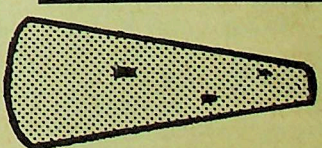


SHOT TOWER



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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

JUNE, 1971

WILDCAT at ARMCO:

“THEY DIDN'T BELIEVE WE WOULD DO IT . . . ”

— Armco Striker

The wildcat strike at Armco Steel was not a spur of the moment thing nor just a handful of discontented workers, but something that had been building for many years. Armco Steel, through their heartless tactics towards their employees and the union's do-nothing attitude on the local level brought on the strike.

Under the 3 year no-strike contract Armco has eliminated jobs and cut job class rates, but the workers have no say whatsoever about these contract violations, and if they voice disapproval they are ignored.

The fact that the melt shop workers were ignored when they could not accept the changes, like they were just slaves, was the last straw and they decided to walk out.

One job class cut involved a crane; air conditioning was installed in the crane so the company cut the job class two points (reason: improvement of working conditions). They did not mention that at the same time the crane's work had increased 40%!

The newspapers mentioned that only the melt shop walked out. The truth was when the rest of the plant found out the melt shop had walked out 80% of the plant stayed out with them. There were no violent incidents because the men stayed out on their own.

When men are being treated as the men at Armco are it only takes a spark of resistance to make them stand up and fight back.

When the melt shop made the first move the rest of the plant followed because the whole plant was fed up with the way they were being treated.

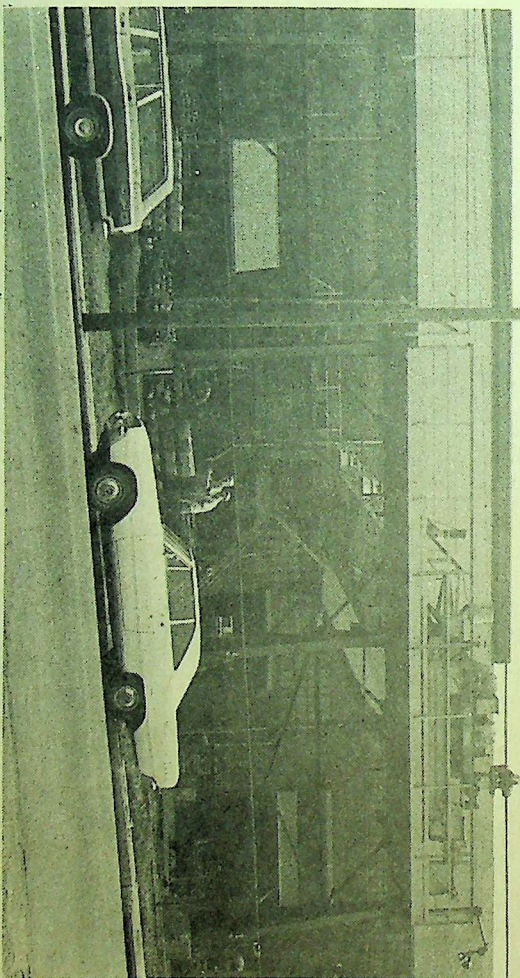
Armco Steel didn't believe we would do it. They didn't believe we had any unity, but they found out different.

After two days Armco had to call in Uncle Sam to make us go back to work with a court injunction.

Armco claims that the changes are



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being made due to modernization. They don't tell that they make better and more expensive steel at a faster rate and that if you have less time to do a 3 man job you sure as hell don't need a man eliminated from that job.

Armco Steel and the Federal Government joined hands to make the men go back to work then, but on August 1st when the contract is up the workers of Armco Steel and all

steel mills will stay out until all local issues are settled. Then we will be able to show that the people run the country and not big business and the Federal Government.

But we can only show strength through unity.

We have to show the do-nothing unions and the companies that we mean business and we have to do it through action.

FROM AN ARMCO STEELWORKER

SHOP TALK



Painterworker Raps

I used to work at Lenmar Lacquers, a small shop in southwest Baltimore. About two weeks ago I was cleaning a tank when I splashed some solvent in my eye by accident. As it does in almost all cases, the solvent burned my eyes and forced me to my knees, totally helpless. This had happened to me several times before so it did not surprise me. What did shock me was that it could have easily caused me to fall into the open tank! I could have been blinded for life or killed by the fumes if I had fallen in there. Another possibility is that the agitator might have cut me to shreds if the safety switch had been defective! (I discovered a little while ago that the safety switch on another one of the tanks didn't work. Although it was turned on, the blade still turned about three times before it stopped. When questioned about having it fixed, the boss said, "That's the way it's supposed it work.")

As a result of this experience I quit my job soon after. However, what happened that day was not the only reason I quit; there are many other examples of workers having their health ruined. Every chemical emits poisonous fumes—I've often felt quite dizzy and nauseous from breathing them; Yet the company only has about four exhaust fans. On hot, sticky summer days there is almost no ventilation, and even when a breeze does blow it brings many fumes with it. Every chemical can also burn the eyes and cause partial or total blindness if not washed out immediately. Just the fumes of some of them can cause blindness. This danger is stated on the caution labels of every container, and yet almost none of the workers are provided with safety goggles.

Lenmar didn't care if I froze to death either. They never bothered to install a heating system in their warehouse, although workers still had to work there during the winter. In the wing in which I worked, when the heating system broke down, they put off repairing it until after winter was over. There was always something else that had to be done first.

The bosses there were always talking about safety, making sure you use groundwires, etc. They said they didn't want fires which would harm us. The only thing they care about is the cost of repairing re-damaged machinery, since they can always replace their workers.

One of the reasons Lenmar can get away with these conditions is be-

cause almost all the workers there are black. They're forced to work for very low wages in rotten conditions because their chances of getting a decent job elsewhere are almost nonexistent. They all have families, so they can't afford to quit.

Another reason for conditions at Lenmar is that even when the government has laws to guard workers against poisonous chemicals, they are seldom enforced.

WARNING! FLAMMABLE!

MAY CONTAIN TOXIC OR HARMFUL INGREDIENTS

Keep away from heat, sparks and open flame.
Use with adequate ventilation.
Avoid prolonged contact with skin and breathing of vapor or spray mist.
Close container after each use.
Do not take internally.
If swallowed, CALL A PHYSICIAN.

INTENDED FOR INDUSTRIAL USE ONLY

At The Point

In the sintering plant at Sparrows Point, you can always hear complaints about conditions. Aside from the sometimes intolerable heat and ever-present dust, we are often forced to work around huge open machines and running conveyor belts that are easy to get caught in.

Some of our work areas are several stories up on narrow catwalks and around large holes. On the ground there are heavy equipment trucks and trains which are often carrying molten slag. The drivers never look out for you and never stop for workers in the way. The trains usually spill slag that splatters a ways from the track. In

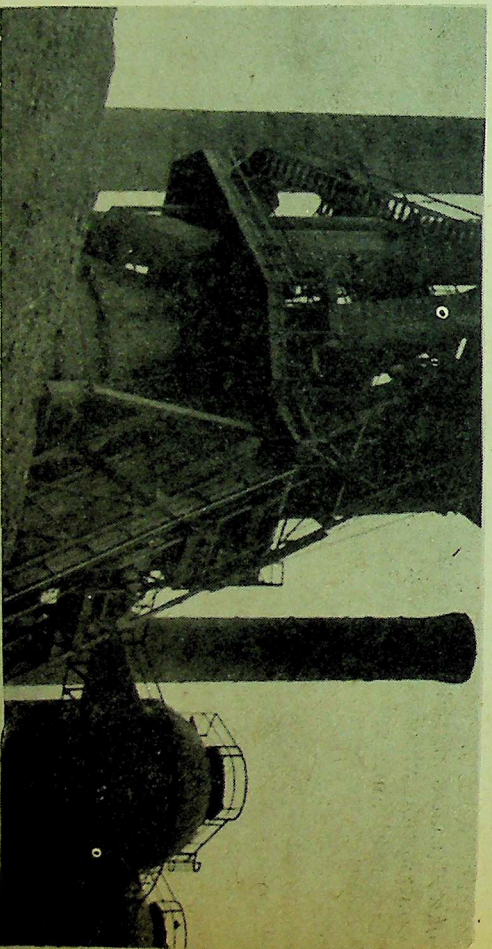
many areas we are subject to red hot sparks and cinders falling on us.

These hazards are bad enough in themselves, but they are made much worse by blinding steam and dust. Whenever there is any wind, dust and dirt blow right in our eyes despite safety glasses. The dust is so thick it blinds. Men fall into holes and get hurt on equipment which they can't see. Whenever there is an eye injury, the company men try to say that the worker had his glasses off. In general, they try to place the blame on the workers' carelessness.

Eyes are not the only things hurt by the dust. We have respirators to protect our lungs, but after wearing them for a while in heavy dust, you can blow dirt out of your nose for hours. Most of the dust is very irritating to the skin, and many of us have broken out in rashes because of it.

The foremen are always giving us safety talks, but it is obvious that the company doesn't care about our health, as long as their profits keep up. We are told to work around running equipment that should be shut down for safety. Faulty equipment shooting out particles is not repaired. When the right safety materials for certain jobs are not available, we are told to work anyway. Any worker can tell you ways that the plant could have been designed more sensibly and safely.

These are only a few of the complaints that can be made. Still, they are enough to show that in many respects conditions are no better than they were in the days before the union. We are obviously going to have to forget about relying on the B.S. Corp. or the present union officials if we want anything close to decent human working conditions.



I'm a househusband. I take care of our two small girls while my wife works. When we first decided to switch jobs and see how the other half lives, I knew it wouldn't be a cake-walk. After two months of screaming kids and endless hours of housecleaning, shopping, washing clothes, doing dishes and cooking, I would do anything to have my old factory job back again.

My daily routine begins at 7:45AM when my wife leaves for work. Our ten-month old, who is being weaned, wakes up. I get up and coax her back to sleep before she wakes her sister. 8:30 or so the two year old is awake. I get up, change her pamper and rescue the ten-month old who has just woken up again and is screaming her little head off. I get dressed and dress the older girl while the little one squalls and tries to climb up the back of my leg. I can't find my daughter's shoes and we spend ten minutes while the baby and I crawl around underneath assorted beds, tables, and chairs until I locate the shoes. Depending on my mood and whether the kids kept me awake the night before, I curse and blindly kick things. I decide with a vengeance to nail my daughter's shoes to the side of the bed from now on.

We go downstairs and I get my eldest daughter some cereal and orange slices and fix a bottle for the baby. Sometimes the little one will consent to being strapped into her high chair but often she acts like one of those "Klingon" creatures from Star Trek. Now, on days when I'm not rushing to get the two year-old off to daycare all goes pretty well. But three or four days a week I have to race thru the dressing routine and fight with my daughter about combing her hair and hunt for her shoes and her hair ribbon and dress the baby in about 30 minutes flat. Then I bundle them into the car and it's off to school for the two year-old.

By now it's about 9AM and I've been awake more or less since 7:45 AM and I still haven't had my coffee. I drive back home with the baby who is waiting for her bottle. I feed her a bottle and some baby food and put her down so I can get my coffee and some breakfast. No dice. She wants to be held and stages a loud protest to let me know. I ignore her but somehow it's not much of a coffee break.

It's 10:30 — time to go shopping. Back into the car and over to the market with the baby in my "back pack" (that's an indian papoose-type contraption which my wife got - they are real arm-savers). Shopping done it's close to noon. Home, I walk the baby to sleep and if I lived right that week she naps for an hour. Sometimes though, she's awake a gain in 15 minutes. It's now 12:30 and I've been up and going full-tilt about 4 hours and I'm just getting my first break. Even my last foreman had more mercy.

My hour passes so quickly my nerves are barely unwound when the baby is awake again. I start to give



DIARY OF A MAD HOUSEHUSBAND

her a bottle — no good, she wants to be held. We compromise and play on the living room floor for a while. Then I snatch a sandwich and feed her some fruit and cookies. Somehow it is already 3:15PM and I still have a laundry to do, only it's already time to pick up my daughter. It's 3:45 when we get back home. I feed the girls a snack and play with them a while and start getting ready to cook dinner. The dishes have to be done first though. My wife does them once in awhile, but she's usually too beat. My elder daughter helps me by splashing water and silverware on the floor and the baby tries to pull all the hair off my left leg. Meanwhile, I've forgotten to take the laundry out of the washer. The washing-machine leaks. I dash into the basement which is flooding.

5PM. My wife comes home. Suddenly, without warning I feel very tired. The last thing I want to do is cook or watch the kids, I start dinner.

I notice that as we sit down to eat about 6PM that my day is 10 hours long now and I've still got at least 2 more hours to go and maybe more. About this time of course, my daughters get a little tired and cranky around the edges. I begin to get a little tired and cranky around the edges too. A dinner-time tantrum suddenly makes me world-weary and I seem to age about twenty years.

After dinner, if we eat early enough, the girls play for awhile and

I get my second real break of the day with my coffee and my paper. Then whoever has more energy left gives the 2 year-old a bath and puts her to bed. I always feel that it's unfair to make my wife put the 2year old to bed since she's usually pretty tired herself. But some days I just can't take another 5 minutes of wall-to-wall kids, and I throw in the towel. By 9PM the 2 year-old is tucked away. Her baby sister is still going strong though. We watch tv and take turns playing with her. About 10 PM she falls asleep and my wife and I actually get a whole hour to ourselves.

About 11:30 the baby wakes up again and I walk her until she goes back to sleep. Sometimes that means 12:30. I get ready to turn in finally about 12:30 or 1 PM. emotionally drained from the day's activities. I have just put in a 14-hour work day. I've had two one-hour breaks and an hour of socializing with my wife.

I look around the living room, it's a shambles. Zombie-like I pick up clothes, toys, bits of peanut butter and jelly sandwiches from the rug. Before I turn out the lights I notice the garbage. I step out into the cool darkness of our rear yard with the garbage tucked under my arm. It's the high point of my day.

I think every guy should try being a househusband. It would change a lot of bad attitudes society has filled our heads with about women.

WOMEN

WOMAN PRINTER GETS

Q. Why don't you just start by telling me how you became a printer?

A. I worked for _____ for over a year. While I was working there I was put in the pressroom. I ran a 1250 Multilith and also shot plates. I was able to do everything by the time I left.

Q. How many people worked in your shop?

A. There were five full-time pressmen. They were all men in their early twenties. We all ran 1250's.

Q. What were the conditions like on the job?

A. Well, I liked the job itself but I was given alot of static by the other workers because I was the first woman that was ever put on a press there. For a while it was a novelty and they laughed and joked about it because they didn't expect me to stay on. They expected me to quit in aday or so and go running back to the col-lator...but I worked really hard and picked up the skill fairly fast.

Q. About how long did it take you to learn how to run a press?

A. Well, it doesn't take very long to learn how to run a press. I could do that in a few days. But to build up your speed, to put out good copy in very little time does take awhile.

As time went on I got better and better until I'd say about four or five monthsafter I first started I was considered a pretty decent presswoman.

Q. Did they try to harrass you?

A. Oh, yes, they tried all kinds of tricks --- they would put my machine out of adjustment when I went out to lunch and I'd come back and it wouldn't feed right or something else would be wrong with it...I remember one time. One of the pressman quit and a new pressman came in. His first day he saw me running the press and he was really obviously taken back to see a woman operating a press... he watched me for a minute. Later on he had some trouble with his press. You know, you have to learn all the little quirks about your own press and so I was helping him with his and he felt really embarrassed but he was trying to make the grade himself because he was on probation so he actually listened to what I said...because he had to! Not because he wanted to. And I helped him out a little, you know, showed him a few things about his press.

This is the first in a series of interviews with women on the job. In the factory, office or in the home, the problems they face are largely ignored or misunderstood. While their labor is indispensable to the economy, women on the whole are the most underpaid members of the labor force. The lower wages and poorer working conditions generally afforded to women are compounded by the discrimination they receive on the job by many men workers.

In this interview a young presswoman relates how she "came up through the ranks" to face a lot of old, ingrained attitudes in her male co-workers, and how it hurt their common struggle.

Q. How come you had to go over and show him instead of the others?

A. Oh, none of the others would --- there was this tremendous production rivalry between the workers there, and none of the other workers wanted to give him a chance because it made them look like better pressmen than this newcomer, which in fact

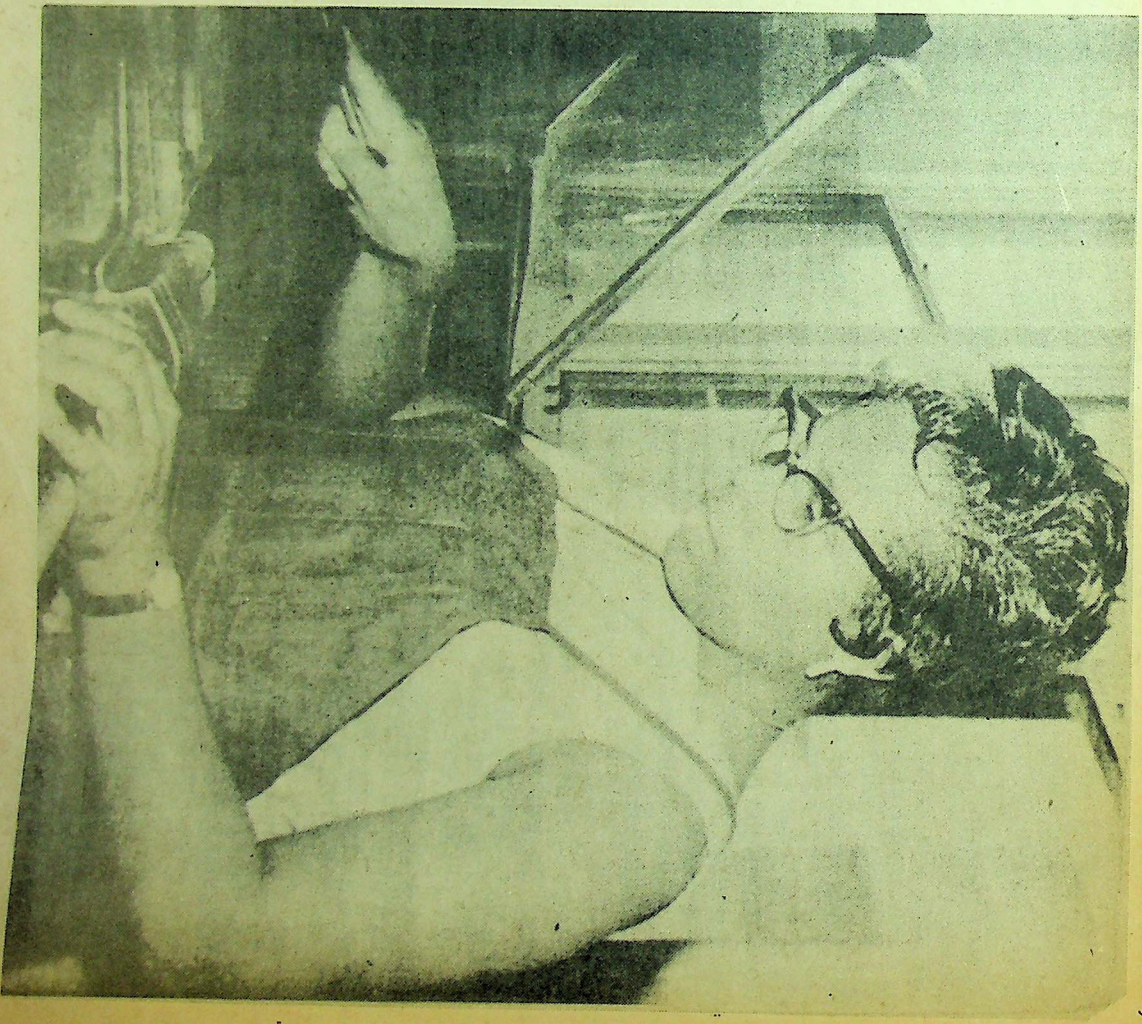
wasn't true. They were always looking out for themselves, generally, you know.

Q. Did any of the pressmen eventually change their attitudes about you?

A. Yes, a little... they had to acknowledge after a while that I was a good presswoman...but it was kind of a grudging acknowledgement because they were really resentful. We had worksheets and at the end of the day, everyone would look at everybody elses worksheet and they used to look at mine and you could see that they were pretty annoyed because here's a mere girl doing what they consider to be a highly skilled job, you know... It made them feel that they weren't quite as "professional" as they thought they were because a mere woman could do it. Still, they thought I was an exception, a freak or an accident. They used to tell me that I had no business on a press.

Q. Did you ever call them on that?

A. Yes, we got into some pretty tremendous arguments. They'd say that you have to be agile, that you have to have a feel for machines,



AT WORK

STATIC FROM "THE BOYS"

you know, that it's not just pushing buttons, it's having a feel for certain things, ink and water balance and things like that and if anything went wrong I was helpless, which wasn't true because I could usually fix my own machine when anything went wrong.

Q. I worked as a printer's helper and I heard a lot of pressmen say: "Well, women just couldn't do the work... well they might be able to do the work, but actually they don't want to, and besides it's heavy work, some things they just can't do."

A. That's not true because the only physical labor in running a press is moving paper and the kind of paper we used was just simple eight and a half by eleven stock which came in boxes of ten reams and anyone who weighed about 120 or more could carry a box... I could carry a box with no trouble.

Q. How did the women in the office react to running a press?

A. I broke the barrier there--I was the first woman to work a press. At first the other women in the office thought I was crazy because I would want to run a machine... but then they started seeing that I was having more fun because I didn't have to stay in the office and do paper work. Several other girls wanted to try it so I was told to teach one other girl to print and she's still there now.

Q. How much were you making?

A. I was making two dollars an hour which was not very much.

Q. How much were the men making?

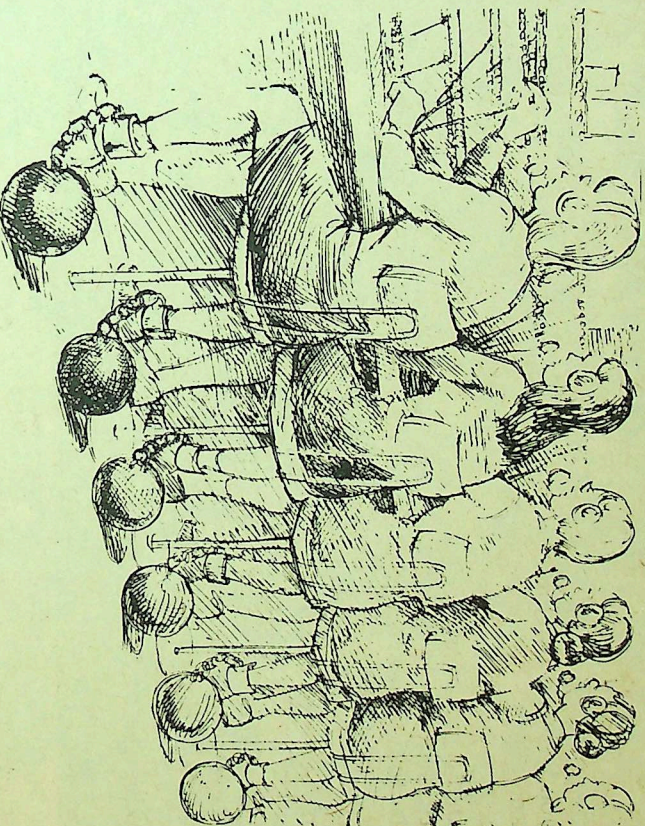
A. Well, they were on a different scale. They were making any where from \$2.50 an hour up.

Q. Why were they on a different scale?

A. Because they were full-time State employees... and I was temporary so they could pay me anything they wanted.

Q. Was there a lot of favoritism on the job?

A. Yes. You see, they had three basic categories of work, the short runs or dailies that a person could do 25 or 30 of in a day. The long runs were considered the "gravy" jobs because you just turned on your press and sat down after you got it going and could do whatever you felt. The boss had a favorite



and he used to give him all the gravy jobs.

Q. Didn't all the other pressmen object?

A. Everybody resented it but there wasn't anything they could do because they could only grumble so much, you know, without getting in trouble.... I tried to organize a walkout there, it was partially successful. See, they had one foreman who was out a lot he ran around at night and couldn't make it in in the morning so he wasn't, there two out of every five working days. When he wasn't there the highest printer in seniority was to take his place. That meant he not only had to do all his normal work, but he had to run the shop as well, which is more or less a full time job. I suggested that because had to do all this extra work [redacted] was the black printer that it always fell to), that we should all take sick-leave for a couple of days. They wanted to do it, but they weren't sure that I'd go along with it. See I wasn't a full-time printer, and they couldn't see that I had anything to gain! By not working, I wouldn't get paid sick leave like the rest... but they did it anyway for two days. They were afraid to do it any longer because they'd lose their jobs.

Q. Did that straighten things out?

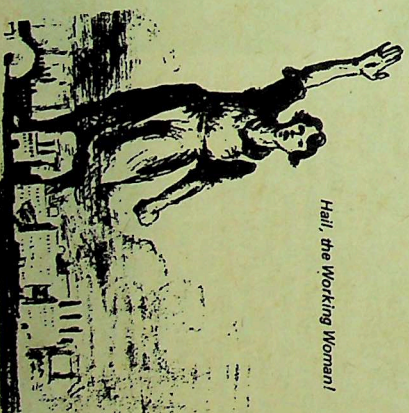
A. No, not really. Well you see what they did is they called the foreman in and told him he couldn't be absent so much or he'd lose his job. They didn't make any provisions for paying more money for taking on two jobs. There's still a lot of bad feeling about that.

Q. Did the boss ride people alot?

A. Yes, see the manager's salary was based on how much profit the shop made each quarter, so naturally he was always on our asses. He even used us to do his private jobs. He had his own private customers that he would do work for at cheaper rates because he didn't have to pay labor costs or supplies. Everyone hated this and hated to do his work but there wasn't anything you could do really. He would even ask them to work 3 or 4 hours overtime, and they more or less had to. The pressman on probation had to... he didn't have any choice, and it was made clear to the others that if they didn't take on these jobs, they wouldn't advance to the next highest level.

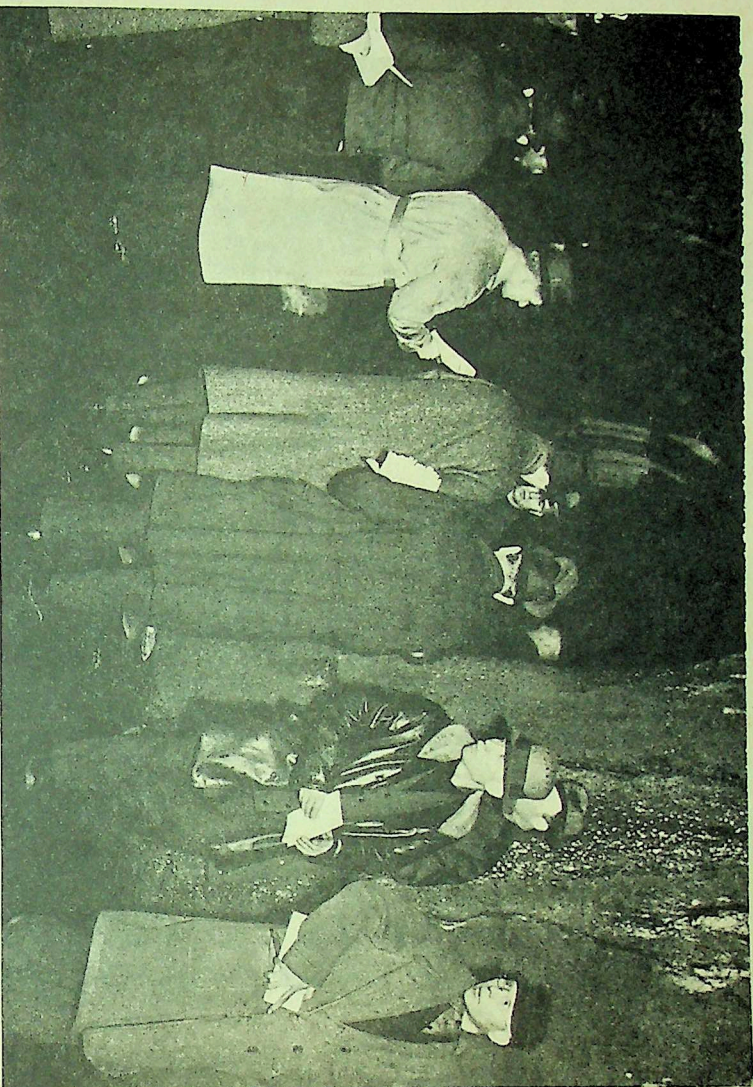
Q. Didn't any of this ever come out in the papers?

A. No, this kind of thing has been going on for years. It's nothing new. The thing that made [redacted], the black printer, angry was that he did a few outside jobs for somebody, and he was caught and put on probation. It made him mad because everybody in the place knew that the boss was doing the same thing all the time.



Hell, the Working Woman!

1937: THE LITTLE



of the company spy systems, anyone who objected would be out his job and black-listed.

RISE OF THE CIO

On Memorial Day 1937, a crowd of steel workers and their families moved in a holiday, festive mood across a field toward Republic Steel's Southside Chicago plant. Moments later 10 workers lay dead and a hundred and one wounded, shot down by Chicago policemen firing at point blank range. This was the 1937 Republic Steel massacre. It set the stage for the defeat of the strike against "Little Steel." ("Little Steel" was the misleading name given to a group of big independent steel companies--Bethlehem, Republic, Inland, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and Weston Steel.)

What were the forces that led to that terrible day in 1937?

In 1936-37, steel workers were fighting to build a union in steel; fighting and winning. In the summer of 1936 the Steel Workers Organizing Committee had been formed by the CIO leaders under pressure from rank and file steel workers. By November 1936, 125,000 workers had joined SWOC.

All this would have seemed incredible a few years earlier. For almost 50 years steel had fought off unions. From its very birth in the 1890's Steel was violently opposed to industrial unionism. The powerful Amalgamated Association of Iron & Tin Workers, which had successfully organized the skilled iron crafts in the 70's and 80's was crushed after the bloody Homestead strike in 1892. It would take a mass movement of the whole working class threatening virtual revolution to get a union in Steel.

During the next twenty years, 38 workers died in a series of bitter strikes for union recognition; 11 at McKees Rocks in 1909, 22 in the Great Steel Strike of 1919. For almost 40 years Steel remained unorganized.

In the 30's Steel workers were among the most exploited workers in America. The 12-hour day was still common in many mills after 1919 -- 12 hours of hot, dangerous, exhausting labor. In 1935 wages averaged only \$560 a year. The minimum needed to maintain a family was \$1,500.

The corporations had total control over their workers. They owned the Steel towns where workers had to live -- the houses they lived in, the stores where they shopped (often with scrip), the newspapers they read -- and the corporations ran them however they wanted. Because

The sit-down fever spread -- in every trade and industry workers stayed in their places of work. Chrysler workers, tire builders, garbage collectors, hotel employees, saleswomen, bindery workers -- one thousand sit-down strikes were reported by the press in 1936 and 1937.

The Depression and the great national strike movement which began in 1934 changed everything. Industrial workers all over the country began to fight back with general strikes and mass sit-downs. In San Francisco the whole city was shut down for three days in support of striking longshoremen. That same year saw more than 450,000 textile workers stage a general strike after 16 workers were killed on picket lines. In 1935 1,150,000 workers went on strike for union recognition and improved working conditions. From 1934 to 1936, 88 workers lost their lives in strikes.

Workers were forming unions along industrial lines in steel, auto, glass, rubber, and electricals. The AFL tried to check this rising sea of militance. They sent out organizers to try and sign up workers with craft unions to prevent strikes and stop the movement towards industrial unions. But the workers were not to be denied. After first signing with the AFL, thousands of disillusioned auto workers later tore up their AFL cards and burned them in huge bonfires.

These sit-downs infuriated employers. It was impossible for police or troops to attack workers in the plant without damaging valuable machinery. Workers could take and keep control of the plant -- the heart of the owners' power -- and by doing so, could win more from the bosses in a few hours than the old AFL unions could gain by years of "labor statesmanship" in across the table" conferences.

In steel, a rank and file revolt was threatening to take over the company unions. Neither the New Deal government nor the AFL leadership seemed to be able to stop the strike movement. Things came to a head in the Fall of 1935. John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, saw that the AFL's blind policy of conservative craft unionism was destroying its hold on the working class. Revolutionary ideas were spreading among the workers. Either Lewis and other dissident AFL bureaucrats would have to organize auto, rubber

and steel workers into mass industrial unions or someone else would. Mass industrial unions led by revolutionaries were a threat both to the corporations and to Lewis' own power. By launching the CIO it was his intention to save conservative pro-capitalist unionism. Despite all the smear campaigns of the employers a workers revolution against capitalism was the farthest thing from his mind.

Lewis, and Phil Murray, the head of SWOC had planned an attack on the union-busting steel industry. The CIO rank and file had its own ideas. Before Lewis and Murray could make good their plans, auto workers in three GM plants in Elmhurst, Michigan took things into their own hands and sat down on December 30, 1936.

While GM funned, workers all over the country watched and waited to see if a company as powerful as this one could be defeated. Finally after 44 days GM gave in -- a union contract was signed -- a giant had fallen; 140,000 auto workers had won.

Within a few weeks after the auto workers won at Flint, SWOC membership jumped to 200,000 --- the steel workers had seen the way Sit-Down tactics worked.

Hoping to avoid a militant strike in steel, Lewis held secret talks with Myron Taylor, head of U.S. Steel. Taylor needed a contract because he too desperately wanted to avoid a rerun of Flint. Also, with the war on the horizon, England was anxious to buy armor plating if production could be guaranteed, involving large profits for US Steel.

In return for union recognition and a minimum daily wage of \$5, Lewis signed a no-strike pledge. Without consulting the men on the shop floor Lewis surrendered their most powerful weapon.

Informally, Lewis and Murray were promising the industry "respectable" unionism. Some employers even began asking SWOC to organize their plants to forestall "labor troubles".

When the US Steel agreement was announced, it came as a shock to some of the steel corporations. Tom Gardner of Republic Steel was particularly incensed, and denounced Taylor as a traitor to the industry. Republic and Bethlehem Steel then formed an alliance with Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, saying that they would make a verbal agreement with the unions but would sign no contract.

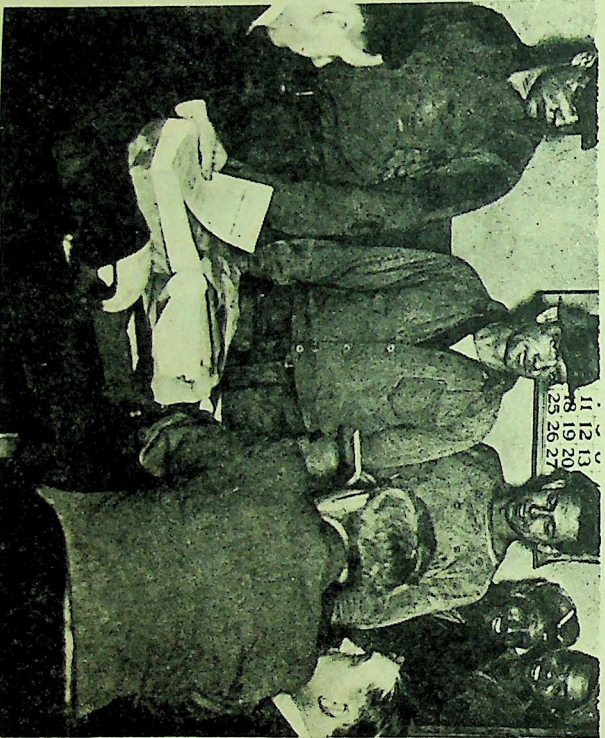
At the beginning of May, Jones and Laughlin Steel balked at signing an agreement they had been negotiating. They broke off contract talks and the men in the main plant at Aliquippa, Pennsylvania went out on strike. The whole town went with them. The police went into hiding. Aliquippa had been a company town too long for the people not to see this strike as a means of getting back some of their pride which had been ground down by years of intimidation and brutality.

After 36 hours, J&L signed; the strike was won. As the scabs filed out of the plant they were cursed. Several were beaten.

Meanwhile Republic Steel laid off several hundred union members at their Massillon and Canton plants in Ohio. On May 5 the company closed down the tin plate division of their Canton, Ohio works which was 90% its mills in Massillon, Ohio. Workers there went out on strike without waiting to hear from the union.

LITTLE STEEL STRIKE BEGINS

The fight against "Little Steel" was on. It quickly spread through 7



11 12 13
18 19 20
25 26 27

J&L workers vote 2 to 1 for SWOC

THE STEEL STRIKE



Chicago. Memorial Day Sunday, 1937.

A peaceful meeting of Republic Steel workers. After the meeting, an impromptu parade across the stubble fields . . .

states, involving 83,000 men. The initial walkouts were almost 100% effective. But the companies had been preparing for a strike. According to the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, starting as early as 1934, the steel industry had bought millions of dollars worth of guns, ammunition, and tear gas. In the first week of June, 1937 the companies spent \$43,901.88 on arms for the coming battle. They were also mov-

ing to line up the forces of "law and order" on their side. All across America an effective propaganda campaign was conducted by radio and newspaper against the "Red Menace" of the CIO.

MASSACRE AT REPUBLIC
On Memorial Day, 1937 the workers on strike at Republic Steel's Southside Chicago plant decided to hold a protest meeting and then

picket the plant en masse -- Union leaders told the workers that Chicago New Deal Mayor Kelly had said it was their right to picket. They were completely unprepared for what happened. The police had just finished eating lunch inside the plant. They marched out in front of the factory gates and fired on the approaching workers. In a moment there was a heap of bodies within a few feet of their line. Men, women

and children turned and fled, but the police chased them, attacking with clubs and tear gas. They ran down an old man and beat his head in. They swung their clubs at people trying to help their wounded comrades. They arrested hundreds, throwing dead and wounded alike into paddy wagons. At the hospital, there weren't enough doctors to treat all the wounded. Union supporters volunteered to help them; police drove away the volunteers. The ten who died were all shot in the back.

On June 19, police fired tear gas point-blank at women and children picketing in front of Republic's plant in Youngstown, Ohio. Men came out of the union hall to help them and of the union hall to help them and were caught in a deadly crossfire from guns in the mills where the company police were hiding. Two people were killed, hundreds of workers and their families wounded or gassed. Deputies drove around Youngstown that night, firing at random.

But despite police terror, workers prepared themselves for a battle. They were back on the picket lines the next night, by the thousands this time, ready to face whatever was necessary in the struggle for union recognition. But there would be no battle. Union organizers announced that President Roosevelt was sending in the National Guard to keep the mills closed! They urged the massed thousands of workers to go home. The Guard arrived the next day. Workers welcomed them thinking they were there to help. Instead, 225 union members were arrested and their civil liberties taken away. Soon after that, with the help of the Guard, the mills were reopened with scabs!

Even after the Memorial Day Massacre and the Youngstown killings CIO leaders still refused to arm workers or call for mass working class support as the GM sit-downers



STEEL HISTORY

CONTINUED

had done on June 30 with such success. Instead they made vain appeals to Roosevelt to stop the reign of terror in Little Steel. Roosevelt replied: "A plague on both your houses."

The terror in Steel continued. On July 11, in Massillon, two workers were killed and many more wounded when the "special" police force armed with submachine guns had an attack of nervous trigger-fingers. The same night the special forces broke down the doors of homes and boarding houses and dragged men and women from their beds, arresting 166 steel workers. The only weapon they could find was a pocket knife.

Throughout the strike, similar events occurred. SWOC had simply not prepared the workers to defend against company violence. Everywhere they were ready and willing to fight, but their "leaders" assured them that the New Deal public officials were "Labor's Friends", that the National Guard troops were sent in to help them -- these troops who were the ones who broke the strikes, smashed picket lines, arrested strikers and escorted scabs into the mills.

SWOC leadership had not wanted the Little Steel strike to begin with and once it began, they led the workers unwillingly, one eye on the employers and one on their own rank and file.

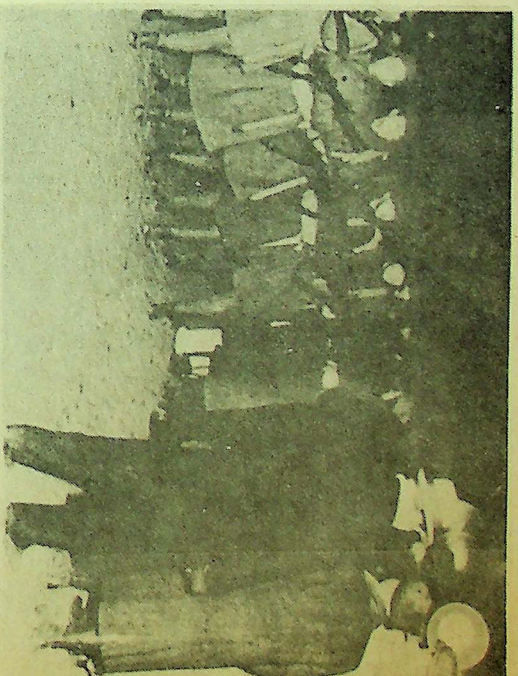
In Flint, auto workers built their own rank and file organization.

They relied on their own strength, not that of the New Deal government. They were armed and ready to fight GM to the death. At Flint the workers could not be beaten.

The defeat in Little Steel was the CIO's first big setback. From then on the CIO and the steel workers were forced onto the defensive. The working class never regained the momentum of 1934-36. The Memorial Day massacre came a bare three months after the victory of the Flint workers over GM and the signing of U.S. Steel to a union contract with SWOC. The massacre and the terror that followed was the employers answer to the Flint sit-down. Neither the CIO nor the steelworkers were able to build an organization that could defeat the ruthless violence of the Barons of Little Steel and the strike was lost. The independents of the Little Steel group were not unionized until 1942.

The struggle against Little Steel saved the steelworkers union from complete destruction. But the USWA (United Steel Workers of America) the union that was born out of the heroic SWOC struggles of '37 fell far short of the steel workers' dreams. From the beginning SWOC and later USWA were bureaucratic machines run from the top by Phil Murray. From its birth the union was saddled with a crippling No-Strike clause. It was not until 1942, five years after the founding of SWOC that Murray even consented to hold union elections!

Still, SWOC belonged to the rank and file, because they had spilled their blood for it, starved for it, went jobless for it. With the union came basic rights such as job security, grievance process, protection against company harassment for union activity. The union meant an end to the open terror of the



company towns, an end to many of the humiliations steel workers had borne silently for generations. It meant higher wages, although that did not seem to be the main issue. A measure of control over conditions on the job, this was the union to the men in the mills.

R.R. Brooks in his book on the early years of the SWOC "AS STEEL GOES" captured the mood and spirit of those times:

"A fabricating company, a leader in its field, brought itself to the verge of bankruptcy in the process of fighting the union. Finally, it had to sign. The company tried to bring in a competing union. Production dropped from fifty to twelve units an hour. The company tried to wiggle out of vacation commitments. Again production dropped. A concern across the street in an unrelated industry tried to move its machinery

to the South in order to escape a union. The steel workers called off work for the day and from the roof of their plant showered with steel missiles the truckers who tried to move out the machinery. Workers in the steel plant greet their foremen and supervisors with, "Hello, you boot-nosed old _____". In early conferences between the management and the local union committee, a national officer could not make his voice heard above the bawling of invitations to "take your coat off, you S.O.B. We'll settle this outside."

Much has been written about the Flint strike and the heroism of the auto workers; and justly so. But the steel workers and their families were the unsung heroes of the CIO. Despite more than their share of bloody defeats, they never gave up the struggle.

JAMES JOHNSON NEEDED A THOMPSON

James Johnson is a black auto worker. Last July he did what a lot of us have often dreamed of doing but never had the nerve to do. On July 15, 1970, after months of racist harassment, Johnson was fired from his job at Chrysler's Eldon Ave. plant in Detroit. Johnson went home, got his M-1 and a 19-round clip, returned to the plant and shot and killed two foremen! A third worker caught in the line of fire also died.

What pushed Johnson to the breaking point? The previous May the company had forced him to work in a dangerous plant without disability insurance. After his vacation in June of 1970 he came back to work only to find his time card missing. He worked without a time card for a whole month. The company was obviously out to get rid of him. On July 15, another worker with less somberly was given his job. Johnson's

racist foreman told him to bend Drake shoots into a bonding oven -- one of the worst jobs in the plant. The foreman refused to give him proper safety gloves. Johnson refused to work the oven and was fired for "insubordination".

A few weeks ago Johnson was tried for murder. At one point during the trial the entire court -- judge, jury and James Johnson (in handcuffs) took a tour through the Chrysler plant on Eldon Ave. Chrysler spent a week cleaning up the factory. The jury was still so upset by what they had seen that they acquitted him on grounds of "temporary insanity" due to oppressive working conditions. But the judge decided that "if that's the case we will see to it that he spends the rest of his life in an insane asylum." Johnson is currently in a state mental institution.

THE BALLAD OF JAMES JOHNSON: James Johnson needed a Thompson

It was the second shift
of a hot July,
moods would drift
and tension was high,
you could almost feel the clang of steel
you had to choke on factory smoke.

James Johnson came to work,
never a duty known to shirk.
He came undaunted to do his job
and was confronted by a jive ass slob.
He came to do for what he was hired,
and for being Black this man was fired.

He was thrown from the plant
like a human ant.
He was tired, abused and hurt.
For three long years he was Chrysler used
and treated worse than dirt.
So he walked away that summer day,
His fury was great indeed.
For his home was near, his duty clear,
and home he went with speed.

He got his carbine, this man so lean,
and returned to get his due.
For these are times of freedom chimes
and days of slavery through.
He entered the gate, tall and straight,
and nary an eye did turn,
cause the clock of fate was ticking late
for three that had to burn.

Foreman Jones was forty four,
the first to die on Eldon's floor.
Gary Hinz was thirty two;
He had to die for Chrysler too.
Joe Kowalski is in the grave
because Jim Rhoades was a well paid slave.
all three men are in the ground
cause coward Rhoades could not be found.
Just like snakes always sliding
the union long had left for hiding.

The air was filled with deathly odors
as men transformed to human motors.
Quite unable to challenge their run
Brother James threw down his gun,
Now another was faced with years
for Chrysler axles and Bloody gears.

Through with slavery and Breaking his back,
He walked into the security shack.

The squad car wail said country jail
and that's where he was rode.
But once inside he knew genocide
was the hell of this abode.
So being a man of liberty's plan
He thought of actions new.
For nothing tames a man like James
He does what he has to do.

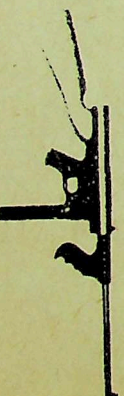
The country slam is the great Goddam,
where Rats and Roaches rule.

and there isn't a trace of Human grace
in this Den of Savage drool.
Brother James exposed these shames
for all to see and hear,
cause the true are strong when fighting wrong
and only the false should fear.

There are those at hand throughout this land
who work and sweat and cry,
While the racist band that gives command
are smirk, unwet and dry.
But there's a coming tide of Johnson pride,
and this is very plain.
Men rise to bravery in times of slavery
and damn the woe and pain.
Men give their breath and challenge death
to see their people gain . . .

Brother James has given his soul;
He even fights from a prison hole,
and though it seems his breed is few
many will do what they have to do.
For where ever workers are under attack
there will be millions of Johnson's
Back to Back.

James Johnson needed a Thompson!



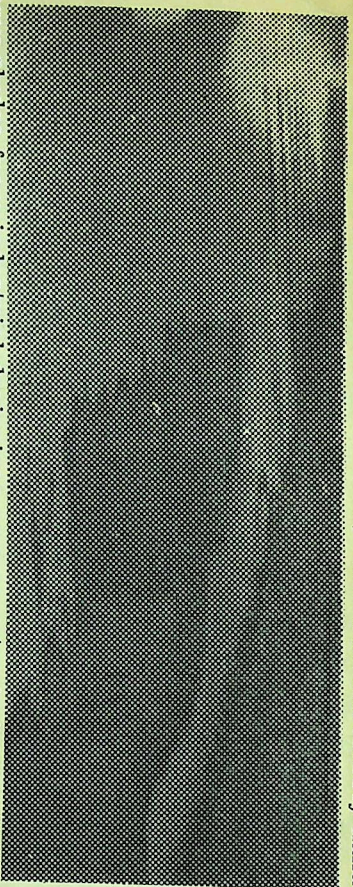
AFTER THE FOX

The polluters in the area of Aurora, Illinois have been sleeping a bit less easily lately. The cause of their fear--The Fox.

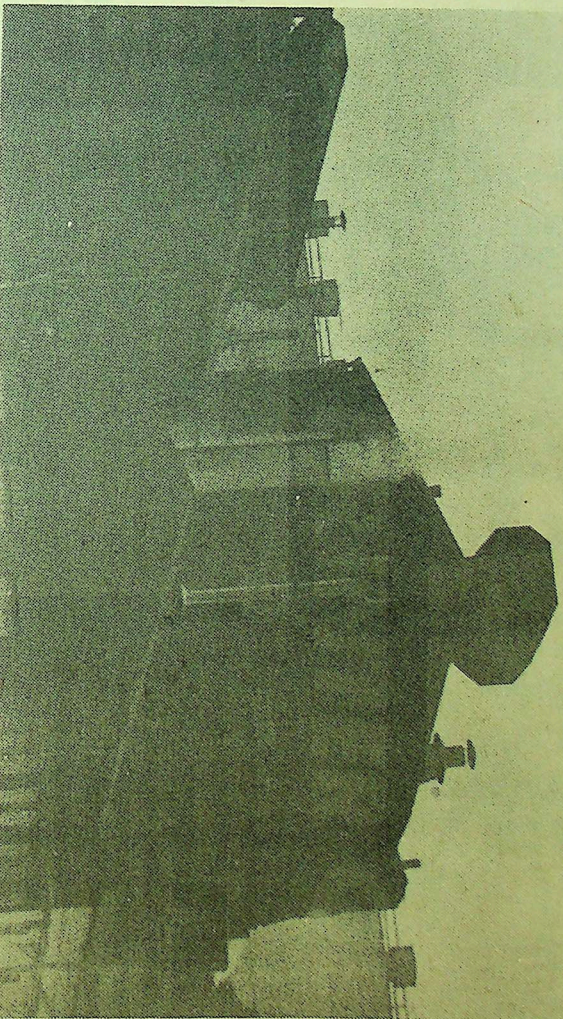
The Fox is a lawbreaker, but so are the targets of his one-man campaign. No one save a few close and sworn-to-secrecy friends know who he is. Not even his family suspects. The Fox--he derived the name from his once favorite fishing river, now a mere flood of industrial waste--lives in Aurora, Illinois. By day he is a mild-mannered working man. But of late he has taken to spending many of his non-working hours in nighttime forays against the more blatant industrial polluters in his area. To date he has:

Deposited dead skunks on the porches of executives of companies responsible for environmental pollution.

Five times sealed off the 42-inch discharge pipe of a soap maker. He used bales of straw, logs, and rocks.



Foamy sludge from industrial drainpipes covers water in inner harbor



Ingenuously overcome one polluters countermeasures (welding drain covers shut) by crawling a quarter of a mile up a sewage pipe to block it.

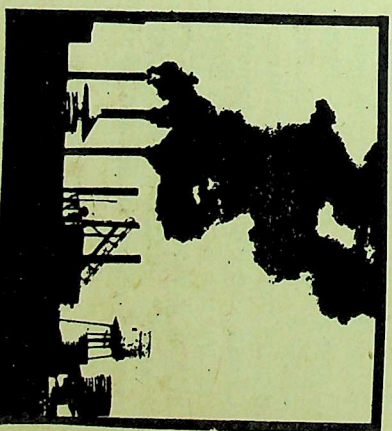
With the help of a friend scaled a towering smokestack and capped it with a metal stopper of his own making.

Posted roadside signs identifying local polluters.

Strode into the reception room of the U. S. Reduction Company in East Chicago, Indiana to dump a fifty pound containerful of that company's raw sewage on the tile floor. As secretaries fled the nauseating odor, The Fox wordlessly handed a

Stulberg was recently asked by a reporter whether he was concerned about all the clothing companies that have gone bankrupt since early 1970. His reply, "... many give up because there is no one else for them to turn the business over to." Stulberg's answer to unemployment among clothing workers: "If people will pay attention to their businesses and especially if they will be lucky enough to get their talented sons involved, it will be good for all of us."

Incidentally, Stulberg's swank ILGWU offices on New York's upper Broady used to belong to none other than the late Edsel Ford when the building was owned by the Ford Motor company. Stulberg even inherited Edsel Ford's old desk. And we all know what happened to the Edsel!



The police are after him, of course, but so far have come up with nothing. The force has claimed it believes The Fox to be more than one man. This is not so, according to Chicago Daily News columnist Mike Royko, who was the first to discover the crusader. But who knows how the idea might spread.

ARMY'S FISHY TALE

A member of the Army Corps of Engineers has stated that the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point pollutes only the air, not the water. The response from one of the workers at Sparrows Point was: "Well I don't know about that, but the only time you can catch fish out here is when the plant has been on strike for eight weeks."

Stoolburger

Louis Stulberg is the president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Stulberg is something else. All across the U. S. tens of thousands of clothing workers, including many here in Baltimore (Raleigh, Morris, Diplomat), are losing their jobs and all this cat can mumble about is the need for better management for clothing manufacturers!



This paper is free. However, contributions are welcome. We would like to hear from you about your job and comments on the paper.

RUNAWAY STEELS

The Steel industry, backed by the steelworkers union (USWA) have been doing a lot of screaming lately about foreign imports. What the union and the steel companies aren't telling steelworkers and the public is that very soon American companies like Kaiser Steel and Armco will be producing steel in Australia and selling it on the American market.

Kaiser and Armco are building a huge, new steel mill in Australia. It is being financed and run in partnership with a number of other foreign steel companies. The new Australian mill will be much more profitable than Armco's and Kaiser's American plants. Australian workers make half the wages American workers do. Also, Kaiser Steel has access to cheap raw materials. It owns vast tracts of rich iron ranges in Australia. The new mill, which will sell steel on the American market, will mean more lay-offs for American workers and super-exploitation for Australian workers.

According to Fortune magazine, Armco has already made plans to ship steel slabs from Australia to Houston for finishing. If the Australian mill is profitable other American steel companies will be sure to follow Armco's and Kaiser's example.

GI'S REVOLT

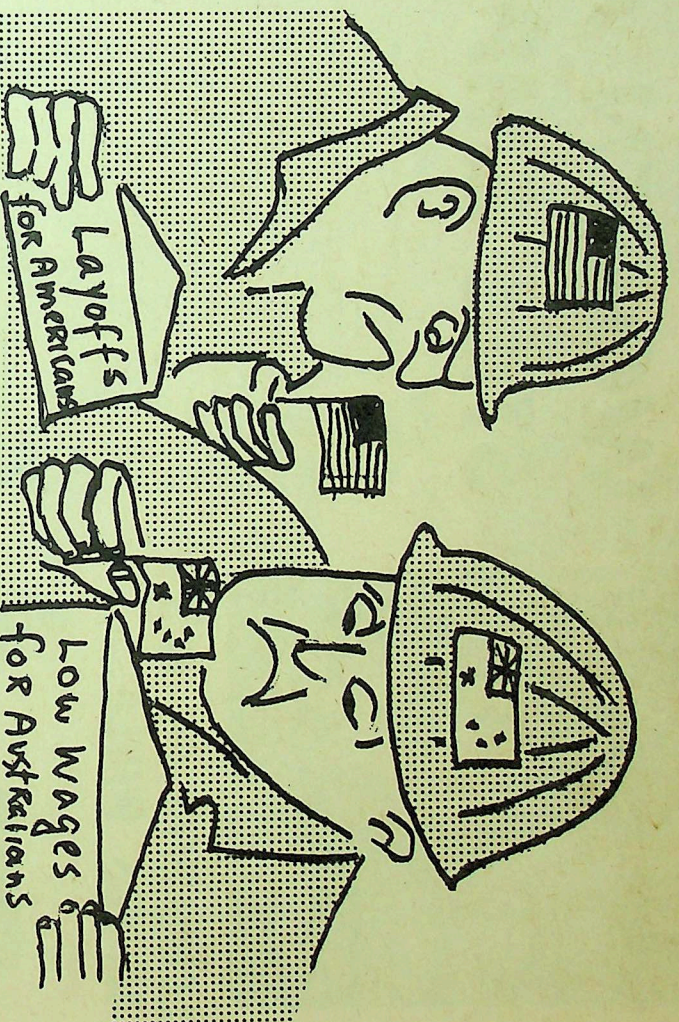
The militance of the GI rebellion against the United States intervention in Indochina has become so widespread that the government and big business press is afraid to admit it to the public. The quotations below are from published interviews with and letters from GIs.

"Six months ago the American headquarters in Saigon stated that desertions were about 10 a day; since then the Army has kept quiet about the number that are now deserting. . . Top secret operations are going on in Vietnam to kill or capture American deserters fighting for the Viet Cong. . . . These operations have been ordered as the problem of troops going AWOL in

DUPONT

All workers should support the fight against DuPont's war lobbying and profiteering, discrimination against black people and women, industrial pollution, planned obsolescence; and fight for workers' control over production.

We should not allow DuPont to treat our resources, our labor, our air and water, and the industry which we built as their private property. All these things belong to the working people and we intend to take them back.



Runaway steel plants are going to be a big problem for steelworkers in the future. By building plants outside of the U.S., the steel companies are not only eliminating jobs here but they are trying to force American and foreign workers to compete with each other.

That's why the USWA's fight to save jobs by stopping foreign imports is such a phony. Actually, the union is just helping the industry pit American steelworkers against Australian, Japanese, and German steelworkers.

the war zone becomes increasingly more serious. . . . Those who join the NLF take with them a detailed knowledge of how to operate American aquipment and how the American units operate. . . . The U.S. Military in Saigon estimates that there are 50 Caucasian Cong. . . . --from an article by a GI.

"The insane policies of out-right aggression against peaceful people and the total disregard for the law and will of the American people is radicalizing me to the point of physical revolt. . . I hereby declare my full support of the Panthers, both black and white, Weatherpeople, Winter Soldiers, Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation and all revolutionary brothers and sisters the world over who are struggling daily to smash oppressive governments and laws. . . ."

---Stan Shipczynski, USA PDSC, Edgewood Arsenal, Md. 21010



If the USWA wasn't such a rotten company union, it would do its real job and help Australian and American workers fight the runaway, low-wage tactics of Armco and Kaiser. But all our fearless union leaders in Steel care about is collecting all those fat dues and helping the Stee corporations screw their workers.

What steelworkers here and abroad really need is an international alliance of working people to put all the Armco's and Kaiser's of this world out of business for good.

"I'm speaking for the thousands of GIs who put up with the same shit I do. I would rather 'frag' the old man (our fuck CO) rather than complain. I'd rather blow the lifer bastard up than go out and shoot some 7 year old kid sitting on a water buffalo, supposedly a V.C I know that the better part of my people would rather do the same. . . ."
---"Stiox," Danang, Vietnam

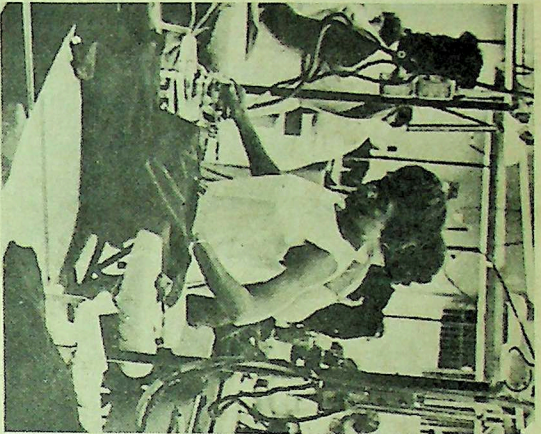
"On April 30, in the Detroit area, anti-war demonstrators including the Vietnam Vets marched on the Chrysler Army Tank Plant at Warren. This illustrates the American dilemma: to feed their families, working people must build tanks for Chrysler and the Army -- tanks that are then used against the people of Southeast Asia. An even harder dilemma faces the black workers and black GI's at the plant-- they can't get housing in Warren and then find that the tanks they built are used against black communities-- as in the Detroit rebellion of 1967.

"The resolution to this dilemma is the same for our brothers in Vietnam. The people who do the work in this society; the soldiers doing the fighting and the workers building the tanks or cars or whatever, are the ones who have the power to stop this war."

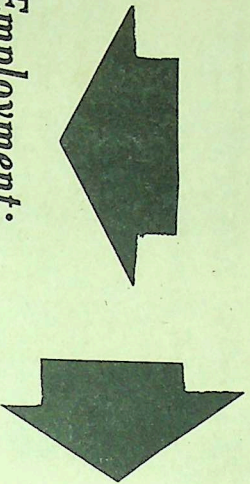
---Broken Arrow, published for and by GIs at Selfridge A.F.B., Mich.

AFTER PICKETING ONE YEAR...

WOMEN AT MORRIS STILL EMPTY-HANDED



ILGWU SITS ON IT'S LAURELS WHILE...

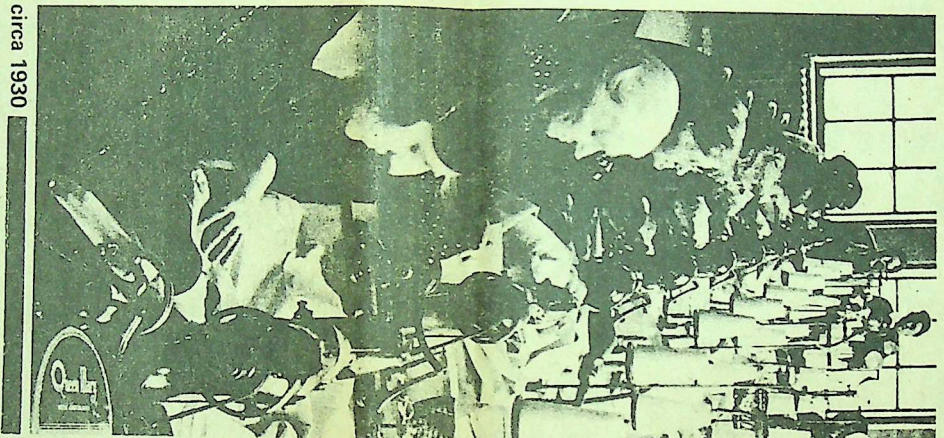


Employment:
Today there is security on the job. In the ILGWU, there is sharing of the work; paid vacations and holidays; no dismissals without cause; severance pay...."

Retirement:
".... No garment worker is bound to a specific employer; they preserve their retirement credits while moving from job to job and city to city..."

From the ILGWU Handbook

28 million workers in this country are covered by \$130 billion worth of pensions. But according to the Government between 73 and 92% of these workers will never receive a dime. Many workers are cheated out of their pensions because they are laid-off or fired just months short of retirement age ● or their company goes bankrupt ● or gambles away their pension funds on the Stock market.



circa 1930

on poor people trying to send their kids to college. Families with a savings of over \$1500 will no longer be able to get stamps. This means that workers that have just been laid off will be forced to use their savings for food.

All people that apply for food stamps must also register for work. If you refuse a job that pays at least \$1.30/hr. you won't get food stamps. The new law seems to be the Nixon Administration's method of reducing unemployment by forcing people to take low-paying jobs or go hungry. Large numbers of people working for such low wages will also have the effect of driving down the wages of the whole working class.

NIXON'S COMPANY STORE

The United States Department of Agriculture has announced new provisions under the Food Stamp Reform Act that will cut off or reduce benefits for four to ten million people.

Under the new law unrelated people living together would not be eligible for food stamps. Though the law was aimed at hurting young people living communally, it will hurt many others. This would include unmarried people living together, two families sharing the same kitchen, and even people with foster children.

Under the new law many different things will be figured into your income such as GI benefits and scholarships. This will be tough

employees were informed that their company, Morris Uniform was folding--going out of business. Instead of actually doing this, sneaky old Morris merged with another company, Classic Uniform and reopened. The new company refused to rehire the 125 ILGWU workers. All the present workers at Classic are non-union and that's the way the company wants it.

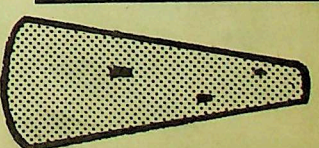
A short while later, the women went en masse to Classic to demand their jobs back. According to one of the women, the owner called the police and had them thrown out. The ILGWU declared a strike on June 9, 1970 and there has been a picket line ever since. In addition to not receiving any severance pay, the women lost their pensions. Many of the women had worked there for years and were close to getting their much needed and deserved pensions. Some of these women have no other incomes, are widowed or can't find jobs elsewhere due to their age.

The union hasn't done much for them except to file a grievance with the National Labor Relations Board. As usual, they will have to wait till hell freezes over before they get any action from them. Meanwhile, over a year later, these women continue to walk the line, determined to get what is theirs.



1970

SHOOT TOWER



Vol. 1, NO. 2

AUGUST, 1971

P. O. BOX 4387 BALTIMORE, MD. 21223

USWA SELLS OUT AGAIN--

NOW THE FIGHT BEGINS

The steelworkers have been sold out again. Once again we have been stuck with a contract that we had no say in and that gives us almost nothing. We got about the same deal as the can and aluminum workers-- 75¢ spread over three years. When you consider what we've already lost through inflation the gain is peanuts. And with a cost of living escalator that doesn't keep up with price rises, we could even end up with less than we used to have.

In return for a deal which the companies and Nixon call "inflation-ary" and Abel calls "a great victory," a lot of us may be losing our jobs or carrying heavier work loads. At least that's what we can expect as a result of the companies and the union joining hands "to increase worker productivity." Past practices may be going down the drain as work rules and job classifications are changed or eliminated.

Of course the negotiations were secret and we're not sure yet exactly what we're stuck with. But we know that the whole contract fight was stacked against us from the beginning. The companies were allowed to stockpile and lay off right up to the deadline. And then our "leadership" agreed to put off the strike for 24 hours. The vote for a rank and file contract approval and reports on negotiations at the last 2609 local meeting showed that the rank and file doesn't like being kept completely out of our own contract. The leadership, of course, wasn't listening.

Rumor has it that under the terms of the new contract, shop stewards will no longer be able to write up grievances. Only zone committee-men (a rare bird around the shop) will have that power. This means that the rank and file will have even less control over grievances than it has now.

Also step 4 will be dropped. The elimination of step 4 takes the international representative completely out of the grievance process.

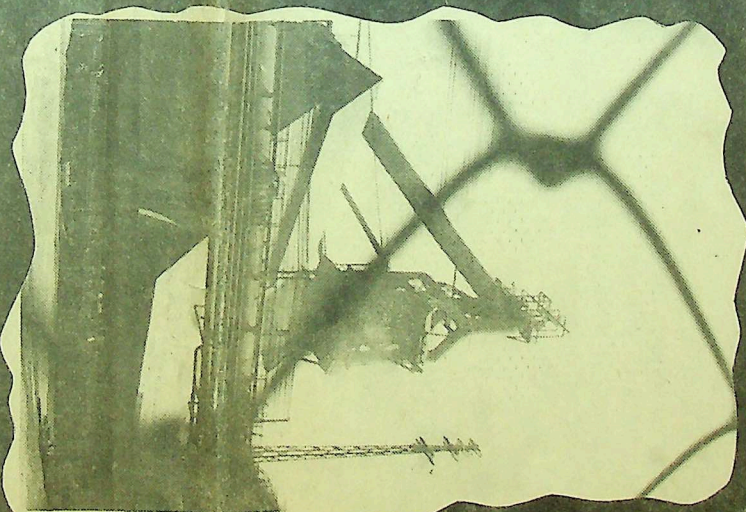
A SECRET DEAL?



R. Heath Larry



I. W. Abel



Union and Company are secretly planning to make work-rule changes and job-cuts while the mills at the Point are still half-empty and we can't fight back. Maybe we should all stay on vacation until they take all of us back.

way the seniority system works? Why do we hear nothing from Abel about improving conditions or about getting rid of the no-strike clause? And whatever happened to the shorter work week?

The union and the company think they have us paralyzed on all these issues for three years. To hell with the union and the company's contract games! If we want to do anything about rotten conditions, abusive racist foremen, layoffs and speedup, we're going to have to do it ourselves. We're going to have to start thinking about tactics like slowdowns and working by the book instead of listening to the union and company rumor mill. From now on, we're going to have to fight not just in the union hall but on the shop floor. That's one place the company and union bigshots can never beat us if we stick together.

- Bethlehem Steel worker, Local 2609

The union sold us out on the pipe mill. The union has always ignored the questions of racial discrimination and discrimination against women--to the point where the company and the union have been sued together for contributing to discrimination. Questions of vital importance to us apparently mean nothing to the union. What about job reclassifications, job assignments, and the

What this means is that the international is washing its hands completely of any responsibility for fighting out grievances.

The worst thing is our fool union leaders in 2609 and 2610 are trying to b.s. us that these changes will actually improve the grievance procedure. Our grievance machinery is booby-trapped enough already without giving the zone-men, and the arbitration umpire more power, and the rank and file less.

SHOP TALK



Rice's Bakery

For three months I worked for Rice's Bakery where I learned some of the ways that the bread industry in general, and Rice's in particular, rob their employees and cheat the public.

Although Rice's, like other Baltimore bread companies, has the highest bread prices in the United States, it still pays its workers a dollar an hour less than bread workers in Washington, D.C. It has fired over a dozen workers in the last ten years who have tried to organize a union. Its workers are forced to do the work of two people and must often work a double shift with no overtime pay. A twelve-hour day is not uncommon. I had to work 12 hours a day and often 6 days a week, all without overtime. My take home pay for all those hours was \$92 and I was no exception.

Workers at Rice's are treated like slaves and worked into their graves. A number of older workers who have been there for 20 to 30 years are forced to push 700 lb. bins on slippery floors. At least once a week they must do this for a double shift. Rice's slavedrivers take advantage of them because, as older workers, they have no job security and must break their backs in the sweatshop for survival. Most of the wholesale drivers are older men who work 72 hour weeks. Yet the boss is always hassling people for not working harder.

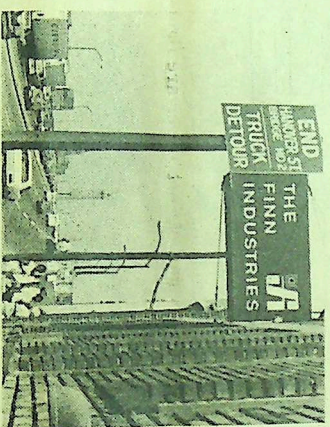
Rice's vice-president, Paul Insley, told me when I was hired that I would work only 48 hours a week. Later he said my hours would be reduced and I would get a commission raise. Both turned out to be empty promises.

Insley is not only a liar, he is a racist. He hired me on the spot (I'm white) without waiting to check the references of the black applicants who came before and after me. Other drivers told me they were

also chosen over other black applicants. No wonder all thirty wholesale and large-truck drivers are white. Insley treats his black workers like mud, so white workers will feel lucky and privileged. But the fact is, he treats his white workers like dirt -- only a little better than mud.

Rice's not only cheats its workers, it cheats its customers too. Old bread with rat-eaten, fist-sized holes was often processed to be bread crumbs. They also sell white bread which has had all its food value removed. This increases its shelf-life and the owner's profits. Instead of selling whole-wheat bread, which is nutritious, it sells a phony imitation called "cracked wheat."

-- from an ex-bread truck driver



GOLD FINN

Potlatch Forests, Inc. has a plant at 1501 Russell St. Baltimore, Md. 21230 called The Fim Industries.

Every winter the plant is without sufficient heat to keep the employees warm. The employees have to wear coats most of the time to keep warm.

The company has been giving the explanation that they are going to move to a new plant, so why get a new heating system.

If this was a new problem, we the members of the Union would wait and see, but we have had this problem for the five years the members of this group have been working for Fim and the explanation has always

Wizard of Id

Pallottine's, Inc.

I work at a place that mails out key chains and pens and greeting cards and stuff like that to people asking for money to support the Catholic missionaries in foreign countries. As a matter of fact, they send so much of the money they get to the missions (or somewhere) that they can't even pay us enough to get by on. It seems like we could use a little bit of charity too!

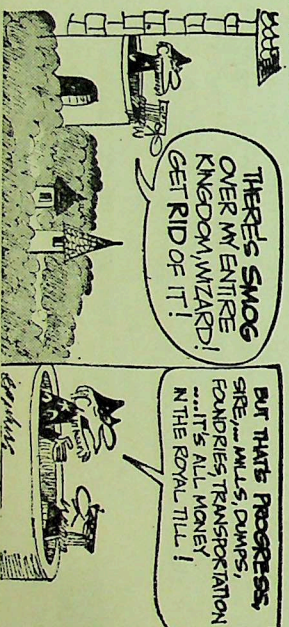
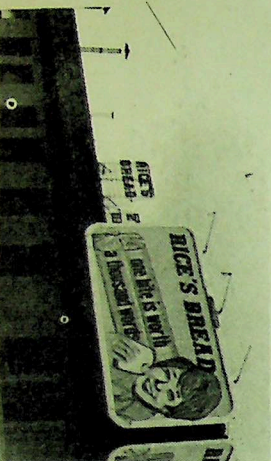
But at least it's not as bad now as it used to be, because we all got together and made them pay us more. It used to be that starting pay was \$1.60, and women who had been there five years were only getting \$2 an hour. On that you can't pay your bills and feed your family, and some of us have to.

So we all talked about it alot and one day we decided to stay in the lunch room after the bell rang for us to go back to work. Almost everybody just sat there until the supervisor came in. One of the women who had been there the longest talked for us. She told the supervisor that we wouldn't work unless the Father gave us a raise (the Catholic Church runs the place, but they don't own it. It's supposed to be non-profit so they don't have to pay unemployment. But you can bet that the man who owns it doesn't just run it out of the goodness of his heart).

The supervisor agreed to ask them, because she could see that we meant it. So she asked them, and they said o.k. Now we are getting 25¢ more and hour, which still isn't much.

So maybe in a couple of months we'll try it again. They can't fire all of us.

been the same. Is the A. F. L. C.I.O. Local 799 U. P. P. so weak that it cannot get heat for the members?
 ---From the members of Local 799 who care



ALL POWER TO THE WORKING PEOPLE

All over America millions of working people continue to be hit hard by lay-offs, speed-up and deteriorating working conditions. American factories are becoming butcher shops as production lines are speeded up and safety standards are thrown out the window by profit-hungry management. Each month it costs us more and more to feed and clothe our families. Each month more and more of us are out of work. Many of us will never work again. A quarter of a million GI's are still stuck in Vietnam against their will just so Nixon and the giant corporations can keep their empire from collapsing.

After ten years of empty liberal promises, life for black working people is worse than ever. The housing, the schools in the black community are literally falling apart. The ghetto has become a police state. The economic gap between black and white workers is widening. It is said that it will take till 1978 for black workers to make the same average wages white workers made in 1968! Unemployment among black youth is over 30%. Among white youth it is now over 20%.

Millions of women who work without union protection for 60% of the wages men make, are being especially hard hit by the recession. Even better-paid, unionized workers are being hurt badly by inflation, automation and sell-out unions.

Already the capitalists can no longer run essential social services such as schools, hospitals and public transportation. Our cities are dying under their rule.

Every day brings new reports of strikes, wildcats, demonstrations, on the job sit-

downs, slowdowns, sick-ins. Suddenly, it seems, millions of people are becoming aware of the tremendous power just beyond their fingertips. Everywhere in the factories, offices and communities ordinary working people are on the move. They are demanding a better life than the profit system can ever give them -- their struggles are a direct challenge to capitalism.

Large numbers of the most oppressed workers, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and poor whites are already in open revolt. These workers, through their militant struggles, have shown all workers the fight has to be for power, not liberal concessions. Their struggles make a working class revolution not only possible, but absolutely necessary.

The revolt against capitalism is international. As more and more giant American corporations move plants overseas, American workers will need alliances with European, Asian and African workers to defeat management's runaway, wage-cutting tactics. Hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans are already fighting against international capitalism for control of their own resources and lives.

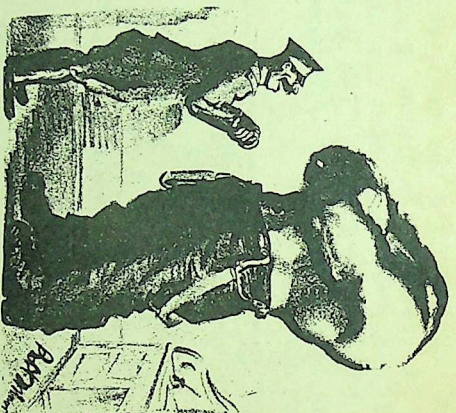
To win our revolution, we will have to destroy the big corporations and their government, their army, their courts, their police, their bought unions. In place of the profit system, we will have to build a society run by working people -- a socialist society in which for the first time the working class will produce and live for itself instead of a handful of capitalist parasites. This is what we of the Staff of Shot Tower are fighting for. Join us.

The Butcher Shop MEDICAL OFFICE

A friend of mine told me about an incident that happened not too long ago at Sparrows Point. A young black worker, who I'll call Joe, got his hand caught in some machinery and cut up one of his fingers pretty badly. He went directly down to the company "clinic." When he got there, he considered himself pretty lucky to find a doctor that wasn't doing anything but shuffling through some papers. The brother sat down and waited for the doctor to look up from his paperwork. Apparently the doctor didn't mind the blood that was dripping on the clinic floor any more than a butcher would mind some blood on the floor of his shop, because he didn't make any motion to deal with Joe's problem.

After a short while Joe started to become annoyed. He cleared his throat a few times, but the doctor continued to ignore him. Finally Joe got up and put his good hand on the doctor's shoulder and asked him to attend to his injury. The racist doctor got real uptight about the brother touching him and started yelling and screaming some nonsense about calling the company cops on him. He shut up after a short while when he realized that the two of them were alone, and Joe wasn't inclined to take any more shit.

He took a quick look at Joe's hand,



wrapped a bandage around the finger, gave him an aspirin, and told him to go back to work!

Joe walked out of the clinic, out of the plant and hopped the first bus uptown to a hospital. They gave him a tetanus shot and put five stitches in his hand. When he came back to work that afternoon the first person he met was his shop steward. When Joe told him about what happened, the fool steward could only reply, "Man, you shouldn't have gone uptown like that. You could have got your ass fired right off this job."

The Bethlehem medical department is not only racist, it's a butcher shop. It should be reorganized from top to bottom. Doctors like the one who treated Joe should be canned on the spot. There's no telling how

Steel Haulers Wildcat

Last month, the men who work for the Langenfelder Company at Sparrows Point walked off the job. Some men had been fired for sleeping (they have to work extremely long hours). The rest of the workers, already threatened by cutbacks, decided to strike. The company tried to bring in some replacements, but when these scabs found out that the Langenfelder workers meant business, they decided not to work.

The Langenfelder Company holds the contract for most of the trucks and earth moving equipment at the Point. This equipment is essential to the moving of material and to keeping work areas clear enough to be productive.

Both Bethlehem and Langenfelder soon felt the effects of the strike, as piles grew higher and they started losing money. In a few days, though, the men returned to work -- without the fired workers being rehired. They came back because they were afraid of losing their jobs, but in fact they actually put their jobs in greater danger. Langenfelder has shown that they can get away with firing people whenever they want without having to face more than a brief walkout. And Casey Robinson, our own union local president has made it clear that the union supports scabbing.

The men who walked out set a good example for the others at the Point by responding immediately in a powerful way to defend their brothers' and their own jobs. But the rest of us have to realize that in order to win anything in upcoming strikes we are going to have to fight long and hard.

A USWA WORKER

SUBSCRIBE TO BALTIMORE'S ONLY WORKING CLASS NEWSPAPER.

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NAME

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The pages of SHOT TOWER are open to all working persons.

Do you have a rotten foreman, a money-hungry boss, a sellout union, a lying politician you want to get off your back? WRITE US. Help blow the whistle on all the enemies of the working people!

many people this guy has messed up just to save the company all those lost-time \$\$\$.

If you or any of your friends have received bad medical treatment and insults please write Shot Tower and we will blow the whistle of the Bethlehem Butcher.

WOMEN

This is the second in a series of interviews with women on the job. In the factory, office or in the home, the problems they face are largely ignored or misunderstood. While their labor is indispensable to the economy, women on the whole are the most underpaid members of the labor force. The lower wages and poorer working conditions generally afforded to women are compounded by the discrimination they receive on the job by many men workers.

The following article was written by a woman who has worked as a waitress for over 9 years in various places. She shows a very different side of waitressing, one that most of us are not aware of and never see -- the strenuous physical aspects and the dehumanization of the waitress as a person.

AS WOMEN

In dealing with men customers in upper-class restaurants the waitress' roles and games are complex and the physical labor exhausting. She must be a Hercules hauling his heavy dishes (but look like "a cute little thing"), a foot racer running to his table (but graceful as a ballerina), a computer storing lists of his food and drink preferences (but with a very human smile).

She must tolerate a lot of easy familiarity with men customers she doesn't like or respect. She must dole out smiles, sympathy and compliments.

She must be sexually inviting and at the same time unavailable.

Even when her "service" skills are excellent and the "packaging" is pretty, she is still unnoticed as a human being by the man customer. He may remember her legs or her smile, but essentially he does not see or remember her. The next time he comes he may ask for the waitress with the "sexy legs" or the "cute smile." But as soon as she makes a clumsy (human) move, or spills something on his pants, or barks back at him, it is suddenly not that "cute little waitress" but rather "lousy service in this place."

THE BOSSES

A smart boss stays behind the scenes and hires a tough bartender or cook to do his dirty work. When he sees something about the waitress he doesn't like, he usually tells the bartender of cook and they "get her back in line." But finally it is the boss who makes the rules--and the profits.

The bosses' grooming rules are especially oppressive, both because they demand a high expenditure of

time and money by the waitress and because they make it very clear that the waitress is supposed to be a combination China doll and fashion model--a grim reminder for women who know there will no longer be a place for them when they get older and "less attractive."

After the waitress has taken care of her hair and blouse, she still has to polish her shoes, put on make-up, iron her skirt, make sure she's wearing a bra, girdle and slip, and ---worst of all---a perfect pair of nylons. Nylons, costing between \$2 and \$6 (support hose) a pair, are a constant expense to the waitress because the strenuous physical activity of waiting tables causes frequent runs. Some restaurants have a daily inspection or a grade-school demerit system to make sure waitresses are clean, acceptable sex objects.

The bosses' rules dealing with the handling of checks and cash also cause the waitress considerable work and money. The waitress often has to be her own cashier, which saves the boss from hiring a cashier and makes the waitress responsible for any short-change problems. At the end of the day, when the waitress turns in all her checks and cash, the cash is often less than the total of the checks. The waitress must make up the difference from her own pocket.



WAITRESSES: LOW

university cafeteria or a "Lou's Truck Stop."

The reasons the bosses give are typical racist rationalizations. "There aren't any colored waitresses with experience," is one common explanation. And it is true: racist hiring policies deprive black women of getting waitressing experience--it is a vicious circle. Even experienced black waitresses have trouble getting good jobs, as more and more restaurants move from downtown to the suburbs.

Hiring policies are also discriminatory against all women, because in the very best restaurants where the most money is made, only waiters are hired to serve dinners. "Men are stronger and faster," the bosses say "and besides, people like to be waited on by men," the bosses say.

The customer often tips a waiter higher than a waitress for the same service. Waiters are considered to be professionals, waitresses just temporary help.

The bosses are also intent on hiring only young, attractive waitresses, to play up to the secret fantasies of the business-man customer. If you don't fit into the mold, with the right legs, the right breasts, the right features, you won't get hired.

Older, less attractive women, even when they are hired in good restaurants, are shoved into the hot, unhealthy kitchen, where the customers can't see them. Particularly if the woman is over 65, the bosses put her in the kitchen, as "salad girl" or "pantry girl," because the minimum wage laws and other labor laws do not apply to people over 65.

Many women get "frozen" in the low-paying restaurants because they lack experience. Today, a woman looking for her first waitress job usually has to settle for a "Lou's Truck Stop," or a Big Boy. Later if she wants to move up to a better place, she can't because she hasn't learned how to serve exotic fondues or recommend \$80 bottles of French wine.

WAGES, TIPS AND BENEFITS

The tipping system helps restaurant employers to: (1) pay low wages, (2) cheat waitresses of benefits and (3) maintain discipline.

A waitress is almost totally dependent on tips. The law permits tips received to count up to 50% of the minimum wage. For example, if the minimum wage were \$1.50 an hour, waitresses could be paid as low as 75¢ an hour.

AS WORKERS

The bosses' hiring policies for waitresses are much like hiring policies in other industries: they are ruthless.

First, it is racist. Of the twelve places I have worked as a waitress, only one had any black waitresses. Those jobs that black women can get are mainly low-paid jobs, at a

AT WORK PAY, LITTLE RESPECT

While the tipping system allows employers to pay cheap wages, it also allows them to be even cheaper on benefits. For instance, employers don't pay unemployment insurance (wage plus tips), but pay only on the wage part of their earnings. Restaurant employers also figure vacation pay based only on the wages part of the employees' earnings. So the wage on which unemployment insurance and vacation pay is based, is often only half the minimum wage.

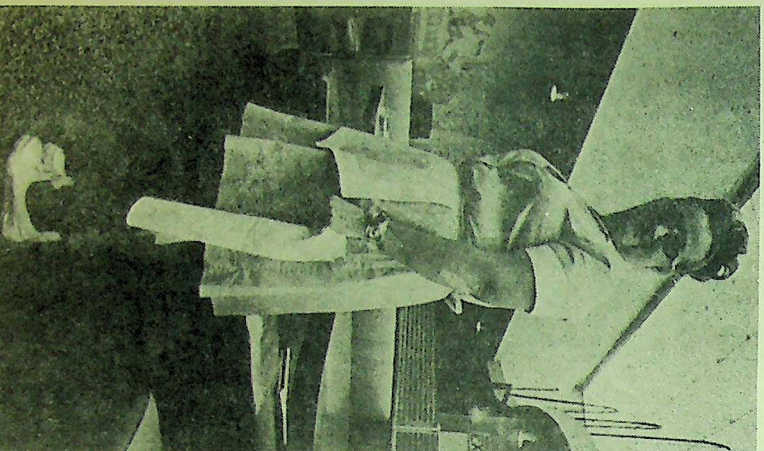
Employers also cheat waitresses of Social Security Benefits. Social Security money, deducted from the employees' checks, is often not turned over to the government, but is kept by the employer. Consequently, when the waitress retires and goes to collect Social Security, she doesn't have anything.

Having waitresses receive part of their earnings in tips not only allows the employer to pull off some of the above tricks, but also helps him in maintaining discipline and control over waitresses. He can always say, and he often does, "If you don't make money, it's your own fault."

HEALTH AND SAFETY

There are a high number of waitresses injured or disabled on the job. Many of these accidents are the result of poor working conditions and fatigue. Yet management explains the high number of accidents by saying waitresses have a "low safety consciousness."

One danger is shattering glass. Sometimes a silex coffeepot or bar glass used to make Irish Coffee shat-



ters when hot coffee is added, causing serious cuts to the arms and hands. Yet management continues to use such glassware for such simple reasons as "it looks nice to the customer."

Another type of accident, a collision between two waitresses when one is carrying hot food, usually happens when the restaurant owner doesn't provide separate entry and exit passageways between the kitchen and diningroom. Severe burns, cuts and other injuries are the result. Long, trying hours cause fatigue that is a major cause of accidents. Many waitresses must work what is called a "spit shift". This means she must work at least two meals, usually lunch and dinner. A split shift might be 11:00 to 3:00 and then 5:30 to 11:30. Already this is ten hours. If the waitress has a family, she might go home on her 3:00 to 5:30 break to do some ironing or to prepare an evening meal for which she won't even be home to enjoy. Needless to say, it is a long exhausting day's work for a waitress -- even worse if she's a housewife, too.

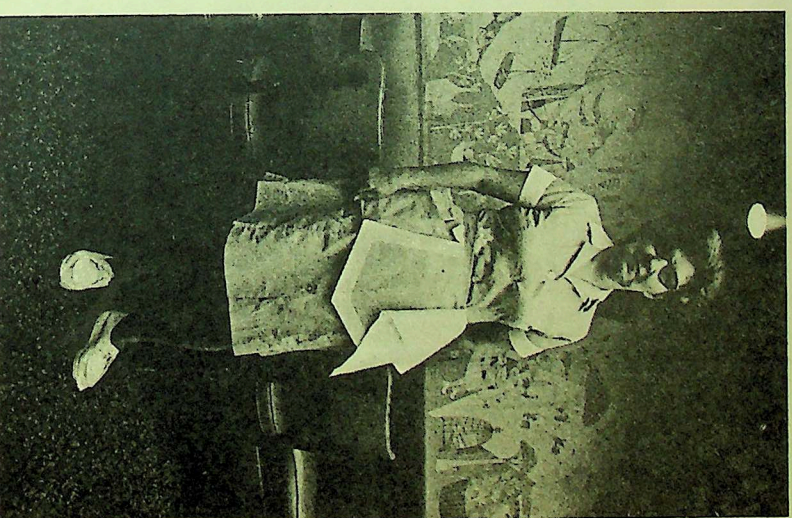
TOWARD A SOLUTION

Resolution of the problems facing waitresses must deal with both their exploitation as workers as well as their dehumanization as women.

Waitresses have never been a militant or organized group of workers. There are many reasons. The most obvious is the constant turnover of waitresses in almost all restaurants. Having no strong union, waitresses are easily fired. Working conditions are usually so bad that waitresses are constantly quitting jobs, hopelessly, looking for better ones.

Another reason organizing is difficult is the "station system". This is a system where the tables are divided into stations. Each waitress is given a station. Some stations are much more profitable than others, so there is severe competition among waitresses. Rather than alternating stations so that each waitress has a turn at each station, the better stations are usually given to the waitresses the boss likes best. It's the old trick of pitting workers against each other.

The tipping system, of course, discourages militancy because it encourages the illusion that the way to get financial security is for the waitress to work even harder for the boss and customer, and not for her to organize and demand fair treatment.



Lastly, many waitresses are also housewives or family heads, which means they have two jobs. This leaves them in either such a rush to get both jobs done or with financial problems that there is little energy or time left to fight restaurant bosses.

In spite of this, waitresses in some downtown restaurants have been unionized into the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union (AFL-CIO), although most of suburbia remains unorganized. Where there is a union contract, waitresses are paid according to contract wages, \$10.50 for an eight-hour shift and receive some medical, dental and job protection benefits. But even in comparison to other trade unions, the union has not accomplished a whole lot.

In fact it has seldom won waitresses to its side or led them to become more militant in demanding higher wages and more benefits. Like other trade unions, it is unwilling to make basic changes in the economic system (tipping) that perpetuates individualism among waitresses.

It is clear that a union is at best only a partial answer. In order to fight male supremacy, waitresses must realize that they share a common sisterhood. We must struggle to end the competition among women that male supremacy traditionally fosters. Perhaps when bartenders and cooks realize that they share common problems with waitresses as workers, they will be able to organize with waitresses to fight not only the bad working conditions and low wages, but also the racism and sexism that divide the service class which serves the restaurant owners instead of the people.

THE UPRISING OF THE 20,000: THE

Most labor histories are written by men. As a result, the militant struggles of working women have been almost totally ignored. Occasionally women have been allowed to appear in the drama of the class struggle. But they appear as bit players, never as the militant vanguard they actually were.

So it is with the history of women garment workers. For most of its life, the ILGWU has been a women's union in a women's industry. The early militants who built the ILGWU into a mass industrial union were women, many of them ardent socialists.

But the top leadership of the ILGWU, which has always been a tight men's club, has carefully suppressed the history of women in the union. One of the single most important strikes in the history of the union, the 1909 NY dressmakers' "Uprising of the 20,000" is given two pages in TAILOR'S PROGRESS Ben Stolberg's semi-official history of the ILGWU. Personal portraits of the men leaders of the ILGWU run on for dozens of pages.

ILGWU fatcats these days love to talk about all the "union has done for women." That's another lie. Whatever improvement in wages and conditions have been won over the years have been won by women garment workers themselves. More often than not they have had to fight not only the employers but the ILGWU leadership.

The following article is a beginning. It tells of the intolerable work-



Eighty years ago no industry exploited their workers more than the garment industry. Today it is still probably the worst industry to work in. Then, as now, it was a women's industry. 70% of the production workers were women. Then as now, women did the hardest jobs for half the pay men got. Then, as now, the better paid skilled jobs as cutters, pressers, and cloakmakers were reserved for men. Women were really like.

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forced to work as dressmakers, millinery workers, sewingmachine operators or hand needle workers. And while the male craft workers had their own unions they refused to help the women organize. Unskilled and virtually without unions, women garment workers at the turn of the century were the most exploited workers in a viciously exploitative industry.

In New York, the center of the garment trade, thousands of women and young girls worked in crowded sweatshops under the notorious "inside contract" system. Large garment manufacturers would farm out piecework to men craft workers in their own shop. These petty worker-capitalists would then hire a number of "girl helpers" to work for them. Skilled male cutters and pressers ran their own private sweatshops right inside the employers' plant.

By using inside contractors, the garment boss drove down prices and wages to pitiful levels. Women workers suffered wage cuts of 50% or more. Employers also used a similar system of outside contracting and homework in branches of the needle trades where men workers prevailed. But "inside contracting" was the most degrading, most exploitative system. It directly pitted men and women in the garment trade against each other and encouraged the men to view women workers as inherently inferior.

In 1886, wages for women in New York were \$6.60 a week, \$12 a week for men. The work week was 6 days, the work day 10 to 12 hours long. In Baltimore in the 1880's women cloakmakers earned \$3.50 a week. The employer set whatever hours of work suited him.

Women garment workers were even charged for their chairs, lockers, needles and the use of electrical power. Many women had to bring their own sewing machines to work with them or rent one from the employer. A complicated system of arbitrary fines often cut their wages in half, sometimes to nothing.

Single women in the garment industry were prey to another, even more vicious kind of exploitation. Many sweatshop bosses worked as recruiting agents for large prostitution rings run by the N.Y. underworld. When a young woman mysteriously disappeared from work it usually meant she had been kidnaped by her boss and sold into prostitution.

Working and living conditions for garment workers were unbelievably bad. On New York's lower east side where most garment workers lived, one out of every 3 persons slept in a room without a window. In one Chicago sweatshop the factory inspector found 29 people crammed with their machines into a room 20 by 28 feet. These conditions led to high rates of tuberculosis and other lung disorders among garment workers. Rheumatism and skin diseases of all kinds due to constant contact with poisonous clothing dyes were widespread. Men and women in the garment trade were old by the time they reached 30. No other group of workers had so short a lifespan.

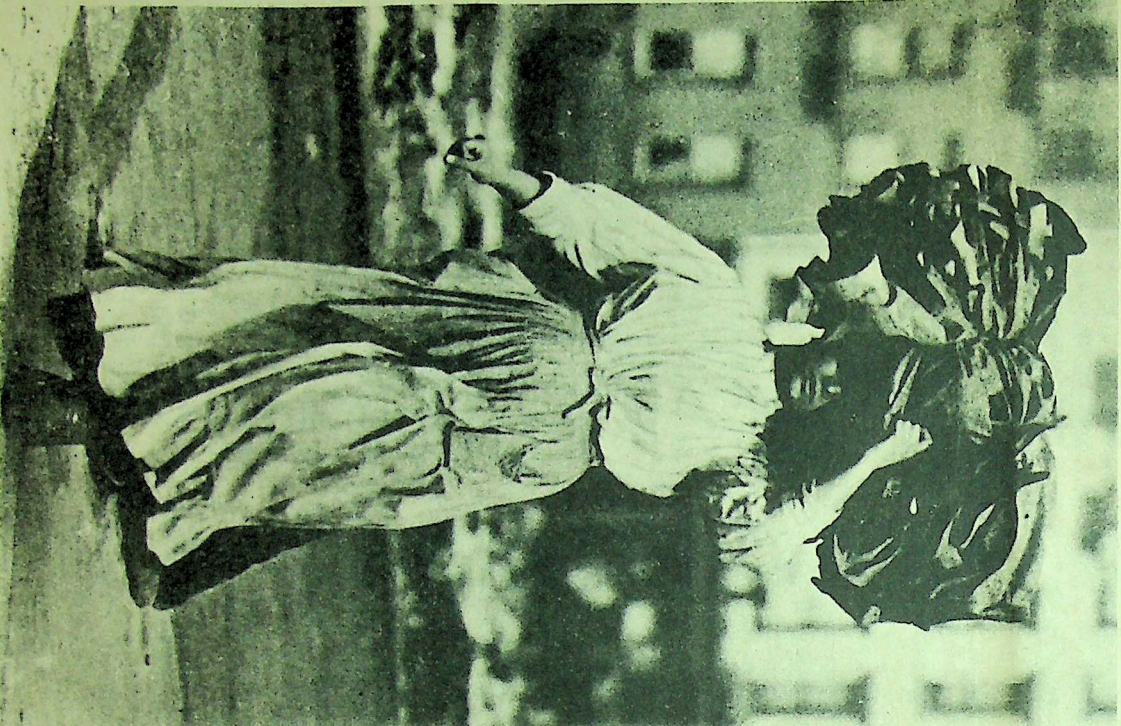
The early unions in the garment trade were racist, conservative, craft organizations run exclusively by and for men. Highly paid, skilled craftsmen like the cutters, the pres-



sers and the cloakmakers were in demand and could easily control their job markets through their own unions. As a result a selfishly arrogant, "50% above" attitude developed among these men and their union leaders. The first contract won by the cloakmakers union, (the forerunner of the ILGWU) in 1890 completely excluded women from union protection. In 1900 when all the separate needle crafts joined forces to form the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union this selfish craft orientation continued to dominate. In 1903, under pressure from a strong San Francisco Cloakmakers local, the ILGWU banned Asians from membership.

When criticized for their failure to help women unionize, early ILGWU leaders gave the weak and insulting excuse that "women couldn't be organized. They were too individualistic." Nothing was farther from the truth. In the late 1890's women in the needle trades had tried to organize their own unions. Locals sprang up among shirtwaist, skirt and wrapper makers, children's apparel, embroidery, lingerie, and petticoats. But unskilled women workers could be easily replaced by scabs, and without the help of the much stronger, better financed, all male needle crafts most of these early women's unions were easily crushed by the employers.

The attitude of male ILGWU leaders towards women only began to change when it became clear that as one ILGWU historian, Ben Stolberg put it: "in spite of the indifference of the men leaders, they (women) had to be organized if unionism was to survive." The number of unskilled women in the industry was rising dramatically each year. (By the 1920's they would hold a 2 to 1 majority over men). Even with this sudden change of heart, the ILGWU, in 1903 only had 3,500 women members, a bare 10% of all women in the industry. Throughout the early



WOMEN WHO BUILT THE ILGWU



of 100 members and \$4 in the treasury.

In the Fall of 1909 a general strike of garment workers broke out when women workers at Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago's largest garment maker, walked out. In NY too, workers began demanding a general strike of the industry. But top ILGWU leaders John Dyché and Abraham Rosenberg were violently opposed. Dyché and Rosenberg used all their power to undermine the shirtwaist makers' attempts to get the ILGWU behind their movement. But at the end of October, with many shirtwaist makers already on strike, local 25 Executive Board decided to call a general strike. ILGWU International leaders tried to stall things with a committee to "investigate the conditions of the trade." They refused to call a general strike. It was too "reckless," said Dyché.

Despite ILGWU sabotage, the dressmakers strike movement continued to grow. The Women's Trade Union League, a group of women trade unionists and social reformers including Jane Addams, offered the strikers their support. The entry of the WTUL gave the militant dressmakers the support they needed to challenge the ILGWU to a showdown. Finally on Nov. 22, 1909 the ILGWU was forced to hold a mass meeting of striking dressmakers at New York's Cooper Union.

1900's wages and conditions for women remained unchanged from what they had been in the 1880's and 1890's. In 1909, on the eve of the great strike of women shirtwaist makers, wages for NY dressmakers were still about \$7 a week for regular workers and \$3 to \$4 for "learners." Almost a quarter of the women were learners.

All the bigwigs of the labor and reform socialist movements were present: Sam Gompers head of the AFL, NY Socialist leaders Meyer London and Joseph Panken and ILGWU president John Dyché. These men who had ignored the misery of women garment workers for years, now rose to lecture the striking women about the principles of responsible unionism. John Dyché who had arrogantly dismissed the strikers as "irresponsible little girls" when they first struck now pleaded with the huge audience of women strikers for "realistic restraint." The men droned on and on for two hours. Finally her patience exhausted, Clara Lemlich, a militant young dressmaker still in her teens, asked permission to speak. Gompers and Dyché smelled trouble. There were hurried conferees on the speakers platform. Finally sensing the mood of the women they gave Clara the floor. She made a very brief speech in yiddish: "I am a working girl, one of those who are on strike against intolerable conditions. I am tired of listening to speakers who talk in general terms. What we are here for is to decide whether we shall or shall not strike. I offer a resolution that a general strike be declared -- NOW."

Everywhere the women "shirtwaist makers" took the lead.

The shirtwaist makers, like most of the unskilled women in the garment trades, were largely immigrants--Russian and Polish Jews, Czechs and Italians. 80% of the workers were women, the vast majority between 16 and 25 years old. The shirtwaist makers had a tradition of militance. Many were recent Jewish immigrants from Russia and Poland, and had taken part in the 1905 revolution in Russia. Many were socialists and had strong revolutionary sympathies. In 1901 and again in 1905 these women had fought virtually alone to organize a union. The ILGWU had done little to help them. In 1909 shirtwaist makers local 25 was a paper union

traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise.

The "uprising of the 20,000" had begun. 20,000 dressmakers poured out of New York sweatshops. Five hundred shops were closed down. During the first two weeks of the strike, 1000 to 1,500 women a day joined the picket lines. Before it was over 40,000 garment workers, 75% of the trade, joined the rebellion. After five weeks the strike spread to Philadelphia and Boston. The Chicago garment workers' general strike was still going strong. The entire industry was under seige.

Support poured in from all quarters. The United Hebrew Trades, the Socialist Party and the WTUL assigned organizers to help. But the women themselves were the real leaders. Overnight they became organizers, speakers, administrators. They fought the cops and the "Gorillas" hired by the Dress Manufacturers Association. Flying squads of young women rushed from union hall to union hall speaking to groups of strikers to keep up their morale. Women strikers went without sleep or food, attending meetings till 4 or 5 in the morning. An hour later they were on the picket line battling cops and getting arrested, only to be bailed out so they could return to fight the cops again.

After five weeks the Dress Manufacturers Association still refused to recognize the union or rehire the striking workers. Both sides settled down to a long war. Finally on Feb. 15, 1910, the strike ended. The Dressmakers Association refused to deal with the union but 339 individual firms out of 352 association members, including all the big firms, signed with the ILGWU.

The employers promised to pay for needles, thread and all necessary appliances. During the slow

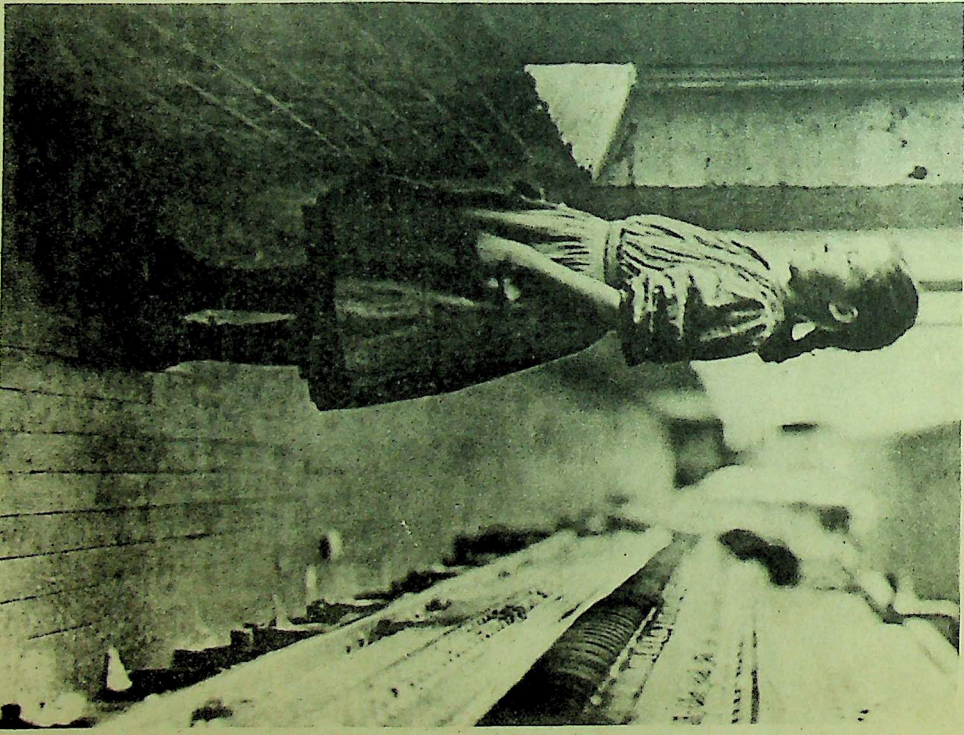
seasons, work was to be shared. The women won a 52-hour work week and wages were to be set by the employer and a committee of workers. All strikers were to be rehired without discrimination.

The "uprising" was the first successful general strike in the garment industry. The victory of the shirtwaist makers set the stage for a general strike of NY cloakmakers five months later. 50 to 60 thousand workers walked out and the strike led to the elimination of all "homework" (piecework done at home by the whole family) and the vicious "inside contracting" system. Rank and file cloakmakers owed their victory in no small part to Clara Lemlich and her sister shirtwaist makers. By defying the ILGWU craft leaders and using mass direct action these women showed the men cloakmakers how to beat the garment employers.

The shirt-waist makers rebellion changed the ILGWU from a small conservative craft organization into a fighting union with a mass industrial base. For the next 15 years, the militant women of Local 25 were the real leaders of the ILGWU.

In 1919 local 25 waist and dressmakers were the first to struggle for the 44-hour week. In 1923 they were the first to fight for and win the 40-hour, five day week in the garment industry. In the 1920's waist and dressmakers were the backbone of a rank and file rebellion against the ILGWU bureaucracy.

The shirtwaist makers general strike was one of the first successful mass actions by women workers in this country. It sparked off a mass movement among working women against the slavery-like conditions they worked under. It destroyed forever the vicious myth that working women could not organize themselves to resist the boss.



CAPITALIST JUSTICE: LAWS FOR THE RICH JAILS FOR THE POOR

In January, 300 detainees of the Baltimore City Jail signed the following petition:

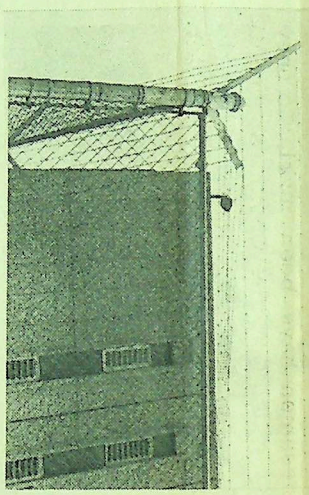
1. We are all being held in the pre-trial section of the Baltimore City Jail.
 2. We are all presumed INNOCENT by law! However, we are treated worse than convicted men and women.
 3. We have been, and are being, held for up to nine to fifteen months without preliminary hearing or trial -- a direct violation of the constitution and laws of the U.S. -- the right to a speedy and impartial trial.
 4. We are being held on unreasonably high bail, or no bail --- a violation of the constitution and laws of the U.S.
 5. We have constantly been denied the right of legal counsel at every legal proceeding. A violation of the constitution and laws of the U.S.
- As innocent men and women, we demand to be treated as human beings. We will no longer accept that poor people remain in jail while rich people are set free."

Last week a member of the Shot Tower staff visited the Baltimore City Jail to interview some inmates and also talked to some former inmates to see if these conditions had improved. The following testimony reveals the shocking treatment to which the detainees are submitted. The authenticity of this article by inmate Charles "Rock" Dutton, published in the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service in April, was verified by both black and white inmates and ex-inmates in our interviews.

"On February 17, Marshall Conway received his weekly visit at or about 9:30 a. m. The pig Sgt. Gilhart didn't let Conway out of his cell until 10:15 a. m. The visits are only 20 minutes long and visiting hours are over at 10:30 a. m. Along with Conway were a number of other inmates whose visits had been held up for no apparent reason. Protesting started and the guard opened up with a heated argument with Conway. The argument, while being loudly contested, was bringing other guards on the section to investigate. The pig, being aware of this, attacked Conway. More cops arrived and Conway was beaten and dragged away. The people began to loudly protest the action. The Deputy Warden rushed to the section and, without asking what the trouble was and without warning, threw a tear gas canister into the section. The disturbances should be fully blamed on the Deputy Warden of the jail, because the only distur-

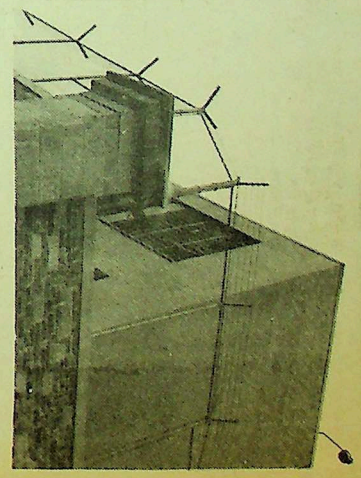
bance before the gas was thrown were mere shouts of protest. Several brothers were trapped in cells, overcome by gas, and began to cough up blood. The people who'd withstood the gas started breaking out windows for air. With the gas still effective, and before the people could regain their senses and willingly stop the protesting and go into their cells, the reactionary jail officials sent another gas canister onto the section. Realizing to go into the cells now would be suicide, reality was faced by all the people, black and white, of L-section, that we were being attacked, not punished, but attacked. The people began to prepare to defend themselves, when another gas bomb was dropped on the tiers. The people took to anything that could be used as a weapon (rails, poles, sticks, pipes, buckets, brooms) and drove the cops away from the section. But the pigs dropped two more gas canisters before they retreated."

"This brings it to a total of 5 gas canisters used on an area where air circulation is very poor. This is attempted murder."



"Shortly after, my cellmate and comrade Phillip "Billy" Costes was brought into the isolated solitary confinement area, after being beaten and maced. One pig guard who enjoyed beating Billy so much, showed his sadistic, animalistic nature by leaping out to beat Billy again. When Billy pleaded that he was hurt and to stop the beating, the pig stated: "When I see more blood then I'll know you're hurt". The beatings didn't forecast the end of the torture."

"Costes, Jackson, Stratton, Wallace, and I were lodged in a 5 x 8 size cell, added to the fact that the five of us were herded into that tiny dungeon, were stripped naked and had no toilet or sink. We were forced to urinate in a small hole in the middle of the floor. We were served sandwiches for six days. And for six days nobody ate, realizing that bowel movements would make living conditions worse. There were eight of us all together being held in solitary confinement on trumped-up charges of assault with intent to murder jail guards."



"When the press was admitted inside the jail, the people presented to them their demands, grievances and the actual conditions of the jail. Among the demands were: 1. Complete amnesty for Marshall E. Conway; 2. People being brought to trial within 90 days after their arrest; 3. The immediate halt of excessive high bails and cruel and unusual punishment in the courts and prisons of America"

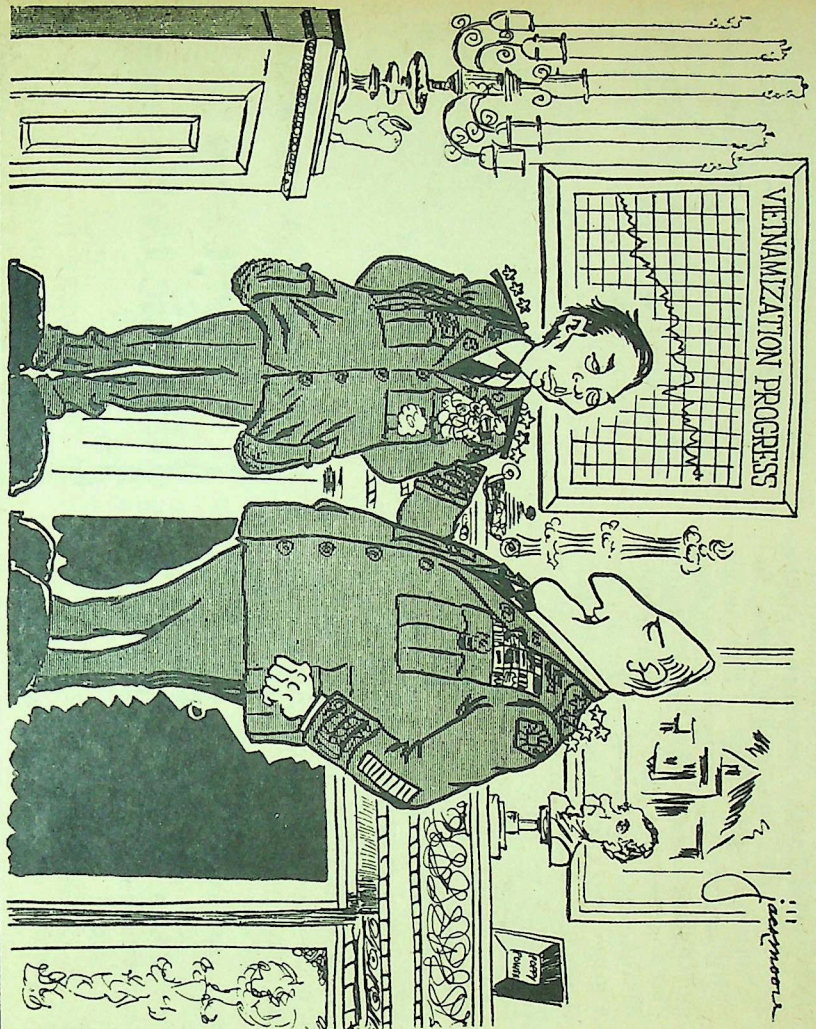
"The grievances dealt with: 1. The lack of medical attention and having no jail doctors on duty 24 hours a day; 2. Inadequate and poorly prepared food; 3. Only one 20-minute visit per week; 4. No recreational privileges; 5. Brutality by jail guard upon inmates. Jail conditions consisted of the overcrowded, poorly-heated sections and cells and unsanitary living conditions. The people then decided that if no reprisals were made, we'd give up the section. The pig warden gave his word, no retaliation would come on the jail's part, so the section was surrendered to him."

"But things got even worse. More brutality, no visits, no commissaries, more gassings, no showers, food and water were cut off for nearly three days, and incoming and outgoing mail was stopped (which is a federal offense), and 24 hour day "lock-ins", and no medical attention at all."

Since these reprisals, our interviews at the jail last week reveal that most of the grievances of the detainees have not been redressed and conditions have not improved. Jail guards still beat and gas inmates. There is inadequate medical care with no 24-hour doctor. The jail is still overcrowded and unsanitary. There is no library. Detainees cannot get books that they want, especially legal books. They still have their mail censored coming in and going out. The inmates still have high bails or no bail at all. They are still being held for several months without trials or pre-trial hearing in violation of the U.S. Constitution. They still are not represented by counsel of their choice at every proceeding."

UNGLE SMACK --- THE BIGGEST PUSHER OF ALL

'Anybody Who Can Run An Efficient Drug Racket Can Handle The Commies'



The Nixon administration has suddenly discovered there is a "drug" problem" in the U.S. and Vietnam. This problem has existed in poor areas, especially black ghettos for decades. It has been a grim prob-

lem among GI's in Vietnam for years. Large numbers of GI's have been getting hooked on heroin for a few dollars a day and coming home to find they've got \$150-\$200 a day habits. Drugs are the leading cause of death among young americans 18-35 years of age. Drugs are the major cause of crime today. Busi-

nessmen have been making money by glorifying the whole psychedelic drug culture for years - packaging and selling hip records, hip hairstyles, hip clothes.

Why the government's sudden concern about drugs? The government's campaign is actually a smokescreen to hide their own involvement. The clean-up of GI's is a vote-getting publicity stunt. Many GI's report that by drinking beer for two days, even the hardest drug users can pass the army's new screening test. It is still possible, as one GI put it, "to salute an officer with your right hand and take a "hit" in your left.

The U.S. government could stop the drug traffic with no trouble. It just doesn't want to for political reasons. The fact is that since 1966 at least 80% of the world's illegal opium has come from Southeast Asia. All the U.S. government would have to do is destroy the poppy fields and arrest all the big pushers in the region. But the U.S. is not about to jail leading members of the Saigon and Formosan governments, like Madame Nhu, Nguen Cao Ky, and Chiang Kai Chek. After all, these are the U.S.'s closest allies in S.E. Asia.



Most of the opium in Southeast Asia is grown in the jungles of North-western Burma, and Northern Thailand and Laos, an area referred to as the "Fertile Triangle." It is harvested by the Meo hill tribesmen

who get \$50 a kilogram (about \$22 lb.) for the unprocessed heroin. This same kilo will be worth \$200 in Saigon and \$2000 in San Francisco. The heroin follows many routes to the U.S., usually going through Saigon, Taiwan or Hong Kong. In the process a few people get very rich off it.

Included in this group of people are General Rattikoune, head of the Royal Lao Government's Army and Air Force. He uses his CIA-financed helicopters to fly the opium out of the jungle. It's hard to tell whether the helicopters are used more for fighting the Laotian guerrilla movement or airlifting the dope.

Another dope profiteer is Nguyen Cao Ky. Long before he became South Vietnam's vice president, Ky was using his strategic position in the Air Force to make money of raw heroin. Foreign correspondents tell of the lavish cocktail parties he used to throw in Saigon in the late Fifties. But nobody questioned how he did it on the salary of \$30 a month he was making at that time.



Much of the opium trade in Burma and Thailand is controlled by the 93rd division of Chiang kai Chek's Kuomintang troops. Driven from China after the success of the revolution in 1949, they remained in Northern Burma. They set up operations buying opium from the Meo tribesmen, or getting local dealers to pay for "protection." These same troops also profit from espionage missions they run into China for the CIA. Every year 5000-7000 fresh recruits are sent from the U.S. backed regime in Taiwan.

How can the American people expect the U.S. Government to clean up the drug traffic when its closest allies in Asia get rich from it? When the CIA-financed airline, Air America, transports the dope.

When you come right down to it Nixon and the U.S. Government are the biggest drug pushers of them all.

POSTAL WORKERS CHASE "LEADERS"

A recent mass meeting of 3, 300 New York mailmen held at Manhattan Center in NYC broke up into brawls and shouted threats from the floor when the union leadership refused to let members take a strike vote.

The mailmen, who are members of Branch 36 of the Letter Carriers, are demanding a wildcat strike against the national agreement recently signed by national postal union leaders. The agreement provides for a 2% a year pay raise and no protection against layoffs. Postal employees are no longer legally protected by civil service laws as employees of the newly organized U.S. Postal Service.

Before the meeting, Branch 36 president Vincent R. Sombrotto had promised the membership a chance to take a strike vote. Instead, he and Moe Biller, president of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union repeatedly maneuvered to stall off a vote. At several points furious mailmen unsuccessfully rushed the stage trying to get at Sombrotto. Fights broke out on the floor and the membership shouted down the union leadership again and again. After an hour and a half of this treatment, Sombrotto and Biller got the message, scurrying out of the meeting by a back door at the rear of the stage.

200 angry postal workers followed them down 33rd Street to 8th Av., shouting "SELL-OUT," "CHICKEN" and "WE DON'T NEED YOU NO MORE." At 8th Av. the union bureaucrats finally escaped by jumping into a passing taxi-cab. Postal workers surrounded the cab beating on the roof and windows before the driver was able to move forward through the milling crowd of clerks and letter carriers.

Branch 36 militants were the ones who wildcated in March 1970, touching off the first nation-wide strike of postal workers in this country. Nixon used a federal injunction and Army bayonets to break the strike. Apparently postal workers in N. Y. and other parts of the country were not impressed with the government's strike-breaking tactics. They are demanding another national walk-out. The postal workers got alot of sympathy but not much tangible support from other workers last year. If they walk out again maybe 20 or 30 extra million letters a day all addressed to Nixon with helpful advice will be necessary.

Cops Smash Press

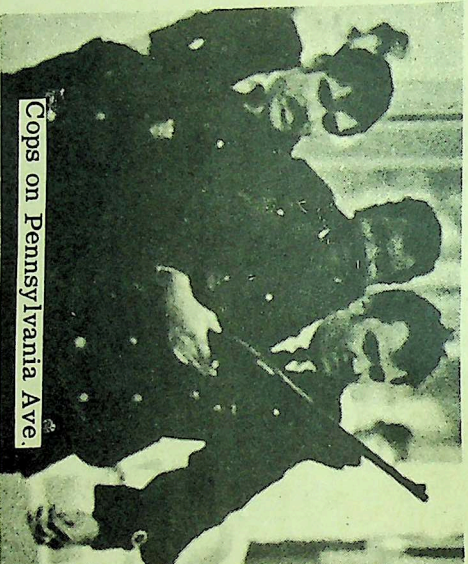
The Mother Jones Community Information Center is run by a group of radical activists in Southwest Baltimore. Mother Jones has actively supported the struggle of the United Farmworkers and the Schmidt's Bakery workers' strike here in Baltimore. Through its community newspaper and work with an anti-drug program, Mother Jones has taken a firm stand against hard drugs in the community. Mother Jones has also supported and printed literature for anti-war groups and the Black Panther Party.

Because Mother Jones has actively supported groups in struggle against the system, it is a thorn in the side of the police and the Baltimore establishment.

So on June 25, 1971, at 2 in the morning, the police, armed with shotguns and sledgehammers, attacked the Mother Jones Community Information Center. Using the excuse that they were "looking for drugs" and without showing a search warrant, they broke down the door, ransacked the house, smashed lights and telephones, and wrecked the center's printing press.

Since there was nothing illegal in the house, the cops had to plant drugs before they arrested the five occupants.

Black Community Attacked



Cops on Pennsylvania Ave.

On July 2, the Baltimore Police Department invaded the Black community with shot guns, hand guns and tear gas. Led by tactical squad Lieutenant James Watkins, over 25 uniformed and plain-clothes policemen blocked off and seized the 1500 and 1600 blocks of Pennsylvania Avenue.

At approximately 3:30 p. m., the tactical squad and the narcotics young and old, that they saw in the two block area. After piling people into a large van, the police went to other sections of Pennsylvania Ave, taking more people from stores,

Meanwhile working people are being assaulted and murdered while the police do nothing. A week after the phoney drug raid, two neighbors of Mother Jones were attacked by an intruder. One of the two assaulted women managed to escape and ran across the street to the police tactical squad on Pratt and Calhoun Streets for help. There she was told, "We can't help you. Call Southern Precinct." When she got back, her sister was dead.

The police are not interested in helping the people that need it. Instead, as the raid on Mother Jones and similar raids in the Black community show, the police will intimidate and attack anyone who struggles against the capitalist establishment.

Don't Buy Classic Uniforms
 OVER A YEAR AGO 125 WOMEN WERE ROBBED OF THEIR JOBS, PENSIONS AND SEVERANCE PAY BY CLASSIC UNIFORMS - FORMERLY MORRIS CO. THESE WOMEN ARE STILL ON STRIKE. THEY NEED OUR SUPPORT!

streets, alleys, porches and homes. When the van finally left the Black community, over 40 people had been arrested in what the police termed a "mass drug raid".

Nearly two weeks before, on June 25, and simultaneous with the phony drug raid on the Mother Jones Community Information Center (see adjoining article), over 50 Black people were arrested in a similar incident on Pennsylvania Avenue.

It is obvious that these so-called "mass drug raids" are not designed to stop the vicious hard drug trade which has plagued the Black community for years. Instead, they are designed to fool the people into thinking that the government is doing something about drugs.

But this kind of brutality and harassment only generates and perpetuates the vicious circle of racism, divides the working class, and keeps us fighting each other instead of uniting to fight those who exploit us.

If the police and government were really interested in stopping the hard drug plague in our communities, they would attack the source--the big-time drug businessmen.

Racist Clinic Causes Eleven Pregnancies

Because of the high cost of living, particularly when it comes to medicine, many people are forced to rely on racist clinics for medical care.

The power these clinics have over people's lives was vividly demonstrated when 11 Chicana (Mexican-American) women in San Antonio, Texas, got pregnant while taking what they thought were birth control pills.

They were "volunteers" who were given placebos (fake pills with

no medicinal or contraceptive value) in an experiment to prove that the headaches and depression that many women get from the Pill are psychological. These women were not told about the experiment but were given vaginal creams to "supplement" the pills. The doctor in charge, Dr. Joseph Goldzieher, blamed their pregnancies on the women themselves, accusing them of "carelessness" in the use of the cream. (Not only is vaginal cream about 50% less effective than the

Pill when used by itself, but also, who would bother with cream when they're on the Pill?) Because this doctor was more interested in the results of his experiment than he was in human beings, he couldn't tell these women that they were taking ineffective pills, and that they might get pregnant as a result. Dr. Goldzieher's contemptuous comment was, "If you think you can explain a placebo test to women like these, you never met Mrs. Gomez from the West Side."

It all started back in 1953 during the McCarthy hearings. At this time the U.S. Treasury Department discovered that the Communist Party in Baltimore was slowly buying up all the laundromats in the city, and fluorodating the air in the dryers.

High-ranking figures in the Treasury Department decided to cut off the supply of dimes to Baltimore. Their logic was simple; if there weren't any dimes in Baltimore the people would stop using the dryers. People might even stop using the laundromats altogether, causing the Communist Party to go bankrupt.

Vol. 17 revealed that the city's "society for the promotion of Nickels" is actually a front for the Treasury Department. The society's base of operations is a small office on the 500 block of S. Gay St. One of its main tasks has been to dispatch hundreds of its agents into the streets of Baltimore disguised as ragged old men and hippies.

They go around asking people on the street, "Buddy, could you spare a dime for a cup of coffee?" Beware of these agents! They could literally be taking your last dime.

We feel that masses of working people should converge on City Hall demanding an explanation.

We have had enough of the days of wet laundry for the lack of a dime.

We should be careful not to do anything silly. There will be provocateurs in our midst trying to get us to move to Philadelphia. Don't heed them! There may be some dimes in Philly, but there's not much else.

Philly Wildcat Cont.

gin to see their struggle as a fight for power over production, not just concessions from the company. Because they are in a stagnant, low-wage industry, clothing workers have a special stake in wiping out the profit system before it wipes them out. As for the union, as the Philadelphia wildcat made clear, people will have to rebuild their own shop organizations from the ground up.

Hey buddy, can you spare a dime?



Did you ever notice how you can never find a dime when you need one? Did you ever notice that you can never find a dime, even if you don't need one? (for our younger readers that have never seen a dime, a dime is a small, silver-plated coin found in most parts of the United States. It is worth ten cents.)

We were discussing this problem the other day. Why is there such a shortage of dimes in Baltimore?

We talked to a lot of different people. We talked to coin dealers (Most of the coin dealers in Baltimore list the dime under "Foreign Coins."). We talked to penny arcade operators. We even talked to someone in the Mayor's office.

Out of all of these people no one could give us any help. Either they didn't know or they weren't telling.

After checking newspaper files at the library, we gave the subject up for lost. And then the big break came. In our mail at the Shot Tower post office box we received a large plain brown envelope. Inside this

envelope was another envelope marked "TOP SECRET, CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS." We opened it up and found a series of pamphlets entitled "THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT PAPERS."

We don't know who sent them to us, but we suspect it was our contact in the Mayor's office. We can't reveal his identity, of course, but his initials are H. P.

In volume 2 we found a table showing the amount of dimes in Baltimore as compared to other major East Coast cities.

City	Number of dimes per person 1950	1960	1970
Wash. D. C.	135.2	136.5	138.0
New York	138.4	138.2	136.5
Philadelphia	137.9	139.2	137.8
Baltimore	136.2	25.2	2.1

Over a twenty year period the number of dimes per person in Baltimore has dropped from 136.2 to 2.1!

When we got to the 17th Volume of the Treasury Department Papers that we discovered the cause behind these shocking figures.

TAKE MY OWN SHINING. EXAMPLE FOR INSURANCE WHEN I WAS LAD OFF FROM GOVERNMENT IN 1960, I WAS CONTENT TO BECOME A SIMPLE LAWYER.

GRANTED, I WAS MAKING \$50,000 A YEAR.

REMEMBER THAT IT'S BETTER TO TAKE SOME MENIAL JOB THAN NOT TO WORK AT ALL.

AND TO ALL YOU UNEMPLOYED OUT THERE, YOUR PRESIDENT HAS A FEW WORDS.

Clothing Workers Revolt

23, 000 WORKERS WILDCAT IN PHILADELPHIA

On June 7th the men's garment industry in Philadelphia was shut down. Every shop with Amalgamated Clothing Workers was out (23, 000 men and women). The union and the newspapers called it a "big misunderstanding". But the workers knew exactly what they were doing. They were showing their power.

For the first time in over 50 years, the ACW was on strike. But unlike the militant strikes 60 years ago which gave birth to their union, this time the workers were not spurred on by their union leaders. In fact, the strike this June was as much against the union leadership as against the companies.

The issue that sparked the strike was the ratification of a contract by the union bureaucrats which the members had not okayed and which granted them a measly 65¢ over three years. For years the union leaders have been getting away with ratifying contracts "for" their members. But this year the workers made it clear that they weren't taking any more sell-outs.

Clothing workers have always been among the lowest paid of industrial workers -- with women who make up 4/5 of the work force getting the rawest deals. There are several job classifications with rigid sexual divisions between classifications. Machine operators, thread trimmers and inspectors are women who receive a national average of \$1.75 to \$2.00 an hour. Cutters and pressmen on the other hand are jobs filled by men who average \$2.38 to \$4.38 an hour. But these averages are national ones. In Philadelphia the story is even worse. Trainees

for sewing machine operators earn only 60¢ an hour and when trained are given a 5¢ raise.

The women in Philadelphia know that they and the men are being paid less than they deserve. But they also know that because they are women, they have almost no chance for a promotion or a change of jobs. Some women remain floor "girls" all their lives.

Pay increases, then, were not the only thing on the minds of the striking women. Issues behind the strike have been brewing for years. Conditions in the garment industry have always been deplorable. Garment sweatshops, started after the industrial revolution, were the first places to employ women and children. Today conditions have improved little. It is not uncommon for women operators to get their fingers caught in the machines because there are no safety devices on the machines. In the shop there is always a tension produced by working dangerous equipment in a place that is generally unsafe and unsanitary. But there is also the constant pressure of piece work and the ever present threat of being laid off or out of a job if the company folds and moves out of town.

In the midst of these conditions, the women and the men in the ACW have seen their union do nothing. This fall and winter when many workers in Philadelphia (and elsewhere) were being laid off, the union bureaucrats sat back and watched the lines grow at the unemployment offices located down the street from the union hall.

The head of the Philadelphia ACW, Tony Cortigene, makes

Here are some of the contract demands of the Black Workers' Congress, taken from a more complete list of demands printed in ADVANCE, the paper of the local Black Workers' Committee. The demands of this revolutionary black organization show the kinds of issues we should be fighting for.

STEEL DIVISION DEMANDS

To further our struggles as Black workers in steel against steel corporation owners and chief executives, as well as union leadership and white skinned privileges, we present the following demands to be actively used as education and organizing tools.

CONTRACTUAL DEMANDS

WE DEMAND:

- The elimination of discriminatory practices in job placement and job upgrading.
- The abolishment of unit, section and department seniority to revert to plant wide seniority.
- That all job openings, including skilled trades, are to be filled by plant seniority with training for workers who because of past racist practices have been denied the opportunity for promotion and upgrading.
- Full equality for all women on the job, including equal pay and equal opportunity to advance.
- That as of the verified date of pregnancy, all women will receive a one year's maternity leave with full pay.
- A weekly stipend for those women who are forced to pay babysitters and/or send their child to a day care center.
- A 20 hour work week with equivalent 40 hour work week pay.
- That base pay be \$5.00 per hour with equivalent increase directly related to cost-of-living.
- That the anti-worker practice of arbitration be eliminated as a means of resolving grievances and that grievances be settled on the spot by any means necessary including strike action.
- That any workers permanently disabled on the job receive full pay and benefits, inclusive of raises and coverage of all medical expenses for the remainder of his life.

BLACK WORKERS MEETINGS ARE HELD EVERY SATURDAY AT 11 A.M. AT 432 F. NORTH AVE. STOP BY OR CALL, 467-2906.

excuses to his membership for the company--that is, when he has time free from campaigning for ex-police commissioner Rizzo for Mayor. In a Christmas message in the union newspaper, he told the workers that hard times had hit the clothing industry, but if we all (meaning the company and the union bureaucrats) stuck together, then everything would turn out all right. The message was familiar: hold the line in wages and improvements for another season. But as one worker put it: "We've been holding the line since the Second World War and where has it gotten us?"

This time around in the contract negotiations the workers refused to hold the line anymore. On Monday, ACW rank and filers from Allentown Pa. -- already on strike -- talked with the Philadelphia workers. On Tuesday, 25, 000 rank and filers in Philadelphia decided that they too had had enough and walked off their jobs. And when the court injunction stopped them from picketing in front of the factories, thousands of angry strikers massed at the union offices!

From Philly, busloads of strikers went to New York City where more garment workers joined the spreading wildcat. Committees of strikers were set up to organize the strike.

But on June 21, 14 days after they had walked out, ACW workers were back in their shops. The contract was no different and conditions were just as rotten. What happened?

The companies knew that they wouldn't have to do any of the dirty work in forcing the workers back--they knew they could hand the problem over to the union. They told the union to get the workers back into the shops, and true to form, the union did just that. Rumor has it that workers were threatened by the union with deportation -- and that's a heavy threat for a union many of whose members are recent immigrants from Puerto Rico and Italy.

Cortigene repeatedly told the wildcaters they would have to stop their demands to keep the Philadelphia clothing industry going! He didn't seem to have any ideas on how to keep his own members going though.

As we see it, clothing workers face three problems: a stagnating industry, sell-out unions, and the fact that, as women, capitalist society does not recognize their right to a living wage. By themselves clothing workers are not strong enough to solve any of these problems. As a first step, they must begin linking up their struggle with the struggle of millions of other women stuck in low wage jobs.

Second, clothing workers must be-

Continued on P. 11