets with the letter from Edward Abbey, the author died. Now we at the Worker have received a number of letters responding to the late Mr. Abbey. What to do? Well, we thought about the matter and figured that since a person's ideas, especially those of an influential writer such as Abbey, live long after them it behooved us to print the responses to Abbey's letter even though he will not be able to respond. So, here are views of some of our readers in answer to the late Mr. Abbey.)

## SHOCKED!

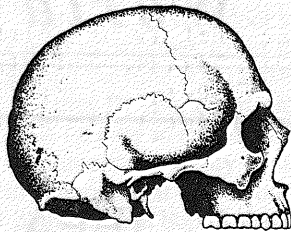
Comrades,

I was shocked by the blatantly reactionary arguments put forth by Edward Abbey in the March '89 issue of the IW. The lack of any editorial comment from IW was equally disturbing.

Mr. Abbey claims that his total opposition to immigration is not racist because the majority of working-class Americans are opposed to "illegal" immigration. This proves nothing. As Marx pointed out, the dominant ideas of any class society are those of its ruling class. This means, that in periods of a downturn in class struggle, workers will tend to accept the racist, sexist arguments put forward by the reactionary bastards who run this, and every other, country. It is our responsibility to counter these ideas with solid, working-class politics.

Immigration is not the cause of unem-

ployment. If workers come to this country, it is because the bosses will hire them (albeit for the lowest pay and the worst conditions). Any wage worker who believes that his American boss has any interest in keeping the labor market safe for Ameri-



can workers is in for a rude awakening. Only the solidarity of "foreign" and "native" labor can win. All immigration controls are inherently racist and serve to strengthen the capitalist state.

Mr. Abbey's welfare reform proposal is equally reactionary. Welfare is a trap because black, \*hispanic, and may white workers can't get a living wage. It is institutionalized racism and institutionalized sexism (not poor women!) which breeds poverty and weakens working-class solidarity. The solution is neither to tax workers, nor "bribe" poor women. The bosses must be made to pay for reform as they were in the '30's and late '60's. Militant struggle won the reforms of the past, and only struggle can destroy the source of unemployment and squalor.

Mr. Abbey's arguments are flawed because he takes the world as it is (divided, exploited, poisoned) and tries to find solutions by juggling th facts at hand. This is the same kind of shallow thought that union bureaucrats use to stifle the labor movement. We, however, must look to the revolutionary potential of the international working-class.

Only Stalinists and liberals drool over the promise of bigger and better industry. As revolutionaries, we call for an end to the enormous waste of resources and the overproduction of goods that results from capitalist competition. While we cannot retreat to a pre-capitalist utopia, we can avoid the deepening cesspool of capitalism. Wealth and technology, in the hands of the working-class, will be used to promote and defend life, not to produce more wealth for parasites. Mr. Abbey's pessimism is a shoddy addition to the tradition of the IWW and the socialist movement in general.

Steve Nelson,  
Chicago

(Eds. Note: I would remind FW Nelson that letters printed in the IW reflect the views of the author and not the IWW or the IW staff. We printed Mr. Abbey's views so that all could see just how reactionary they were. To convict him by own words so to speak. We saw no reason to respond to Abbey editorially since the record of the IWW on matters of immigration and racism is clear and unimpeachable.)

## SUBMISSIONS POLICY

The deadline for copy for each edition is the fifteenth of the month. Important articles arriving after that date, but before we go to press, will be considered for inclusion in that issue, but we cannot guarantee their timely publication after deadline.

All copy should be typed and lines double spaced with 1 inch margins all around.

We encourage letters to the editors in response to articles appearing in the Industrial Worker. We only ask that they be kept brief and to the point and avoid personal invective.

The editorial collective tries to answer correspondence but a lack of time and person power (we do this after our regular working hours) prohibit us from answering all who write. We ask for your patience.

Submit your letters and articles early!

The Editors

## TOO MANY PEOPLE?

To the editors:

Edward Abbey seems to think that the reason nature is getting destroyed is that there are too many people. Presumably Mr. Abbey is satisfied to contemplate the continued operation of society in a manner which produces McDonalds wrappers and chloroflourocarbons, as long as the quantity of garbage is held down to pre-1962 levels. Mr. Abbey is prepared to use the violent authority of the central state to hold its unnatural borders against any sister or brother regardless of their plight, regardless of the cause of their plight being usually the acts of economic and military intervention/subjugation by agents of his own precious Amerikan way of life.

I can come to defense of FW Prisco and point our to Mr. Abbey that many elements in the American governing structure, including the recognition of the freedoms of speech and religion, the rights of women to participate in government, the concept of separation of powers in government and of checks and balances of power within governments, are rather crude imitations of elements in the oldest functioning document in the world, which is the constitution of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederation, who were able to teach early European "immigrants" a few things before they got so high and mighty.

Having secured the borders by force, Mr. "fraternally Edward Abbey" takes a subtler approach to those whom he has decided are responsible for the problem of overpopulation, and the resulting environmental destruction, here at home - the "girls and young women" who don't "avoid pregnancy". He forces them to raise their children in poverty while giving money to women to remain child-free "by any means they choose."

Mr. "differential breeding rate" Abbey, in his "painful" W.A.S.P. wisdom, even has advice for women in Latin America; though he neglects the role played in their lives by the IMF.

Mr. Abbey rejects "social reorganization" as impractical, but goes on to decry "industrial expansion", "cities... technology... police, armies... prisons, powerlines... garbage", as among the causes of the destruction of the planet.

My advice to Mr. Abbey is to quit trying to think for other people, since he finds it so painful, and get himself a job of useful work.

Mynor Variante,  
Ottawa

## FRIENDS INDEED

March 17, 1989

Dear Fellow Workers,

Strike Situation at Roseburg Forest Products,

On the 11th of January at 2 am in the morning we in the Western Council of Industrial Workers - Lumber & Sawmill

Workers Local 2949 of Roseburg, Oregon walked off our jobs at the nation's largest privately owned wood products manufacturer, Roseburg Forest Products, which employs of 4500 workers. RFP had implemented wage cuts that averaged a dollar an hour. Kenneth Ford the owner is one of this nation's 400 richest men, worth over 230 million dollars.

Last year RFP's sales revenue was over 650 million dollars. In 1986 their sales revenue was over 400 million, and in 1987 it was over 500 million dollars. From 1986 to 1988 they saw over a 150 million dollar increase in sales revenue.

Last year RFP bought a whole new fleet of beautiful new trucks, and tractor trailers. They also purchased over 300 million dollars' worth of property in California, and untold millions in new high-tech computerized machinery to modernize their mills. This picture I just gave you is not of a company in any trouble but a healthy, profitable company; a healthy, profitable but very greedy company.

We are well into our second month of strike, and although times are hard, we are still resolved not to accept wage concessions. Our community support is very good, and believe me this strike is having a giant impact on the county. Most of the stores have place posters on their doors saying, "We Support Fair Wages for RFP Employees". Some have even given discounts with people who show union cards. We've had a couple of great rallies, and one Children's March. At our Roseburg rally we had live entertainment from a Portland, Oregon labor group, "General Strike", and Coos Bay longshoreman, Harry Stamper who is also an IWW member. General Strike played traditional labor songs, while Harry played songs that he'd written himself, one song he wrote especially for us. In my opinion, and the opinions of the union officials, it was the music of General Strike and Harry Stamper who made the rally a real success. Without labor music a rally isn't a rally, it's just a glorified meeting.

Two members of General Strike stayed over at my house the night before the rally, Jay and Howard. I kept them up well past midnight playing old Wobbly music and Woody Guthrie songs. Howard turned me on to a tape of Utah Philips, and Jay gave me a copy of the "Little Red Song Book". The next day Harry Stamper gave me a copy of the IW. All in all I must say that I've gotten more out of this strike from just becoming acquainted with the good brothers and sister of General Strike and Harry Stamper than I've lost in an economical sense. The money I can make up, but friendship built out of hardship and solidarity, that's worth more than Kenneth Ford's millions.

Yeah this strike has been hard on all of us, but its pulled us together and given me some damn good friends. A friend in hard times is friend indeed! But that's what the American labor movement is all about, and I'm damn proud to be a part of it.

In Solidarity,  
Gene Lawhorn



# Industrial Worker

ONE UNION ONE LABEL  
ONE ENEMY



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## Non-Profit Organizing and the IWW

It has been very heartening to read in the Industrial Worker about the organizing taking place now - largely if not wholly in non-profits. Our history is very important and exciting, but it is history. We can't let it bog us down. In more recent times our organizing efforts have been sporadic and successes small in the numbers of memberships gained. We have to be prepared to change and move forward. Now we have ample opportunity to do just that.

The USA's economy has been moving towards a service economy. Most heavy industries in this country are organized, and we don't have a chance of gaining anything by challenging other unions. We need to look to unorganized sectors of work. Non-profits appear to be the sector most branches are attempting to organize.

In order to gain any ground in this area, it is essential that we break with our past and even our current status. The vast majority of non-profit workers are women. Women take these low paying, low status jobs primarily because of the socialization which has taught us to put others in front of ourselves.

I am a woman. I am a member of the IWW. I have worked for four different non-profits while a union member. I've been an active member of the IWW in both Ann Arbor, MI and Madison, WI: two cities where the IWW has had its largest membership in years. There are few women IWW members in these two cities. As far as I know I am the only female member in Madison, certainly the only active one. Things have to change if we are going to have any success organizing non-profits.

As the economy is getting harder on non-profits, many non-profits are changing their management style. Fifteen years ago, most non-profits were run collectively. I know the founders of my former workplace, the Willy Street Coop in Madison would be shocked to see how the Co-op has come full circle. It was once a collective and an IWW shop. Last summer, we launched a much needed organizing effort there.

We were unsuccessful in reaching our goal of a union shop, but it was a great learning experience. Hopefully, it was also a learning experience for the other members of the Madison Branch, who definitely needed experience in assisting an organizing effort. The IWW can be most successful and do the most good by organizing the sites people believe would never "need" a union. Too many people are having a hard time believing what is happening at Greenpeace. Too many people are blind to the abuse women in non-profit are subjected to: abuse women take because they are dedicated to a cause; women like our office worker in Chicago who doesn't have health insurance.

All this is getting to the point that we have to change our tactics. We must examine why there are so few women in our union. We are not going to have any success organizing predominantly female work sectors if we are predominantly male. If the IWW is to survive as more than a gleam in a radical's eye we must grow and with growth comes change.

Julia Goode

## Revolutionary Union News

### DEATH THREATS AGAINST BRAZILIAN TRADE UNIONISTS

One year ago in Brazil the railway worker Jose Ulysses Albuquerque was shot dead by the railway police. For this reason the Confedetao Operaria Brasileira (COB - Brazilian Confederation of Labor - section of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers' Association) and the affiliated Union of Transport Workers organized a protest meeting in Sao Paulo on February 17, 1989.

The meeting was against the increased number of political murders in Brazil, which threaten all those who are engaged in social and union conflicts, like the assault on the steel mill of Volta Redonda occupied by striking workers, when 3 workers were murdered.

Though the local council of Sao Paulo tried to stop the meeting with administrative measures, it still took place after a three hour delay.

While the meeting was being prepared death threats were received. At the meeting Leonardo Morelli, a member of the Railway Workers' League, and another participant were threatened by an executive of the railway police, Mr. Lima, at gunpoint.

The International Workers' Association secretariat, based in Koln, West Germany, has protested these death threats to the Brazilian Embassy in Bonn and asks all IWA sections and allies to likewise protest these threats.

The Industrial Worker collective urges all of our readers to write letters of protest and/or organize demonstrations at Brazilian consulates, trade missions or tourist offices in your areas.

Copies of your letters should be sent to the IWA Secretariat, PLK 092 822 A, D-5000 Koln 1 West Germany and/or to Workers' Solidarity

### Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism Wins in Court

On April 8, the Supreme Court of Spain published the sentence concerning the title to the initials "C.N.T." The name "C.N.T./Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo" has been adjudged exclusively to the C.N.T.-

A.I.T. (National Confederation of Labor-International Worker's Association).

The so-called "Congress of Unification" of the split in 1984 has not been recognized as a C.N.T.-congress as it had not been convoked by the majority of the unions of the C.N.T. through the National Committee, according to the statutes of the organization. The statutes say clearly that an extraordinary congress can only be convoked by the National Committee or by it on petition of the majority of the unions.

We have been informed that the split has already changed its name to "C.G.T." (General Confederation of Labor). Hopefully this step will put an end to the internal conflict in Spanish revolutionary unionism.

The conflict began in 1979 when a minority of delegates walked out of the CNT's fifth congress (the first open congress since the civil war). This group formed a rival CNT which differed from the main body in its tactical use of the so-called trade union elections, election of delegates to sit on enterprise committees, a government created structure designed to foster labor-management cooperation. The CNT-AIT, in contrast, called for a boycott of these elections.

A further split in the CNT-AIT occurred in 1984 following the organization's sixth congress over the same issue. These folks held a so-called "Congress of Unification" with the previous splitters. This organization continued to call itself CNT, causing a great deal of confusion, not only in Spain but in the international revolutionary union movement as well.

The CNT-AIT went to court in an effort to force the splitters to stop using their name. Now, after many years and several conflicting court decisions, it looks like that issue has been resolved. Now more energy can be put into fighting the boss.

### THE ASCENT

Sometimes I think of women's oppression as an enormous boulder that we are slowly pushing up a steep mountain. Most generations can only push it an inch. Weak generations, or those that hit a rock, may let it slip. Fortunate generations may get up enough momentum or be helped by favorable terrain enough to go two inches instead of one.

Meredith Tax

## BRANCH NEWS

### LEST WE FORGET

On 11/21/27, at northern Colorado's Columbine Mine, during a strike called by the Industrial Workers of the World, 6 unarmed miners were killed, and 30 wounded by machine guns. Following this disaster, coal mine owners finally signed union contracts with the United Mine Workers of America.

Over the past year, a coalition of the IWW, Colorado Labor Forum, UMWA, and Lafayette and Erie Historical Societies have been planning an event to honor these miners, their families, and working people everywhere.

Saturday, June 10th, 1989, a memorial service for the martyred miners will be held. The coalition has provided gravestones (which up until now, 5 of the 6 have been without). Then a monument will be unveiled, and the ashes of Joe Hill, confiscated by the FBI and just returned to the IWW, will be sprinkled upon it.

There'll be other events throughout the day. The coalition invites you to attend this momentous occasion. People from all over the country will be attending, and then driving down to Ludlow the next morning, for the 75th Memorial Anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre.

Look over this schedule and map for details. To send donations, or for more information, call or write Gary Cox at 303-452-7701, 115408 Community Center Dr., #53 N Glenn, Colorado 80233.

1)10am-Memorial Service, Lafayette Ceme-

tery

About 6 miles W of I-25, at the "T" on the NW corner of St. HWYs 7 & 287.

2)11am - Monument Unveiling & Sprinkling of Joe Hill's Ashes, St. HWY 7 Hillside From cemetery, about 4 miles E on St. HWY 7 (from I-25, "Lafayette" exit-ST Hwy 7, W about 2 miles)

3)11:30am-Caravan Past the Mine Site About 1/2 mile W of monument on St. Hwy. 7, to Weld Cty. 5, N on 5 about 1 mile.

4)12-3pm-Picnic and Concert, Coal Creek Park, Erie

(Mexican Lunches Sold by Fire Dept.) From mine site, about 1 mile N on Weld Cty. 5 to Weld Cty. 8, W on 8 about 2 miles, into Erie (from I-25, "Erie" exit-Weld Cty. 8, W about 5 miles into Erie.

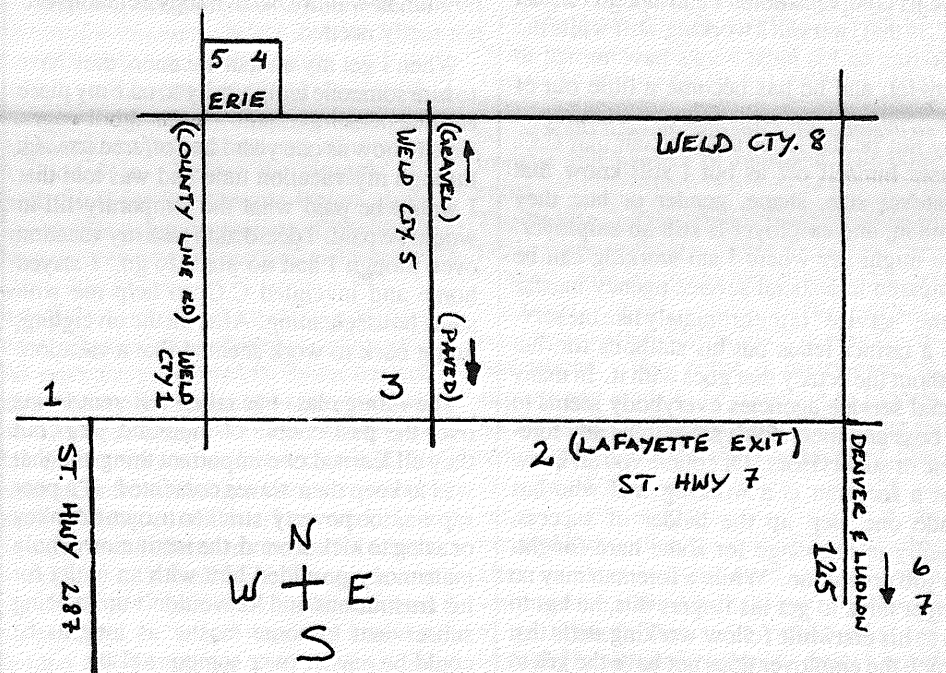
5)12-5pm-Wobbly Film & Art Show, Erie Town Hall

Same directions as 4

6)8pm-Social Gathering, I3 EW Hall; Local 68 Denver

Call or write Gary Cox for exact location 303-452-7701, 1158 Community Center Dr., #53 N Glenn, Colorado 80233

7)6/11/89am-75th Memorial Anniversary of Ludlow Massacre From Erie and Denver, S on I-25 into Ludlow



### NEW YORK

When the Down Under bar opened a short skirt night, where the length of women's skirts determined the price of their drinks, local Wobs and Rutgers activists took action. men (some wearing skirts) and women held a rally outside the bar, not blocking the entrance, but picketing and making speeches on the evils of sexism. The demonstration was successful: not only did Down Under agree

to end the short skirt night, but they added a Men's Night as well and, at the demand of the protesters, renamed Ladies' Night to Women's Night. A delegation of NY Wobs also journeyed to Washington on April 9 to join NOW in supporting women's rights, displaying the IWW banner and keeping the union's tradition of supporting equality and human rights for all.

### DENVER-BOULDER

Home stretch preparations for the Columbine Monument are under way. See schedule, map and details on page of this issue

What's left is in its 3rd issue (see Mar. IW's branch news) with lots of information about the Columbine Monument. To subscribe, write to: RIP Bookstore, 2412 E. Colfax, Denver, CO 80206. It's free, but any donations would be appreciated.

### GOOD PAY OR BUM WORK

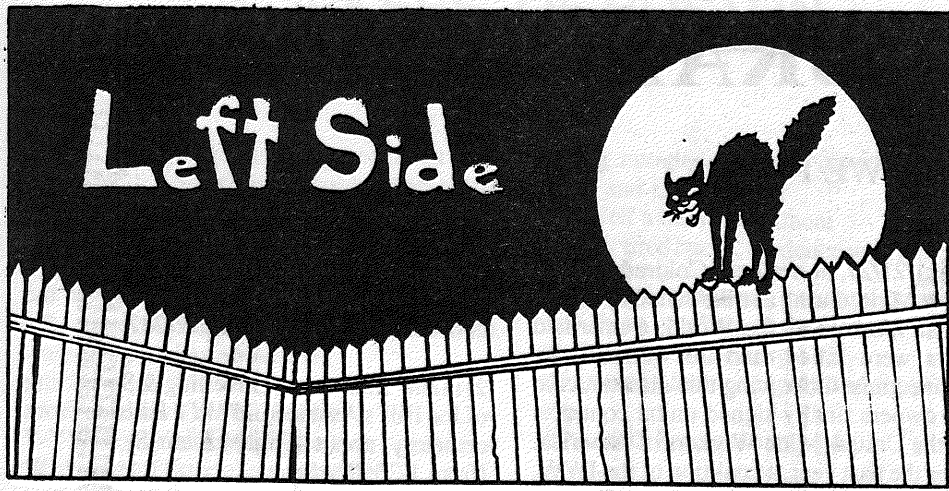
IWW



ONE BIG UNION

WE NEVER FORGET

Give to the  
INDUSTRIAL WORKER  
Sustaining Fund



Relax folks, or should I say Fellow Workers since I am trusting that some of you are still working. C.C. is not writing this column this month as when I heard that this issue was to be a women's issue, I had a little conversation with C.C. and he "graciously" agreed to let me write the column for this month. You see, I am the one who goes out every day to punch the clock so that C.C. can continue to live in the style to which he has become accustomed. Of course C.C. no longer punches a clock as he can just sit at home on the day that Uncle Sclemiel mails the monthly check. Far be it from me to begrudge him that but I do get a little envious thinking that while I am barbecuing my bunions in a laundry and breathing steam, he's home sitting on his roasts waxing philosophical and poetical on the typewriter or taking advantage of his half-fare transportation pass to make his tours of the galleries.

Being the only worker in the family and having to take care of a dog and a husband can at times be a bit exasperating but life does have its compensations. I can at least one-up C.C. in that I am still a working-stiff while the callouses on his meat hooks have turned to baby fat, and he has become a little out of touch with the realities of the job situation. I may not be the labor theoretician that C.C. passes himself off as but I still know that whatever size, shape, gender or hue they come in, and employer is still an employer. You might say where I am working can be compared to a social service agency insofar as the "service" is unfortunately like the service a farmer lends out his stallions for, but without the ecstasy that goes with it. In many social service agencies everybody seems to be boss and there don't seem to be any foremen or supervisors. Of course you all know that a foreman is a working stiff who has made one step up the ladder of success, usually in exchange for some hard-fought-for job protection. While a foreman may no longer have to get his fingers dirt, he has to do to his erstwhile fellow working stiffs that which the employer does not have the grit to do in person. When an employer wants to fire some worker or other-wise penalize him, he never does it himself. Who knows but what the penalized or fired worker might become sufficiently upset to vent his emotional state upon the bearer of the unpleasant tidings. That is one bit of labor smarts that I have learned and that is that an employer will never do his own dirty work. That is why all jailers, executioners, constabulary, storm troopers and cops are recruited from the ranks

of our own class.

Well in my own job situation, there only seems to be two other workers besides myself, the janitor and the cleaning lady. The others somehow are neither fish nor fowl, neither workers nor supervisors. The cleaning lady was spoken to by one of the non-supervisors that there have been complaints over her job performance on the part of other non-supervisors. The cleaning lady took it upon herself to confront those who allegedly made the complaints only to hear some fervent denials or half-hearted evasions but no direct answers.

On my job there are no foremen so any criticism directed against us workers if of the round-about variety which is far from reassuring because we still know that somebody can decide what our working hours and wages will be. I might also add that working in an establishment dedicated to social service, my fellow workers and I have no union to represent us. We are given to understand that since our employers are dedicated to the concern for human welfare, such things as unions are not really needed.

When I get my annual vacation, they have to hire someone temporarily to take my place and that person gets paid MacDunghill wages. This I know as one year I had offered to work through my vacation time and was told that I would be paid what the temporary fill-in would be paid. I decided to take my vacation even though I had no place to go. I stayed home and inveigled C.C. to help me with some housecleaning. After all the inveigling, going back to work seemed like a vacation.

The ruling class has taken different forms over the past couple of thousand years but they all learned one important thing and that was to keep their slaves contented. If a poor sap was too poverty-stricken to own a donkey or a dog to kick around, the institution of holy matrimony provided him with an outlet for his frustrations and he wouldn't mind being subservient to some master as long as he could be master over someone else. I know there have been and still are some societies where women have truly equal rights and opportunities along with the men but for some odd reasons our sociologists refer to these societies as primitive. We are told about the "lower creation" but I can't remember ever overseeing one squirrel ordering other squirrels to gather his acorns for him or to invade another squirrel's tree.

Lysystra had some good ideas.

M.C. Redcloud

## ERODING HEALTH BENEFITS

Less obvious are "front end" deductibles created by employers shifting away from first-dollar coverage through a major change in coverage plan design. Hospital expenses used to be paid in full, for example, while most other costs were dumped into a "major medical" program and paid at 80%. Today most companies have a so-called "comprehensive" program under which the insurance pays only 80% of all costs, leaving the employee to pay the other 20%. That 20% can be horrendous, although some plans include "stop loss" provision, typically capping out-of-pocket expenses at about \$2000 a person or \$3000 a family.

Even less obvious is the move by some employers to reduce what they'll pay for "reasonable and customary" medical charges. If you think your doctor is charging you more, she probably is, but your company is also paying a smaller portion of the bill.

Nonduplication of benefits under what health insurers call "coordination of benefits" is a way to shift employee medical costs to another employer. Until very recently, two-income couples covered by two plans could have the second plan pick up whatever the first plan didn't. Increasingly, claims to have 80% of total costs picked up by one insurance program and the remaining 20% by the other are being rejected.

Adapted from MS, Vol. XVII, No. 10

In 1982, a woman having a caesarean section in Philadelphia paid \$340 out of pocket after her company health insurance covered most of the bills. In 1986, the same woman with the same coverage faced uninsured expenses of \$1270. As health costs escalate, employers pass the buck in three ways: they shift costs to employees, shift them to another employer by discouraging duplicate coverage for two-earner households or shift them to health care providers by entering into what might be called "bulk purchase" discounted arrangements like HMOs.

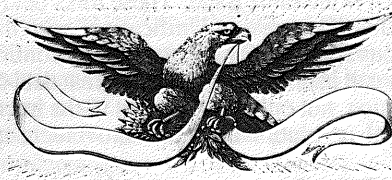
The easiest course for the employer is shifting costs to the employee. Higher premiums are the most noticeable. In 1982, 43% of employers did not require any employee contributions toward health insurance; in 1987, only 29% still picked up the total tab. In 1982 family coverage cost an average of \$27.32 per month; by 1986, the average cost was \$41.40 a month. Some employers are setting up premium schedules on a percentage basis so that, as costs rise, employees will share in the increase.

Higher deductibles are another way of forcing employees to absorb more of the first costs of health care. In 1982, 32% of employers had deductibles less than \$100. By 1987, only 6% did. A few employees have been able to get deductible amount pegged to salary level..



Carol Simpson 1988

### NO COMMENT



AT AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's Executive Council News Conference Wednesday, February 22, 1989:

Reporter: Recently Irving Brown passed away. An ex-CIA agent called him "Mr. CIA of the labor movement." Could you comment on that allegation?

Kirkland: I suggest that you read or re-read a treatise of Lenin's called Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.

Reporter: Are you going to answer my question?

Kirkland: I don't want to.

### UNION SPY

continued from page 1

and her Community Labor Alliance (supported UFCW strike against King Soopers' supermarkets) fought for legislation to raise the minimum wage. Geringer pressured the union to back off. Nixon was transferred out of state, and the AFL pulled the Alliance's funding.

Beringer's recent quashing of local CWA president and Jobs with Justice leader Mary Blue's militant airport demonstration (against Eastern/Continental) was followed by Abas' article. The article exposes this widening split between union hierarchy and these progressive organizations in Colorado, and the lengths the hierarchy will go to in order to stifle, manipulate, and co-opt rank and file unrest. Repercussions within organized labor here are just beginning. It will be interesting to see what the exposure will bring.

Dexter C. Herda



## Mother Courage Produces Emma Goldman Film

I have a confession to make — as a transplanted Alaskan WOB in Industrial Union #620, Public Service Department of the Educational Worker's Industry, my role model is not a WOB, but an almost WOB who is buried in your City, Chicago, with the other Haymarket Martyrs. I speak of none other than Emma Goldman who is buried at Waldheim Cemetery.

Indeed, she is so much the apple of my eye, that I am completing a film of her life and death "If I Can't Dance, I Won't Join Your Revolution" at San Francisco State University for my master thesis in the Cinema Department. Not to be forgotten, however, are other WOBs and non-WOB anarchists, who are the subject of another 16 mm film of mine which is entitled: "Older=Bolder": Senior Anarchists in Action".

The latter film begins at the 116th birthday party of Emma Goldman (June 27, 1987) and as 4 senior anarchists speak of Emma lovingly, they also speak of their own anarchist-activist lifestyles. All of these participants are over 60 years of age, since I believe that we "all stand on the shoulders of our foremothers and forefathers."

Two of the four activists are WOBs: Ruth Sheridan, WOB delegate from Anchorage, Alaska. Harry Siitonin, WOB activist from San Francisco, California. The other two anarchists are: Jean Pauline from Modern Times Bookstore Collective, San Francisco and Audrey Goodfriend, a transplanted New Yorker who actually met Emma in Canada (1934) and herself and her partner who moved to Berkeley at the height of the McCarthy disasters and started Walden School for elementary grads.. (yep, the closest thing to a "red diaper baby" school existing).

I have been an anarchist and feminist since as long as I can remember. It's not been easy, being a working-class daughter of a Detroit policeman, but then our anarchist foremothers and forefathers provided role models that I needed.

Luckily for me, I've been privy to great collective experiences: as a member of Freedom of Information Act theatre group in Seattle; as a member of Red & Black Book Collective also in Seattle; as a member of the only progressive bookstore in Alaska (formerly owned by WOB Ruth Sheridan) The Alaska Women's Bookstore in Anchorage.

I say fortunately, since as a social worker for many years, and as a media person now (not only as film-maker, but also radio and television produce, and freelance print journalist) there did not exist a union that is radical enough to support my needs as a worker (that is until the birth of the progressive NATIONAL WRITER'S UNION in 1987) until in 1983, I became a WOB in Alaska .. with the blessings of Alaska delegate, Ruth Sheridan.

I am also a member of the Society of Professional Journalists and enclose an article in the April 11, 1989 San Francisco Chronicle, which can chronicle discrimination among women in the media ... much better than I am able to do on other than a personal level. The article says it all-backed with "Nothing" but the facts. Maam, nothing but the facts ...yes? It is still a man's world ... a white man's world and that's that!

I've produced radio shows on union women (at KSKA/Anchorage Public Radio) but am more active down here in the lower 48 as a cultural worker; to me cultural worker denotes what I really do, although technically I suppose I am a media worker ... Well, maybe a subversive media worker .... I've enjoyed putting this hurried statement together.

Oh yes, almost forgot: in my Emma Goldman film, there will be stills that I used when the WOBBLY exhibit of labor cartoonists was at the Labor Museum of San Francisco State University. Thanks muchly, Carlos Cortez and others .

Zimya' A. Toms-trend



EG, St. Tropez, 1929

"The defenders of authority dread the advent of a free motherhood, lest it rob them of their prey. Who would fight the wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? The race, the race! shouts the king, the president, the capitalist, the priest. . . but it is vain these frantic efforts to maintain a state of bondage. In vain too, the edicts of the church, the mad attacks of rulers, in vain even the arm of the law. Woman no longer wants to be a party to the production of a race of sickly, feeble, decrepit, wretched human beings, who have neither the strength nor moral courage to throw off the yoke of poverty and slavery. Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes."

—Emma Goldman

San Francisco Bay Area branch supports a woman's right to control her own body, and refuses to recognize the authority of the U.S. supreme court to decide this matter. Write to us at P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Of Interest



To Unionists

**VW, UAW Anti-Black Suit Settled, Pittsburgh, April 18** - Volkswagen of America and the united Auto Workers have agreed to make a cash settlement of the claims of some 800 black workers who were discriminated against by company and union. Payments would range from \$70,000 to a supervisor who was harassed on the job to \$200 for hourly workers who were dismissed before their 90-day probation expired. Any money not claimed by the plaintiffs in the six year old case will be used to establish a scholarship fund for minority students.

**Eastern Airlines Unions Insist on Trustee, April 13** - An attempted purchase of Eastern Airlines failed after the three striking unions refused to compromise on their demand that a court appointed trustee oversee the transition of Eastern out of bankruptcy, pushing aside Texas Air chairperson Frank Lorenzo. The machinists, flight attendants and pilots unions have maintained for more than a year that the transactions by which Lorenzo built Texas Air are fraught with double-dealing designed to help non-union Texas Air, particularly Continental, at the expense of Eastern. Continental was unionized when Lorenzo bought it in 1982. In 1983 Lorenzo took Continental into bankruptcy, abrogated union contracts and cut workers' pay in half. In 1986 Lorenzo bought Eastern and cut the flight attendants and pilots pay by 20%.

**The IMF Hits Jordan** - In mid-April, Jordan signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund that qualifies Jordan for \$275 million in loans over the next 18 months and will permit the country to seek rescheduling for part of its \$6 billion foreign debt. Needless to say, the agreement also included the IMF ordering Jordan to raise prices between 15 and 50% on fuel, beverages, telephone calls, irrigation water and cigarettes. The Fund allowed Jordan to retain subsidies on rice, bread and milk, but nevertheless rioting spread through the country. The riots in Jordan are but the latest violent public reaction to third-world austerity programs devised to satisfy international lending agencies like the IMF and the World Bank. Nearly 300 people were killed and 18000 injured in riots over IMF ordered price increases in Venezuela this February.

**Epitaph for the Reagan Era** - In March the House Ways and Means Committee released a study that documents Ronald Reagan's most lasting mark on US society: acceleration income inequality. The numbers show that between 1979 and 1987 the average household of the poorest fifth of Americans fell from \$5,439 to \$5,107 (6.1%) in 1987 dollars, while that of the richest fifth rose from \$61,917 to \$68,775 (11.1%). Since the 1973 turning point (when US disposable income reached its peak), the decade long drift of US society towards a lessening gap between rich and poor reversed: add in the years 1973 to 1978 and the trend becomes clear, with an 11.8% loss for the poorest fifth and a 24.1% gain for the richest. Thus nearly half of the American people have no adult memory of a time when income inequality was declining.

**Air Force Union Wins Child Care Agreement, Macon, GA, March 27** - A decade of bargaining between the Association of Federal Government Employees and the Air Force has ended with the military offering child care to the air force's 83,000 civilian employees in the US. Currently only about 1000 children of the air force's civilian workers are enrolled in day care centers along with children of military personnel.

The initial cost of expanding the centers is to be borne by the air force. Operating costs will be paid for by the parents. While one shudders to think of defenseless children in centers operated by any branch of the military, the union's stubborn persistence often to be an example to other unions.

continued on page 7

RECORD REVIEW

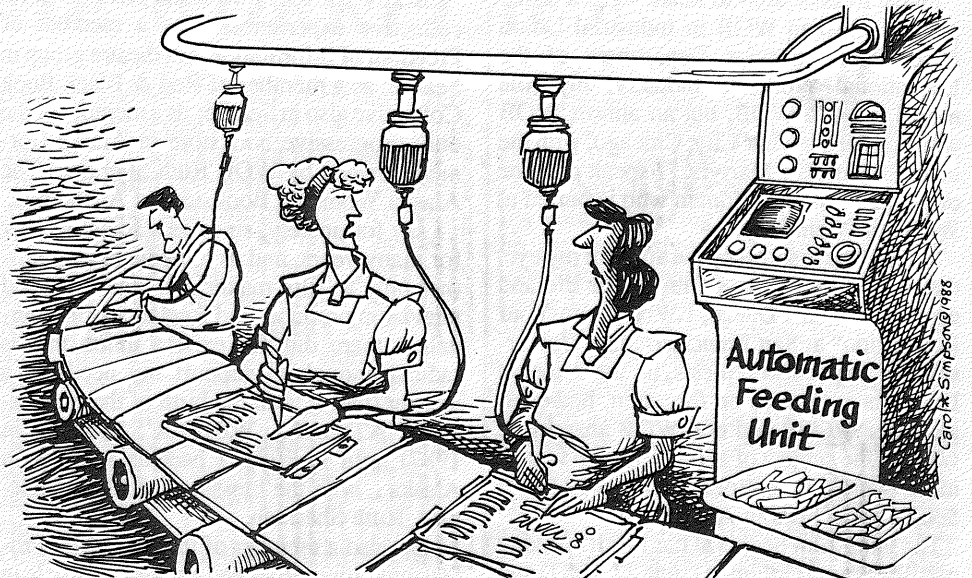
**Women of Many Descriptions**  
Sung by Marion Wade  
Audio Cassette \$9.00  
Order from Marion Wade  
3555 - 75th St.  
Jackson Heights, NY 11372

Marion Wade is one of our Wobbly singers and a card carrying member of I.U. #630 of the Recreational Workers, IWW, who participated in the 1984 concert of labor songs in Chicago.

Marion does all her singing a capella and while many readers may not be used to the concept of unaccompanied singing; I have only to remind them that the first and original musical instruments are imitations or augmentations of that original instrument.

Over the years she has amassed herself a formidable repertoire. On this cassette are songs dedicated to fourteen favorite women. The featured song is the "Rebel Girl" by Joe Hill, and she easily puts to rest the oft-heard contention that Joe Hill's music is impossible to sing to.

There are two traditional songs, traditional meaning that nobody remembers who the original composer was. One, the "Collier Lass", is about a young woman who hopes to marry a steady worker so she no longer has to work in the mill. The other, the "Kugelsville Bank", is about an embezzling grandmother who ended up: "Down in Brazil with the janitor Hank/ And all the loot from the Kugelsville National Bank."



"Maybe I'm old fashioned, but I kinda miss lunch breaks."

Like the theme of "Collier Lass", the "Jute Mill Song" tells of the life of a mill worker. "Rebecca Jones" tells the story of a militant anti-war activist and "True to Life" is about the recent fad of "Bag Lady" dolls. The singer challenges the questionable taste of the enterprise by admonishing the prospective buyer not to waste their money on a doll when they can give that money to a real life bag lady.

"Emily's Song" is about a marriage gone sour with a wife-beating husband: "... and he has two with to settle a quarrel, / one with the left and the other with the right."

One terrific song which tells of what a woman looking for employment has to put up with is: "Can You Type Mary Alice?" which clearly indicates that she is expected to do other things besides typing and taking dictation.

These are only seven of the fourteen songs, all of which Marion does a competent delivery. It is hoped that there shall be more such albums forthcoming. She is living proof that a Wobbly never really retires. Other Grandmothers may sit by the fireplace with their knitting, but Marion Wade has her own energetic itinerary.

CAC

Monkey De Work Baboon De Chop

Note: GEB member Barbara Hansen forwarded us this article from Hannah Gemilpong who lives in Nigeria, West Africa.

Monkey de work baboon de Chop is English pidgin meaning: "Monkey is working baboon is eating". The phrase reflects the fate of millions of African and Third world women. Through feudal oligarchy, tribal, traditional and cultural practices, women have been oppressed and exploited.

The story of the monkey and baboons is a legend with a practical content. Let us follow the story of the monkey and the baboon who were members of a common race. Centuries ago, members of the race lived together, owned properties and harvested together. The land and the trees belonged to no single member, family, group or class but to every citizen. Baboons are a group with large fearing stature. They are selfish, lazy and cannot easily fend for themselves. The monkeys are a group who are smart, mild and sympathetic in character. They always jump swiftly from one branch to another in search of their daily bread which in turn is shared with all members of all groups in the domain. By their ferocious stature the baboons were thought fitted for a defensive role, to protect all members of the domain from the bullets of the hunters and the monkey by their agile nature to search for their food.

The baboons maneuvered their way and became the dictators, feudal lords and exploiters. The monkeys had no rights nor rights nor freedom of decision.

Polygamous marriages in Africa are a means of obtain cheap labor and a great exploitation of women by men. To possess women is to possess unpaid workers. Young girls are sold into permanent servitude under the guise of customary marriage. The girls consent is never sought nor do their fathers appreciate the consequences of such transaction.

"Hauwa Abubakar, a eight year old village girl from Northern Nigeria was forced to marry a cattleman old enough to be her grandfather. In June 1987, when Hauwa turned 12 and began menstruating her father forced her to move in with her husband. She refused to have sex with him and ran home twice. Both times, her father who owned dowry to the

do not accept campaigning methods imposed upon us from outside. Most campaigns conducted from abroad have been counter-productive. Our methods include house to house campaigns and countryside tours where our field workers speak to the rural women in markets, roadsides and anywhere they are seen. As a self supporting women's voluntary organizations, we lack sufficient funds to run the program.

Women's only legitimate purpose in life as designated by some African men is to bear children. They are mutilated by circumcision, excision, and infibulation in such a way as to make child bearing a harrowing ordeal of exhausting and prolonged suffering which often costs them their lives.

Many rural African women have abnormalities like ragged scars, keloid formation, cysts, pelvic inflammation, uterine prolapse, chronic cervicitis, etc, as a result of these practices. Indeed, the practice is aimed at having men maintain their superiority over women. Said Inyang Edward, a traditional ruler of Ugep in Nigeria: "Since the clitoris is an aggressive sexual organ of a woman a non-excision of it will make a woman stubborn and hard to control. The operation is necessary for each male to control the sexuality of each female."

We have launched a campaign against female genital mutilation. We are unanimous in recognizing that the fight is ours and

We sincerely and earnestly appeal to our womenfolk, feminists, and feminist groups to help this campaign by donating to our campaign fund. Donations can be by personal checks, bankdraft, International Money orders of banknotes in any currency and should be addressed to: Hannah Edmikpong, Women's Centre, Box 185, Eket, AWKA IBOM STATE NIGERIA, W. Africa. Faced with the awful plight, the monkey organized a freedom movement (feminism) to emancipate themselves from their baboon overlords.

Hannah Edmikpong

JOIN THE IWW

Application No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Form 5

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization? \_\_\_\_\_  
Will you study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes? \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Industry \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ I. U. No. \_\_\_\_\_ Card No. \_\_\_\_\_

Initiation \_\_\_\_\_ Dues \_\_\_\_\_ Ass'ts. \_\_\_\_\_ Total \_\_\_\_\_

Del. Name \_\_\_\_\_ No. \_\_\_\_\_

# MARINES ARE WIMPS!



U.S. adviser with Salvadoran soldier.

The marines are wimps! Los Angeles police chicken out when confronted by twenty-five doves! So, while scores of protesters are being arrested in other cities —But I run ahead of my story. —

A bare majority of Salvadorans saw fit to place in power the vicious ARENA Party candidate in the March 19 election. May it also be noted, left-wing guerillas (those to whom certain people in this country lend naive support) violently harassed and intimidated voters.

However, right, left or wrong, El Salvador must settle her own affairs without the interfering hand of Big Brother up North. That's why we showed up in force at the Army/Navy/Marine/Airforce recruiting offices. Those of us on the inner line of defense, gamely smiling to mask our anxiety over impending confrontation with recruits and police, took our stand with locked arms close to the doors. We graciously permitted people to exit (No hostages!) but refused to let them enter.

Marines locked their doors against us. However, a paraplegic victim of VietNam wheeled himself inside the army office to state his case. Who could refuse him who had been one of their own? Coordinator Don

White, also a veteran but now a concerned history teacher, also lent dignity to the occasion on a televised talk.

People amassed around the corner refused recruiting office pleas to arrest. In fact, cops ordered office personnel to lock up, go home. We protesters triumphantly taped our banners to the locked doors: Recruiting Offices Closed to Stop U.S. War in El Salvador.

Ninety minutes before official closing time two nervous recruiters showed up to claim briefcases they'd forgotten inside. And just what harm could briefcases do, they pleaded. Peacemakers are a democratic sort, often split in several directions by honest dissent. A majority insisted we'd won our point, closed the centers down. Let's call it a day. No pasaran, we intransigents asserted and tightened our grip. (If you're going to be mulish, give it an elegant name.) What could a couple of briefcases do, indeed! Do their nefarious military homework, that's what! Ready and willing to persist to the bitter end, (though less than eager to exchange the comforts of home for a jail cell), we were outvoted. End of chapter.

Dorice McDaniels

## An Old Time Wobbly

continued from page 1

Our women are spending more and more time in the workplace and are still taking care of the family! There are more women working outside of the home today than ever before!

She must have a shorter workday ...Less Hours..Better Pay! By exercising her power in the workplace she can make it possible to fight for and win the four hour day! Then she will have time to be a human being in this chaotic computerized world! Time to better understand the world around her, develop

better communication with her fellow workers. Then together you can make a choice - of the kind of world you want to live in - what legacy you will leave for the children!

Through education and organization you can change the world to a place where men and women can live in peace and harmony. And like the woman of yesteryear who wrote: "I am a Woman Free! With Face toward the Sun I Advance! Let Ignorance and Tyranny Tremble At the Sound of my Tread .."

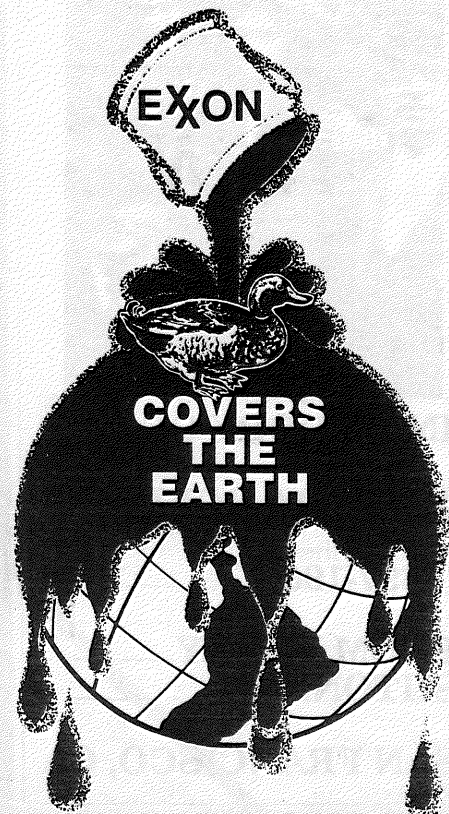
For a Better World

Sophie Cohen

### On Sophie Cohen:

In Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW, Sophie Cohen described her organizing experience during and before the great Paterson strike of 1913:

"I wasn't an official organizer, but when I became a weaver, a girlfriend and I would take jobs in unorganized factories and try to organize them. We would refuse the four looms, saying it was too much for us. Because we were young girls, we were permitted to work only two. After a few weeks, we would hand out leaflets and call for an organizing meeting. We looked so innocent that the managers never thought we were capable of even believing in a union. In one place, they locked us out. They called the police, and we had to get our pay at a little booth. When the police handed us the pay and our tools, I refused the tools because I considered the factory to be on strike."



## Women's Newsletter Submissions Wanted

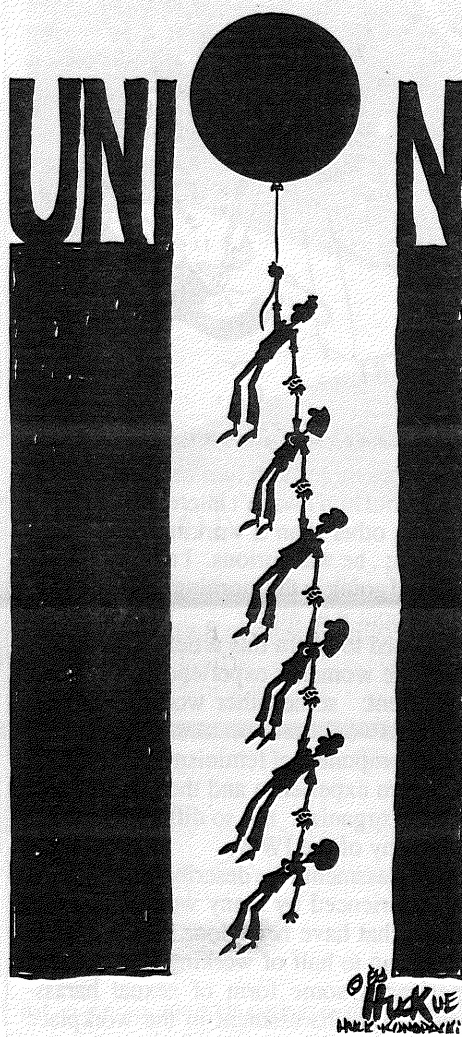
Sister Workers:

Some of us are exploring the idea of networking women in the IWW through a newsletter. Jackie Panish and Rochelle Semel have come up with the following list of things we might want to talk about: How did you come to join the IWW and what were your expectations? Do you feel those expectations were met?

What are your hopes, fears, fantasies, gripes about women in the IWW, working women in general?

Are you interested in contributing to a women's newsletter? What contribution would a union women's newsletter make?

What do you believe would increase the activism of women in the IWW?



By PUCK  
MAY 1989

One of the ideas we are exploring is a women's committee in this union. Would you be interested in such a committee? What do you think the function of such a committee might be; what kind of contribution could such a committee make to the IWW? Would you be willing to serve on such a committee?

The most rewarding part of IWW membership for me has always been the great people I've connected with through the Union. When we first talked about a women's newsletter last year, there were only 80 or so women in the Union. Now there are nearly twice that many! If you want to make a contribution to a newsletter (letter, article, poem, graphic, drawing, song, dirty joke?) Send it to:

Barb Hansen  
2115 S. Sheridan  
Tacoma, WA 98405

by the end of May, and we'll try to put something out to all the women members by mid-June. We have some great submissions already. Let's get to know each other, and work together.

For the OBU,

Barb Hansen

## Women, Join The IWW!

continued from page 6

## Of Interest



## To Unionists

**Korean Police Break Shipyard Strike, Ulsan, South Korea, March 30** - Striking Hyundai shipyard workers skirmished with riot police after a police assault on South Korea's biggest shipyard in which 700 workers were arrested. More than 10,000 riot police, firing tear gas and wearing full battle gear stormed the shipyard, using a bulldozer and forklift trucks with the help of nonstriking employees to ram the strikers barricades of company vehicles, machinery and other dockside equipment. The strikers fought back with stones, gasoline bombs and clubs. Across the country, thousands of students staged campus or street demonstrations condemning the police raid. Hundreds of Hyundai Heavy Industry workers fought police through the night near the shipyard's apartment buildings used to house about 2000 employees. The strike is in its third month.

**Business as Usual for "La Migra"** - San Jose, Ca., April 1 - The raids go on, of course, with immigration and border patrol agents charging into workplaces and detaining everyone of apparently Hispanic descent. The changes in the Immigration Reform and Control Act which make employers responsible for verifying that employees are legal US residents and even court injunctions prohibiting immigration agents from entering a place of business without a valid warrant or the owner's consent, notwithstanding, undocumented workers are the weakest part of the workforce. As such, they will be treated as political expediency dictates, as shown in 1982 when the Ragan Administration conducted a nation wide roundup of undocumented workers in an effort to reduce unemployment.

Thus court tactics, like the current lawsuit of five San Jose employers and hundreds of workers of Hispanic descent in Northern California to get a permanent injunction to keep immigration officials from entering workplaces without warrants, seizing workers without reasonable suspicion that they are undocumented and selecting workers of Hispanic ancestry for arrest, are unlikely to protect Hispanic-American workers from La Migra harassment and totally fail to address the situation of actual undocumented workers.

**Labor's antidote for its bad press.**

No conviction is more widely shared among trade unionists than the view that labor rarely gets a fair shake in the press. Union members perceive a widespread anti-labor bias in the print and electronic media's tendency to focus on bad news about unions and their activities.

Strikes, picket-line scuffles, plant closings, contract concessions, corruption, internal disputes, and "special interest" lobbying all get a lot of coverage — most of it unflattering. The enormous amount of good work that unions do every day for their members, communities, and unorganized workers often fails to receive the publicity it deserves because it is not considered "newsworthy."

**Drug Capitalism** - Who's winning the war on drugs? The Federal Reserve as thoughtfully provided one answer. Banks in southern Florida generated a cash surplus of some \$6.4 billion in 1988, up from \$3.3 billion in 1978, according to figures obtained from the Fed. The vast majority of this cash comes to Florida as payment for drugs, according to Robert Stankey, a former Treasury Department analyst who started compiling currency surplus figures in 1979. The winners of drug capitalism are the banks who handle this booming commerce with little threat of being punished by the law. Drug shah William Bennet has thus far concentrated his attention only on the losers in drug capitalism, i.e., young male African-Americans, by declaring Washington a "drug trafficking crisis area."

David Corn and Jeff Morely, April 17, 1989 Nation

continued on page 8

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## Of Interest



## To Unionists

**Illinois RNs Get Wage Equity Settlement**

- In late April, a federal judge ratified a pay equity agreement for 1400 registered Illinois nurses as part of settlement of a suit brought by the American Nurses Association. Some 550 staff nurses, who have been doing the work of top nurses, will have their jobs upgraded and will earn about \$5000 more a year; all the register nurses will get pay hikes retroactive to last December, ranging from \$1000 to \$3000. The suit was filed in 1983 because a state-funded study commissioned the Illinois' Commission on the Status of Women showed a pay discrepancy between female and male state employees of from \$6000 to \$8000 a year. The Commission has since been disbanded. (Cheapest way of dealing with the pay equity problem.)

**Comparing Inequity** - Among development experts, the common measurement of economic well-being for a country's residents is the Gross Domestic Product per capita - the total income of a country divided by the number of people in the country. However, that figure fails to take into account the level of income inequality. By giving an average, the measurement implies that differences in income distribution are either minimal or unimportant. According to figures presented in Dollars and Sense, No. 143, the income-distribution ratio (how many times richer the wealthiest 20% of the population is than the poorest 20%) for the US is 10.7. This means the top 20% gets more than the 10 times the bottom 20%. This disparity is greater than most of the European industrial countries and even the so-called Newly Industrial Countries like Japan and South Korea.

**Women in Unions** - In 1954, women made up 31.2% of the US workforce and 16.6% of the union membership. In 1988, women made up 46.8% of the workforce and 35.2% of the union membership.

**EPA Startled by Toxic Pollution Levels** - April 12, the Environmental Protection Agency reported that industry in the US is putting a "startling and unacceptably high" volume of toxic substances into the land, air and water. (The EPA must be the last ones in this country to be surprised about this.) The first national inventory of toxic releases into the environment, which was mandated by 1986 amendments to the toxic waste law, showed manufacturers required to report under the law released or disposed of at least 22.5 billion pounds of hazardous substances in 1987. EPA officials acknowledged that the actual volume of toxic chemicals released is much greater than the reported 22.5 billion pounds.

For one thing, only manufacturers that used more than 10,000 pounds or produced more than 75,000 pounds of the toxic substances were required to report. For another, about 25% of the manufacturers required to report their releases into the environment did not do so. Furthermore, many more than the 300 chemicals named in the amendment to the waste law are toxic and are finding their way into the environment.

**Korean Police Attack Rhee Overthrow Commemorations, Seoul, April 19** - Marches and rallies by Korean workers and students celebrating the anniversary of the 1960 student uprising that brought down the government of Syngman Rhee were attacked by riot police in at least 10 cities. Press reports from Changwon, a southern industrial city, said about 10,000 workers rallied at three factories and many responded with firebombs and bricks when police use teargas to stop a march by 5000 strikers. Authorities said more than 40,000 students demonstrated at colleges and university around the country, but had no figures on injuries or arrests.

**S. African Unionist Acquitted, Johannesburg, April 24** - In a surprising decision, a South African judge acquitted Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of the National

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# SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT THE WORKPLACE

*Nowhere is a woman treated according to the merit of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position, in whatever line with sex favors. Thus it's merely a question of degree whether she sells herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men.*

Emma Goldman

He told me I had a nice smile. He asked me about my sexuality. He was resentful when I didn't stay long at a work-related party. He spoke of his violence towards women who betrayed him and how he was very attracted to me. He grew angry if I disagreed with him. He called my boss complaining about me. He



ITS CALLED SEXUAL HARASSMENT!!

wanted me to go with him on a long drive. When I told him I wasn't interested in having anything other than a working relationship with him; he was furious. I couldn't work. I dreaded going in the morning and had nightmares about it at night.

I wanted to begin this article with a story about one woman's experience with sexual harassment: some other woman's experience. This would have been easier. But, an essential component of feminism is to deal with one's own experience and then to join with others to organize: not so different than the philosophy of the IWW.

The harassment I've described is similar to that experienced by many women: the few surveys that have been done on the subject indicate up to half of working women have experienced some form of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment in the workplace can take many forms. It can be as direct as woman being fired for refusing to sleep with the boss or more subtle. According to Our

Bodies Ourselves, "Sexual Harassment is any unwanted sexual attention a woman experiences. It includes leering, pinching, patting, repeated comments, subtle suggestions of a sexual nature and pressure for dates. Catherine Mackinnon in her book "Sexual Harassment of Working Women" goes further to profile the emotional games men will play with women in the workplace citing "his demand that she be constantly emotionally available to him, increasingly using her as a verbal carpet, his jealousy of her friendships or the job; his casual even concerned inquiry into her sex life; his lack of desire to meet her husband and his uncomfortableness when he drops in."

Often, the harasser is in a position of power at the workplace or has access to power channels. When he is rebuffed by his victim, he is being directly challenged and will often try to get rid of the woman worker in order to remove the reminder of the serious blow to his ego that she represents. This is not so different from bosses who fire their workers for unionizing: unionizing is a direct challenge to the boss' authority and while the boss may use pretenses to fire the workers, the bottom line is the challenge to their power structure. Sexual harassment is often misunderstood. In my own case, I was supported by some. But others, meaning no harm, let me know that the harasser had his problems, was lonely, needed a girlfriend. MacKinnon writes that "Trivialization of sexual harassment has been a major means through which its invisibility has been enforced." Due to lack of support and the harassment itself, women can feel isolated, frightened, tense, stressed, emotionally disturbed, and be physically debilitated. Not to mention the great difficulty she has of performing a job well when there is so much pressure on her and when her work is being sabotaged.

One of the most important things that a woman can do if she is being harassed is to realize that she has done nothing wrong and that the harasser is responsible for the abuse. It can help to be vocal about the problem and in the face of any weak responses, to insist that it is a serious one. It is also important that the woman determine whether others have had similar experiences in the workplace and to take collective actions if possible. Creative strategies can be employed here. A group of women can confront a harasser about his behavior in his office, on the street, at his home. Leaflets can be anonymously displayed. Women can generate some publicity about the problem.

Women should document the incidents of

harassment with dates, times, places, and the nature of any interactions. Another step that a woman can take is to let the harasser know directly that she is not interested.

If a woman is having trouble finding others who are responsive to the problem, most major cities have women's centers which can provide an ear and some suggestions. I found it very empowering to detail my problem over the phone to a woman at such a center after I confronted the harasser directly. To find such a center, contact the YWCA for a referral or any women's groups in your area.

There are legal recourses. Michael Yates suggests several in his "Labor Law Handbook" (available from South-End Press). He cites as an invaluable resource, "Stopping Sexual Harassment: A Handbook by Ellissa Clarke available for \$3.00 (includes postage) from Labor Education and Research project P.O. Box 20001, Detroit MI 48220.

Yates points out that unions need to fight for contract language which explicitly recognizes sexual harassment such as the language won at Boston University "The University recognizes that no employee shall be subject to sexual harassment. In this spirit it agrees to post in all work areas a statement of its commitment to this principle. Reference to sexual harassment includes any sexual attention that is unwanted. In the case of such harassment, an employee may pursue the grievance procedure for redress."

If there is a non-discrimination clause in a contract which does not refer specifically to sexual harassment, it may still be used as a basis for filing a grievance. If women wish to pursue the legal option they should the nearest Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) which administers the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1972: again, sexual harassment, may be categorized as discrimination.

The IWW is uniquely suited to tackling sexual harassment. Because we see the rights of workers as going beyond simple pay increases and health insurance plans to including the right to participate in a democratic workplace that is run openly and for the benefit of the workers, we can fight against actions that are taken to demean and denigrate a large sector of the working population. We don't have the investment in male-dominated hierarchical unionism that some of the more bureaucratic top-heavy unions do. This is not to say that sexism or even sexual harassment does not exist within the IWW. It does. But, we have potential to change this if we tackle it in a serious way.

Marion Delgado

## WOMEN IN THE PART TIME WORKFORCE

**THE CONTINGENT WORK FORCE**

The buzz phrase "contingent work force" seems to have been coined in 1986 by Audrey Freedman, when she pointed out that "a company can offer relatively stable employment to its core work force only if that regular work force can be augmented by many kinds of contingent employment arrangements." Aka "disposable" work force. But by any name, at least one in six jobholders in this country works less than 35 hours a week - the most widely accepted boundary distinguishing full- and part-time work - and the increased hiring of part-timers and temporary workers has been one of the most significant changes in today's labor market. Between 1968 and 1985, part-time employment grew faster than full-time. More than 25% of the much heralded 10 million jobs created during the Reagan era were part-time.

Despite the massive layoffs of women workers immediately after WWII, women have been joining the paid workforce in increasing numbers until today, a US mother is more likely to be employed than not. Since women continue to be the prime providers of child-care and housework, part-time work is often seen as the answer to juggling the two workloads. "Choice", however, can be problematic. According to a report by 9to5, National

Association of Working Women, nearly 35% of women who work part-time said they would work a longer workweek if better child-care options were available. On the other hand, many other workers work full-time by default, because they can't find a part-time jobs with hourly pay and pro-rated benefits equivalent to full-time jobs.

By 1985, women had become 2/3 of the part-time jobholders, and part-timers composed 29% of all employed women. One third of all part-timers are paid only minimum wage compared to just 5% of full-timers. The average part-timer works 22 hours at a median wage of \$4.42 per hour; full-timers earn an average of \$7.43, not including any benefit packages attached to their jobs.

Organizing part-time workers has been difficult, but it has been done. At Cuyahoga Community College in inner-city Cleveland, part-time clerical staff were paid 10% less per hour on the average than full-timers and received to benefits beyond holiday and some vacation pay in 1982. The full-time clerical was represented by District 925, but the part-timers' efforts to organize were delayed.

"The college used every legal and technical challenge to stall us," explained Anne Hall

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IN MEMORY OF

MATILDA ROBBINS

(1897-1963)

FROM HARRY  
SIITONEN

SAN FRANCISCO, CA



# UNIONIZED WOMEN'S WORKPLACES

I am one of two full time employees at the Ann Arbor Tenants Union. We are a 20 year old tenants organization. We are an IWW shop. The Tenants Union has successfully organized many people to rent strike in an effort to combat poor maintenance, high rents, and oppressive conditions imposed by many landlords. Currently, we operate a phone advocacy service to educate tenants on their rights and we encourage tenants to see the economic benefits of organizing on a collective basis. We publish two quarterly newsletters and work in coalitions with other local tenant, women's, and homeless groups to make affordable housing an issue in this ever-gentrifying city. Our services are available to any of the city's 60,000 tenants.

The TU is funded by the University of Michigan Student Assembly. The bulk of our phone advocacy is done by workers who are attending the University. Some have work-study grants (where we pay 1/4 salary and the Feds pay the rest), some work very part-time, and some volunteer. The TU has no bosses, operates as a collective, and makes decisions at weekly staff meetings about policy and use of resources. However, when two full time people and a half dozen part time people are struggling to meet the needs of individual tenants or a campaign, the time needed to keep all staff abreast on information sometimes seems nonexistent. The full-time employees often end up taking responsibility for projects originally worked by full-and part-time staff or volunteers. This sometimes creates the illusion that the full time employees are "bosses", when in reality we are just co-workers.

Information is Power. When the flow of information is stopped or concentrated in the hands of a few, those on the "outside" begin to feel alienated from the organization. We attempt to create a structure that will distribute power as much as possible to all those involved in the organization and will provide ways to address situations when we need to challenge each other on work issues. Working committees coordinated by various employees and volunteer members have recently been established.

My two previous jobs in progressive work places with hierarchical structures convinced me that the challenge to create "no boss" workplaces is crucial to how far we get in real change in society.

Five years ago I was involved with a labor struggle at the local battered women's shelter. The shelter had experienced a recurrent conflict between the administration and the line staff during its first eight years of existence. The conflict transcended personalities, but when I became a worker, the director was particularly oppressive to line staff. She manipulated her role between the staff and the Board to drive out existing staff and "professionalize" it with Masters of Social Work. A combination of concerned staff and volun-



teers formed a grassroots coalition to transform the structure from a hierarchy to a collective. We organized to win member elections to the Board of Directors. We hoped to make bylaw changes that would "take apart the hierarchy from the inside."

Of course staff felt the backlash of the coalition's organizing. Disciplinary warnings and personnel policy changes were used as punishment tactics. Line staff resignations began, in part because it was personally too stressful and in part as a tactic to politicize what was going on. At a certain point, remaining staff decided that we needed to act in unison or we would be picked off individually. We presented demands to management and said that if they were not answered within a certain amount of time, we would strike. We were not a unionized staff but we felt we had to take collective action for labor survival. Of course, management ignored our demands.

In hopes of gaining support, we decided to go to the media with our story. To my surprise, public sympathy was not on our side. Many "progressive" shelter volunteers and supporters lambasted us for not "putting the concerns of the shelter residents ahead of our own" and for "not going through the usual channels for grievances with management." My personal guilt over my loyalty to the battered women's movement was overwhelming at times. As a staff, we had many discussions about the need to keep our focus on the larger picture of the kinds of services battered women and children would receive

from a collective staff consisting of many battered women versus a staff of social work "experts". Looking back on it, we could have really used a labor union analysis to strengthen our position.

When the date for management response passed, we struck. Some frenzied Board members brought in professional mediation. One of the Board/management stipulations for mediation was that if settlement was not reached at the end of the ten day period, staff would be fired. In the eleventh hour of mediations one of the Board members put coalition petitions I signed on the table. She proceeded to tell me that unless I was willing to sign a statement saying that I would not support the coalition and that I would actively fight the coalition with the board then the board would no longer allow me to mediate. I would be immediately fired. I was shocked. I looked at the other board members, women who I had known for over a year and basically respected. No one objected to her demand. It was a lesson for me in how politically aligned people can be pitted against each other when the power dynamics in traditional hierarchies are stressed.

I refused their demands and within six hours the rest of staff did the same. We were replaced by scab volunteers and placement students. The coalition continued to organize for board seats and eventually won many. The director was ousted and another hired. Many changes in the structure have occurred but because our changes were enacted little by little, a hierarchy still remains and staff is not unionized. We are still struggling with the politics of the structure and are working for a collective. I am happy to be doing that work as a non-staff person.

My next job was in a nursery school for single parent families. When similar problems with staff input into policies were identified, staff began discussing unionizing. Accusations of not trusting management enough and not putting concern for the kids first flooded in. Before the struggle climaxed, I left for the Tenants Union. I am happy to report that organizing effort at the nursery school were successful and the staff is now a UAW local.

And here I am, working in a collective IWW workplace. Identifying ourselves as an IWW workplace is important for me because it says that we are opposed to the establishment of a boss class. While the UAW provides the nursery school workers with an avenue to confront management and its control of their working conditions, I am working in a structure that reflects my hopes for what a just world would look like. The goals and ideas of the IWW and other union members have provided me much support. I am encouraged by our effort and hope we are joined by many other "radicals" and "progressives" hoping to change the directions of our society. No landlords, No bosses!

Moe Fitzsimmons

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## Of Interest



## To Unionists

Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and four other defendants charged with subversion and sedition after they set up anti-apartheid structures, including peoples' courts and neighborhood committees, and organized rent and consumer boycotts in the township of Alexandra, which abuts Johannesburg's affluent white suburbs. The government throughout the 18 month trial had maintained that the defense had tried to undermine the existing municipal council and other government sanctioned structures through their creation of the Alexandra Action Committee in 1985 and 1986. The verdict welcomed by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which supported the Action Committee and raised money to pay for the lengthy defense of its five members on trial. At a press conference Mayekiso said he and his comrades planned to go back and start organizing Alexandra residents again.

**Mexican Teachers Strike, Mexico City.** On April 17, about 500,000 Mexican schoolteachers struck, calling for a 100% wage increase and union reforms. Teachers at state-run primary and secondary schools in the capital and the southern states of Chiapas and Oaxaca began an indefinite walkout after rejecting a government offer of a 20% wage and benefits increase. Teachers in 15 other states began walks of up to two days in solidarity. On April 24, the head of the National Education Workers Union, Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, announced his resignation. Many teachers accused Jonguitud of corruption, and his ouster was one of the demands of the strike. The strike was called by the National Coordinate, a dissident caucus in the union which accuses the union's leaders of political patronage and neglect of rank-and-file concerns.

**The Public and the Boss Press's Coverage of the Eastern Strike** - take the notion of "the Public". In mainstream press reports of the machinists' strike against Eastern airlines something called "the public" is gravely inconvenienced. This public is interviewed at airports and tends to be traveling to Florida for the family's first vacation in 21 years on tickets purchased by the accumulated life-savings of the grandmother - now in an emergency room fighting for life after being insulted by a picket; tended by relatives who, after six days without food or water in a waiting room at the Atlanta airport, "just want to go home." This same public does not include families of machinists thrown out of work by Frank Lorenzo's asset-stripping strategies. When Lorenzo closed down Eastern's Kansas City hub operation back in September, some 4000 workers were inconvenienced but somehow failed to make the "member of the public" status necessary to earn sympathetic coverage.

**The Third World War** - I will tell that the Third World War has already started - a silent war, not for that reason any less sinister. This war is tearing down Brazil, Latin America and practically all the Third World. Instead of soldiers dying there are children, instead of millions of wounded, there are millions of unemployed; instead of the destruction of bridges there is tearing down of factories, hospitals and entire economies....It is a war by the United States against the Latin American continent and the Third World. It is a war over the foreign debt, one which has as its main weapon interest, a weapon more deadly than the atom bomb, more shattering than a laser beam.

"Lula", a Brazilian socialist

**\$5,766 a Head - Whiting, Ind.** Arpl 2 - The Amoco Oil Company has been fined \$17,300 for safety violations discovered after an explosion in its Whiting refinery killed three employees last October. A company spokesperson said the company was deciding whether to appeal the fines imposed by the Indiana Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

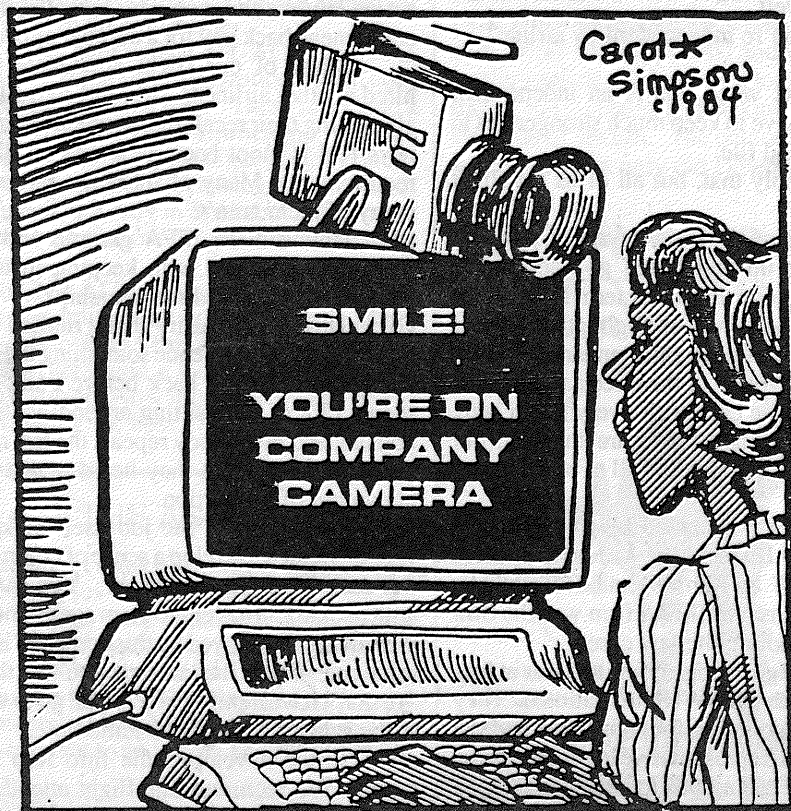
## Partime Workforce

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regional director of District 925. The college didn't want to give up the economic advantage of its cheap, highly educated, part-time labor source. Finally in December 1987, the part-timers won union representation when District 925 was certified as their bargaining agent.

"We didn't have medical benefits or sick leave, and we still don't," says Amerika Ray, who was served on the negotiation team. The part-timers did win tuition remission and a wage settlement providing a 3% increase across the board and 2.5% for those with three years seniority. But by the time they began negotiating, the 10% pay differential between the part- and -full timers had widened to 13%. Still as Hill pointed out "Don't underestimate the importance of just having a contract" even if the first one's terms represent only a baby step towards parity.

Adapted from MS, Vol. XVII, No.9



## WORKERS OF BOSTON

Note: Gladys Lanza is a labor activist from Honduras. She wrote this poem on her recent U.S. tour. Look for an interview with her in the next issue of the Industrial Worker. This poem was translated by Carlos Cortez.

Dedicated to Fellow Workers Maya and Lu, worthy activists of Boston.

I have known them forever  
even if only yesterday I saw them for the first  
time. I embraced them fervently  
and with them a new foundation was laid,  
talking the same idiom  
through another language.

Like big brother and big sister  
so much I feel them as my own  
and in their bodies I read  
the story of the Class Struggle;  
every line in their faces reflecting struggle,  
their flashing eyes  
reflecting the anger of the oppressed worker;  
the worker in combat.

Fading into the distance I saw them,  
Maya and Lou together  
and I felt a heavy sentiment  
for their tired backs, burdened with more than

With Maya and Lou I lived and breathed,  
with them, workers of the World,  
challenging their future,  
going along their own path and showing the  
way  
that others have encountered.

mere physical burdens, their calloused hands,  
their meager means  
and untiring energy.

But the moment shall arrive  
of the triumphant victory  
bringing in a different World;  
a Sun that will illuminate everyone with a  
childlike smile.

The foundations of the future  
are being built by the likes  
of Maya and Lou!

## FLIGHT ATTENDANTS

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necessary to continue operating during the strike, but at the conclusion of the strike all of the positions held by union members, incumbents, were union positions and they had to be filled in seniority order according to contractual stipulation. If there was a more junior crossover working at the conclusion of the strike, that person had to vacate their position in favor of a more senior, full-time striker. We lost at the district level in the 8th Circuit, we won at the appellate level, and then the Supreme court reversed that decision last week.

If we had won, it would have given labor a great tool. It would have been a real disincentive for any company to take a strike. It tested an area that had not previously been challenged. We lost nothing that we had traditionally had. We still have the right to go out, we still have the right to recall in seniority order following a strike if there's no back to work agreement. Management doesn't have the ability to do what they couldn't do before.

But what Eastern and many other companies are doing now is saying if you go out on strike and we replace you with crossovers and permanent replacements we won't ever have to recall you. Which is not true. But they're scaring the living daylights out of these people at Eastern with this. They're sending them three page telegrams outlining their position and the procedures they have to take, and saying they'll fill vacancies on the basis of a lottery.

PK: I understand that you had another victory of sorts this week at the Supreme Court.  
CD: Yes, the status quo decision. That was very important. Under the Railway Labor Act a contract does not expire, it becomes amendable.

You have an amendable date as opposed to an expiration date. When the amendable date arrives you can't be locked out, you can't walk out - unless you have first been released by the National Mediation Board. The NMB comes in until they determine that you have reached an impasse and then you're released to a cooling off period.

At the end of that cooling off period both sides can resort to self-help. The company is free to impose its proposals, those it had on the table at midnight and the union can go out on strike. TWA took the position that a contract under the RLA expires and subsequent to that they can implement anything they want.

We won at the district court, we won at the appellate court, we won at the Supreme Court, but because it was a 4-4 split, TWA petitioned for a rehearing.

After we went on strike TWA discontinued the dues checkoff, which made it difficult to function as an organization, to communicate with our members, to carry on our litigation. TWA took the position that we had no union security clause, no seniority, and that they would fill positions on a lottery basis as they became available out of seniority order. It was fairly grim. Once we got the initial win at the district court level we regained the ability to collect dues.

What it means for labor in general is that, under the RLA following a strike a union can continue to live. The company can't just abolish it. It was a critical win. Labor seems to have focused on this crossover issue, which would have given them a new weapon - the status quo issue gives them the ability to continue functioning as an organization instead of resorting to jungle warfare. The unfortunate part is that it is not precedent setting because it was a 4-4 split, but for the time being, it's an issue that labor doesn't have to deal with.

### IFFA HISTORY

PK: Has the IFFA always been the union for TWA Flight Attendants?

CD: IFFA won a representation election against the TWU in 1976 and we've represented the flight attendants here since. We were the first of the TWU flight attendant groups to break away. We went independent shortly afterwards. Both American and Pan Am left and formed their own independent unions as well.

PK: So you're independent by airline?

CD: Yes.

PK: I think when you're an independent union you have to keep much stronger ties to your rank and file.

CD: Not only that, but all of us are flight attendants.

PK: Came up through the ranks.

CD: Came up and I will go back to the ranks. There is a three year term here. All of us think of ourselves as flight attendants. I get paid what a line flight attendant gets paid. With the exception of the three national officers, that is the case with everyone in here. Our administrative ranks are thin and our officer ranks are thin, and all of us wear four or five hats.

IFFA was founded by five people, I think. Mary Ellen Miller had once testified for the IAM in Kansas, and Bill Jolley's (present counsel to IFFA) firm was the firm that was handling the law case.

Our negotiating committee was at loggerheads with the TWU International. They had been negotiating for some time and the International Representative interceded in the negotiations and agreed to items without the

## September 19th Movement

On 9/19/85, after Mexico City's earthquake, the Sept. 19th International Garment Workers Union (all women) came to be. Broken away from corrupt bureaucratic unions, they suffer repression and persecution, yet continue revolutionary actions.

With the boss' threat to move production to another country, they began to see their struggle as similar to those of all Mexican workers, and workers of all other countries. An editorial from their newsletter states, "We recognize that chauvinism and racism are just ways that capitalism divides workers. For these reasons we have to unite, communicate with each other, exchange experiences, try to know and better understand the conditions of the garment industry on an international level, and develop international solidarity."

In this spirit, in Nov. 1989, in Mexico City, the Sept. 19th Union will host a "Mexico-U.S. Labor Women's Exchange". It will include talks by activist Mexican women on related topics, and all costs but airfare will be covered. You need not know Spanish, there'll be a translator. The number of applications is limited, so it's 1st come, 1st serve. If you're interested, write: Maria Hernandez or Alicia Cervantes, Sindicato "19 de Septiembre", Apartado Postal 10578, Colonia Centro, 06000, Mexico D.F. Mexico. Send a copy to same women, at San Antonio Abad 151, Colonia Obrero, 06800, Mexico D.F., Mexico to insure it's received.



input of the negotiating committee. It was an agreement that would require ratification by the flight attendants. Hours of service and work rules would be agreed to later.

They refused to sign it. They were sued by both the union and the TWU individually. The TWU got a gag order and they sent the same contract out again. At the point where they were being sued, Mary Ellen remembered the firm (IAM had used) and they called Kansas City and they dragged Bill Jolley off the golf course, and he convinced them they had the collective ability to put together a decent independent (union). He guided them through it and he is in large part responsible for us being independent.

### STAYING ORGANIZED

PK: Some of your people must have looked for work somewhere else during the strike. Did your members find they were discriminated against if they tried to go to work at other airlines?

CD: Not discrimination, interestingly enough. They would ask you to sign a letter giving up your recall rights at TWA.

Another complication was that, under the 1974 Deregulation Act, there was a first right of hire clause where TWA was required to send to all employees a first right of hire letter and they should be given primary consideration at job openings in the same category of other airlines.

TWA refused to do that, so one of our Chicago based flight attendants filed a class action lawsuit and won very recently, and it could mean back pay for a number of people.

Many of our flight attendants were hired at other airlines. They did sign a letter abrogating their recall rights which our attorneys feel is moot because it was an illegal requirement. Many of them are returning, many of them aren't.

PK: How did the IFFA grapple with the problems presented with keeping in touch with such a scattered membership?

CD: This is an industry that's riddled with rumor. I can tell someone something in Hong Kong and it will be back before I am. We spend a lot of time sitting around waiting - you talk and everybody repeats the last quarter of something that they heard and it gets blown out of proportion.

The nature of the job itself makes it very difficult to develop a sense of community - to feel like a union member. You can fly with people and never see them again, and yet they are still employed by this company in the same category as the last time you saw them. We don't have a shift where we all go to work at the same place and the same time.

So we developed the Info Rep Program. We recruited line flight attendants,

rank and file members, to go out and listen and correct people when they made errors.

For example getting members to understand the procedures under the Railway Labor Act for negotiations was very difficult. They believed they could be locked out, that they could be fired for strike activities. So our Info Reps would go out and explain the law to them.

Every time we go through negotiations we have to go through this reeducation all over again. We'd send them out to explain what the proposals were, what they meant, because a lot of our membership, and I think we're very typical in this respect, don't read their contract.

We reinforced all of this in our publications and we had little cards to hand out, and these were very helpful because when you have a large loosely connected group of people like our Info Reps were, going out and talking to people, you have to make sure they get it right and the cards helped them and the people they were talking to.

The other thing I think that helped us to a great extent was having our union offices on the property. As a problem would occur our members could come trotting down the hall we could handle it then, right there. It nipped prospective problems in the bud before the company really got out of hand and it reinforced the concept of being part of the union instead of having a union that represented them.

### UNIFYING THE MEMBERSHIP

PK: What do you see being the union's next big task after the last flight attendant is recalled to work?

CD: Getting a signed agreement. Then we have to deal with internal conflict because we have a union now with a membership composition of three fairly polarized groups. You have the new hires who were hired as strike breakers, out of 2800 hired during the strike, 1600 remain three years later. There are the crossovers, members who returned to work before the strike ended, and the rest are the full-term strikers.

As a matter of fact there's a fourth group, Ozark. When TWA merged with Ozark, we got 700 flight attendants who had been represented by the AFA. They think of themselves as "former Ozark." So I guess our biggest job will be unifying the membership which will be no easy feat.

We have a new membership program. It was clear to us that a large portion of our old membership and the new hires did not completely understand organized labor, its purposes and its benefits. So we have put together a membership education program.

It is a one year program and it's all

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## CANADA

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**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.**

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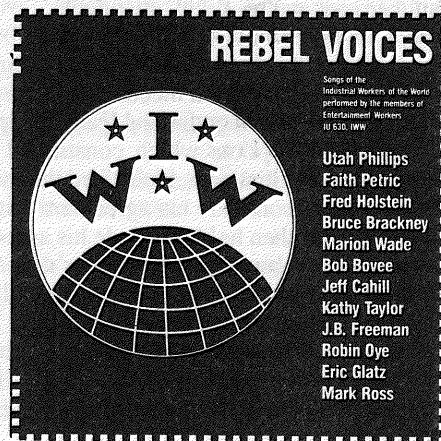
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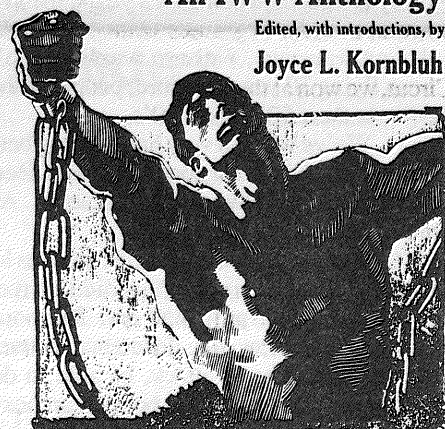
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# FLIGHT ATTENDANTS. . .

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written material. It's all by mail. There are no mandatory meetings because it's impossible with our work schedules. But those people who now apply have to go through this one year program before they're members in good standing.

## THE "GIRLS"

**PK:** Do you think there was less solidarity within labor and less support from the public when you went out because you're a bunch of women-folk?

**CD:** Yes. Not just because we're women, but because we're flight attendants. We aren't taken seriously as a work force, because things like "people skills" are not just as tangible as let's say a mechanics license.

Even in our negotiations Icahn sighed a deal with the pilots which constituted a schedule of negotiations. It outlined the fact that he would conclude his agreement with the pilots, and then he'd conclude his agreement with mechanics, and then he'd conclude his agreement with, as he calls us, the girls. And he's done this over and over. If you look at any of his interviews, he's referred to several times as "the girls". He likens us to a spoiled farmer's daughter, that was one of my favorites.

There is a traditional stereotype about flight attendants that everyone has grown up with and still believes - that flight attendants are single, swinging women and they go out and they party.

But, in fact, 50% of our membership are married. Of that group I think something like 35% have children, and basically we're very normal people with very screwy hours.

When I started flying in 1967 the average career expectancy for a flight attendant was 18 months. The average age of hire was I think 21. The average career expectancy is now between 13-15 years, the average age of the flight attendant is 35. And that's just average. We have members who've been flying 30 years or more, people in their 60's, in their 50's, their 40's.

We've worked very hard getting better working conditions, a good salary and decent benefits and we have made it a career. And we're skilled at what we do.

There was a time when the job was less demanding that it is now. You didn't have to be multi-lingual, push 250 and 300 pound carts uphill, know the difference between hypoxia and a heart attack, be able to deal with a gun in your face, do bomb searches on your aircraft, know anything about ticketing or fare structures or 85 different aircraft or how to handle a cabin fire. Diffusing a hostile situation is not something everyone can do.

Today you have to have a strong physical constitution. You have to be articulate. You need strong problem solving abilities because if something goes wrong at 35,000 feet there's nobody but you who can solve it. You have to have "grace under pressure" because if you say anything that will antagonize a passenger you're called into the office, and they put a letter of reprimand in your file. Labor relations in the airline industry is positively prehistoric in that respect. The job has changed.

## DEMANDS OF THE JOB

**PK:** I was thinking about that. When I was a kid not long out of high school American was advertising for stewardesses in Detroit, so I went. I had no idea what their expectations were, but I was looking at it like a restaurant job. And I think it was a relatively common perception.

**CD:** It still is. It took me a few years to realize, but that's what it boils down to. What they wanted you to do was be able to take abuse. You have to be able to say "I'm sorry" 20 different ways. And that is true today which is why most of the airlines have always recruited from the Midwest, because Midwesterners are more likely to take abuse than people from New York, for example.

**PK:** You were well organized when you went out on strike, and you've been successful in keeping your membership together through this ordeal. Do you think these results reflect some of the ways women do things differently than men?

**CD:** You mean scrapping? You are right

there. The solidarity in our particular case speaks to how badly the company proposals were. They gutted our contract. They reverted our working conditions to 1967 when I started flying.

They give us very poor staffing, they don't give us supplies to do the job. The aircraft half the time is in ramshackle condition, and they fly your rump into the ground. I've been on duty in excess of 24 hours and had no contractual ability to do otherwise. On an international flight, once you leave your domicile you bop til you drop.

We no longer have a stable work schedule. We can bid for a work schedule but they can change it 15 times during the course of a month which means if you are a parent and you want to live a normal life, it's extremely difficult. We have scores of people off on stress leave because of the work load.

Some people lost their homes, there were divorces, it was a personal tragedy for a number of people. What amazes me is the number of person who are being recalled who say, "I'd do it again. What he did is unacceptable. It was unacceptable then and it's unacceptable now." As far as the gender composition of our work force as an issue in the support we got, I think that's a valid criticism.

**PK:** What do you think was the single most difficult internal dynamic IFFA had to confront in organizing for the strike?

## PASSENGERS COME FIRST

**CD:** The philosophical composition of our membership is very conservative. Image is very important to them. They felt they had an obligation to the passenger. Their perception was that maybe the company was being nasty to them but they couldn't hurt the passengers. Getting them to see the correlation between the two was probably the most difficult thing.

**PK:** Hospital workers face the same quandary.

**CD:** Yes. Women again. We are brought up to nurture, particularly people who are placed in our care - passengers are placed in our care, patients are placed in our care, students are placed in our care, and we have to take care of them because we like to think of ourselves as good people.

It's difficult to intellectually and emotionally accept the fact that we're going to have to kick somebody in the teeth to get the attention of our employer. Our problem was that we're front line employees in a service industry. Service industries depend on the development and maintenance of good will with its customers for their money. You can't kick your front line service employees in the head and expect them to go out and be gracious and accommodating.

We intercepted a study that TWA has done which outlines what the researchers consider to be TWA's problems being competitive with American and United. One of them is morale of front line employees, which is second only to on time performance in importance in the corporate picture. This is stuff we've been telling them for years.

**PK:** Are there things you would have done differently?

**CD:** Oh yes, work to rule. Until this strike we could not get our members to work to rule. We asked them for years to follow the procedures in your manual, follow the company procedures that they outline, follow the FAA procedures.

Our problem was that they were so busy being good boys and girls - "We can't do that to the passengers." Now many of them understand that all that self-sacrifice was for naught. The librarian at Cornell once said, "You know I keep hearing you're going to bite the hand that feeds you? Well maybe if you bite it a little harder it will feed you more."

It's very difficult because I still say that in order to get workers off their asses on their own behalf things have to get awfully bad. That's the unfortunate part - that we have to allow them to get that bad before people will do something.

**PK:** It says a little about how well we think of ourselves.

**CD:** No self esteem. It's the biggest problem that we've had. The company has told us for years, "Well, where are you going to get a job that pays like this? You're nothing but a glorified waitress."

This strike, for many of our membership, was a tremendous morale booster after the initial shock. Our members are for the most part very well educated. It's probably the most over-educated work force in the country.

People went out and had no problems getting jobs in brokerage houses, middle management, starting their own businesses, charitable functions. A lot of them have said to me that it was the best thing that ever happened to them in their lives.

## EASTERN STRIKE

**PK:** I've been following the Machinists' strike and I was wondering if you saw any similarities between your situation and theirs.

**CD:** Certainly. Their case, if possible, is even worse. They have taken massive pay cuts repeatedly over the course of the last eight years, I think, and now they're being asked to take more pay cuts. The company argues that to remain financially viable they have to have labor concessions.

But if you look at the two most profitable carriers - United and American - they have the highest wages in the industry and their employees have never been asked to make wage concessions. So there is no correlation between profitability and labor concessions.

**PK:** One of the news programs said that most airlines shave labor-related costs of about 35%, and since Lorenzo took over Eastern, it's down to 22 or 23%. Were the cuts that they asked for at TWA as bad?

**CD:** The difference was we took ours in one fell swoop. They imposed a 22% actual pay concession, but they implemented a change in the method of calculation so actually it amounted to more like a 40% wage cut which was noticeable.

**PK:** The pilots had a notorious reputation for crossing the picket lines of other airline unions. Do you have an opinion on what may have changed their minds this time?

**CD:** I think Eastern has their back to the wall. This is my humble opinion but I think that they are worried that eventually he will separate them from their jobs and it's only a matter of time and method. I think that they decided if they're going to go down they are going to take him with them.

**PK:** Bush came out and said that if the court doesn't ban secondary picketing, he's going to go for legislation.

**CD:** TWA got a temporary restraining order against us enjoining us from engaging in any sort of work stoppage in the event that TWA was picketed and it specifically cited our three national officers and three of our members. It was a bad order and we're challenging it.

As for legislation outlawing secondary boycott, if that isn't enough to rally labor in this country, I don't know what is. Labor in general rationalized the destruction of PATCO saying its strike was illegal. How can you rationalize the President of the country taking a stand that something that is legal is going to be done away with as well. I am genuinely hopeful that if Bush makes good on his threat, organized labor in this country will take a united stand against it.

**PK:** I heard that Eastern had made their ticket agents phone their families and tell them that if they didn't go to work the company was going to go bankrupt and they were going to lose their homes or they wouldn't let them work.

**CD:** That's an efficient use of manpower.

**PK:** I made a note that you're the first union I've ever seen to raise funds by selling cookbooks.

**CD:** Rule #1: Be quick to seize opportunity.

**PK:** Do you have any thoughts about problems facing labor or strategies that labor should be focusing on in order to advance their goals and to win the hearts and minds of society as a whole?

**CD:** Pardon me, where's my soapbox. My biggest gripe about organized labor is that we

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haven't educated the American public. Nobody knows anything about labor history. You get a little bit about child labor. In all the years of education other than specific labor history courses, what did you ever read in your history books? You heard about the merger of the AFL and the CIO. That was it.

Every history book I had in high school - I grew up believing that people in unions were communists and thugs. And communism in the staid conservative midwest was like being a leper but that is the label that you got when I was kid - anybody in labor was a thug. And they were blue collar, like there was something wrong with being blue collar. Like there's something wrong with going out and doing an honest days work for an honest day's wage. There's something wrong. The American public has gotten the wrong message. What is wrong with being a worker?

Now granted we don't have the ear of the American public like industry does, but the most effective thing that I can think of is education - elementary education, secondary education. Somehow labor has to get its message into the education system cause it's not there.

**PK:** They mentioned on television that the Machinists talked to Icahn to ask him if he'd buy Eastern. If they come and ask you for advice for dealing with Carl Icahn, what would you tell them?

**CD:** The devil has two sons.

Pat Klees

