

Teamsters

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Many Teamster activists are also convinced that existing union officials were involved in the disposal of his body.

Revelations about Fitzsimmons.

The public posture of top Teamster officers in the Fitzsimmons regime has also been eroded by widespread revelations of organized crime connections and wholesale looting of the union's pension and health funds. In April Fitzsimmons and other union trustees of the Central States Pension Fund, long under investigation by the federal government for questionable loans, were forced to resign under threat of lawsuits.

As the control of the fund supposedly passed to "independent" managers, speculation arose that Fitzsimmons might voluntarily resign. Instead, the union launched a nationwide public relations campaign, replete with full-page newspaper ads that attacked the "unholy alliance of political midgets, some lying media gossip peddlers and a few self-appointed labor 'reformers' whose secret motives are destructive and un-American..."

The Labor department announced July 18 that it had completed its 22-month probe of the Central States Pension Fund and had turned up both loans to known criminals and loans that were made at below-market interest rates or on too little collateral to be considered sound. They are now preparing civil and criminal cases.

The day after the Labor department press conference, where they also announced the beginning of an investigation into Teamster health funds, trustees of the Central States Health and Welfare Fund convened a secret, emergency meeting to extend their contract with Allen Dorfman, a controversial Chicago businessman who handles insurance claims of fund participants, for another 10 years.

Dorfman, a longtime associate of top Teamster officials, was convicted in 1972 of accepting a kickback for arranging a loan from the Central States Pension Fund. Now the Labor department is looking into the Dorfman deal.

The Justice department and the FBI are also investigating allegations that the

Teamsters raised \$1 million as a payoff to the Nixon administration for preventing Jimmy Hoffa from running for union office until 1980, when his prison sentence would have ended.

Professional Drivers Council.

The decisive impetus for internal reform has come, however, from self-conscious union militants who have slowly turned diffuse rank and file anger over leadership abuses into coherent, programmatic efforts to democratize the union at all levels.

The Professional Drivers Council, a Ralph Nader spinoff, was founded in 1971 as a Washington, D.C. lobbying and litigation operation. Initially concerned with the safety grievances of truckers, PROD moved on to explicitly oppose the dictatorship in the union and seek solutions to a range of problems through internal union pressure, legal suits, or congressional action.

PROD's legal accomplishments, along with their excellent research reports on union structures, have attracted wide mass media attention. With some 4,000 dues-paying members, they hope to gradually become an organization where rank and file representatives make policy decisions and determine the activities of the Washington staff.

PROD revealed this week that the Teamsters' General Executive Board has agreed to hold a hearing on its charges against Fitzsimmons. While "no one expects his co-conspirators to throw him out," in the words of one PROD staffer, Fitzsimmons will be required to defend himself in what amounts to a "disciplinary" procedure. PROD hopes to disqualify those board members who are mentioned in the charges.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

Often cooperating with PROD is Teamsters for a Democratic Union, organized in preparation for the 1976 National Master Freight Agreement. TDU, which includes a core of young socialists who entered the trucking industry in the last decade, is credited with forcing a three-day nationwide strike last year, spearheading local campaigns to change union by-laws, and, unlike PROD, building an activist organization where

policy decisions are made at delegated conventions.

Since its founding convention in September 1976 TDU has laid an organizational foundation and built chapters across the country. They recently received a \$30,000 grant for their Legal Defense Fund to "provide the legal and educational backup for the rank and file movement." Though TDU will support other reform candidates, when its members run for office they are required to run as TDU candidates who are "dedicated to building rank and file power and supporting the TDU program."

"We don't care who gets the Lincoln Continental and the \$50,000 a year salary," says Ken Paff. "We're interested in bringing the salaries down to be more in line with unions members, in providing for election for all our officers from top to bottom, and in candidates who will speak out for these things and align themselves with the movement for change in the union."

Limits to the possibilities.

Both organizations are realistic about the limits and pressures on union members who do win lower-level offices in

the absence of a strong rank and file movement. According to PROD, for instance, the international recently put out the word that the recent victors in Local 639 would "have trouble" getting their election certified by the area Joint Council unless PROD's John Catlett withdrew from the charges against Fitzsimmons.

Observers agree that significant change in the Teamsters will only come from pressure on a variety of fronts: a strong rank and file movement, reform officers on the local level, campaigns to decentralize the union's power structure, government sanctions against organized crime influence, and action in the courts.

A guest speaker at TDU's Cleveland convention will be Harry Patrick, current UMW secretary-treasurer who won on the MFD slate. His words best summarize a grass-roots approach to union reform: "... by and large, except for a very few, most labor leaders right now are more or less an arm of the industry. If we're going to change the face of the labor movement in this country, rank and file movements are the *only* way in the world to do it."

Women's Caucus

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Sandy Schwartz, a professional lobbyist for the Ohio Education Association and a member of the Congress of Labor Union Women (CLUW) said, "The conference was a high in many ways. I came here to see what I could do for the Caucus. I would like to bridge the gap between the parties. That's why I work particularly through the newly formed labor caucus." The Caucus hopes to recruit more union women and the labor caucus is the first step towards this goal, she said.

Millie Jeffrey, former coordinator of Consumer Affairs for the United Auto Workers was elected chair for the next two years by a wide margin over Sally Lunt, her only contender, a university professor from Massachusetts.

"I think this is a turning point," Jeffrey told *In These Times*. "There are now more issues that bond women together than divide women... I think the caucus will have a strong presence at the IWY conference because we have the political experience."

Schwartz also felt that the election of Jeffrey to chair would be another positive step in recruitment of more working class and union women to the caucus.

Although many of the major women political figures in the country were present at the conference, it failed to receive front page coverage in the major dailies. The Miss America Pageant, held the same weekend, generally claimed more press attention than the caucus.

While Miss America was being chosen in the East, Republican activist Jill Ruckelshaus was saying in the West: "We want the women of America to understand that we were raised in a society where we met the government and it was not us. Women have for too long been taught to play the woman's game where if you play you lose everything. Show me a saran-wrapped woman and I will show you a totaled woman. We will never, never, never give up."

With ERA still unrattified, an abortion fight in Congress and the expected battles at the IWY convention in November, the unified Caucus has a lot of work ahead. The 1978 and 1980 elections will be significant testing grounds to see if the new unity of moderate and left women will hold beyond the fight for ERA ratification and the IWY conference in Houston.

Claire Greensfelder works with *In These Times'* San Francisco bureau.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

The Shaping of Technology—Part I

Making science serve business

By David F. Noble

During the first few decades of the 20th century the processes of modern, science-informed technology were brought under control by private capital. During this time contemporary patterns of work, science and education were established as the routines of corporate America.

Control over science was an enormous undertaking. It entailed the invention, transformation and revitalization of social institutions; the preparation, habituation and mobilization of an entire society for wholly new forms of productive activity. It necessitated new forms of social life and individual identity; new patterns of work, leisure, consumption; new definitions of human potential, education, knowledge and the good—in short, the production of a new society itself.

In the vanguard of this new enterprise were the giant firms that dominated the science-based electrical and chemical industries: General Electric, Westinghouse, AT&T, DuPont. Rooted from the outset in the soil of science, unprecedented in their demand for scientific knowledge and knowledgeable people, these corporations sought to stimulate and regulate the growth of industrial science.

Linking the lab and the workshop.

The decisive factor in the development of modern technology was the linking of science with the tradition-bound useful arts, the laboratory with the workshop, the search for truth about "Nature" with the utilitarian and pecuniary objectives of "manufactures."

In the past this link was made largely through the haphazard efforts of well-heeled gentlemen who cultivated an interest in both.

Firms in the mining, petroleum, electrical, steel and chemical industries had occasionally hired university-based consultants, but it wasn't until the 1890s that they undertook to establish scientific research laboratories as an organized activity within the firm itself.

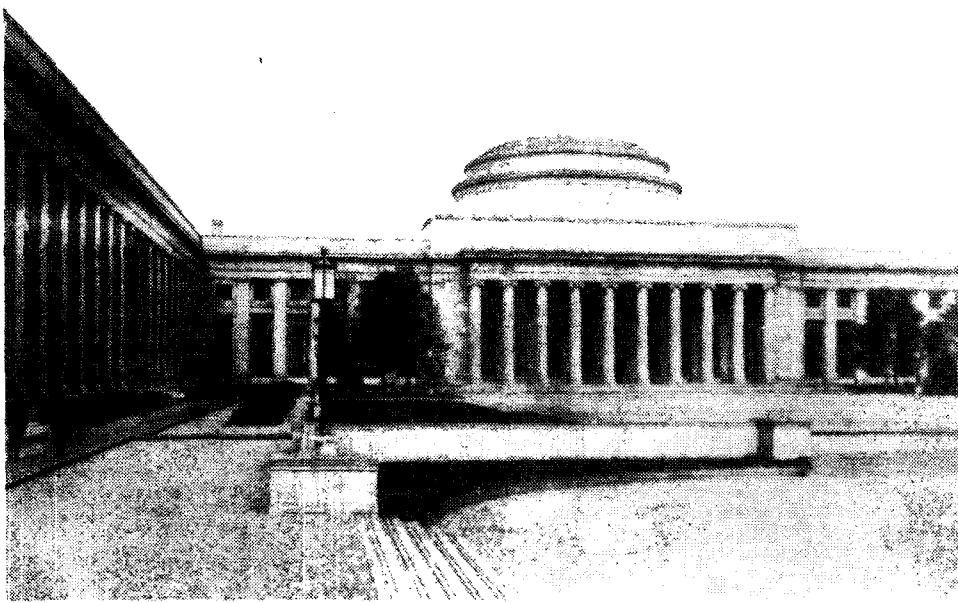
The pioneers were the large, well-endowed corporations such as G.E., AT&T and DuPont. It was in these that the first "synthetic geni" as Philip Alger of G.E. called them, were assembled—teams of specialists "held together by bonds of sympathy and understanding, as well as by the company management."

These laboratories quickly became enormous enterprises, employing hundreds of highly trained scientists, engineers and technicians and fostering, through careful supervision and a military organization of work, what Frank Jewett of the Bell Labs termed "cooperative effort under control."

The smaller science-based companies, however, couldn't afford to set up their own laboratories, or bear the risk of uncertain, long-term research. They relied upon independent research contractors, such as Arthur D. Little, to do their research work for them, and minimized an individual company's risk and cost by establishing cooperative trade association laboratories, such as the National Electric Light Association labs, which served the manufacturers of electric lamps. They also relied upon the service activities of new government agencies, particularly the National Bureau of Standards, which had been set up at the behest of industrial leaders and scientists in 1901.

Bringing the university in.

Private contractors, trade association labs and government agencies, however, could neither meet the growing demand



By 1920 various schemes of industry-university cooperation had been developed, all of which tied the universities into the industrial arena and redefined the patterns of scientific study.

T. Coleman du Pont (left) was one of the first financial benefactors of M.I.T. (above).

for research nor satisfactorily link the world of science with that of industry. What was required was closer cooperation between the traditional domain of science, where the bulk of research activity was still being done, the universities, and the industries that aimed to put the results of that effort to profitable use.

By 1920 various schemes of industry-university cooperation had been developed, all of which tied the universities firmly into the industrial arena and redefined the patterns and ends of the scientific efforts of faculty, staff and students.

Industrial fellowships were created in support of graduate study in science and to allow faculty more time for research. (The most famous of these was the plan developed by Robert Kennedy Duncan of Kansas, which became the foundation for the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh.)

Extensive cooperative research programs were undertaken at universities throughout the country, primarily in the engineering schools and at the departmental level.

The plant of the nation's colleges was expanded dramatically with the construction of new chemistry and physics and engineering buildings—at industrial expense.

Engineering experiment stations, like the agricultural stations created by the Hatch Act, were established, primarily at state schools, to provide extension services for local industries. But industry was not successful in its attempt to secure federal support for such stations.

Congress would not yet condone public subsidy for private enterprise.

Networks were established to facilitate the interchange of personnel and ideas between the schools and the industries: industrial advisory committees, industrial sabbaticals for professors, formal consulting arrangements, and the like.

Increasingly, through such cooperative institutional ties, industries "put out" their research tasks to universities, usually for a modest fee, and were thereby spared the overhead costs of facilities, staff, libraries and training of research personnel.

The M.I.T. example.

The university as industrial service center was perhaps illustrated best and earliest by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The physical chemistry laboratory set up in 1903 by A.A. Noyes and Willis Whitney (a founder of Cal Tech and first director of the G.E. labs, respectively) was, in M.I.T. President Henry Pritchett's words, "the first effort of any technical school in the country to offer research work distinctive from that of the colleges and directed toward engineering subjects." (Pritchett's endorsement was hardly surprising. Two years earlier he had founded the industrially oriented National Bureau of Standards.)

The next decade saw a tremendous growth in industrial research at M.I.T., primarily in the departments of chemical engineering (presided over by William Walker, former partner of Arthur Little

and electrical engineering (presided over by Dugald Jackson).

By 1920, these departmental efforts coalesced in the establishment of a centralized "Division of Industrial Cooperation," headed by Walker. The new division was created to administer what was known as the "Tech Plan," by which any industrial firm could contract with the Institute for specific research work.

By paying a fee for service, the firm received not only the particular work specified but also access to staff, faculty in related areas, library facilities, information on the work done in Institute laboratories that might be relevant, bibliographical services, and information, personal and academic, about all present and former M.I.T. students and faculty who might be able to contribute to the research effort or to the general work of the firm.

In the 1940s the highly successful Division of Industrial Cooperation became the Division of Sponsored Research, its responsibilities broadened to include military and governmental, as well as industrial sponsored research.

National Research Council.

What the centralized division of industrial cooperation did for the fragmented efforts of departments at M.I.T., the National Research Council did for the research activities of the nation's universities as a whole. Set up during World War One, and funded primarily by such private agencies as the Industrial Engineering Foundation, the NRC assumed the task of coordinating the integration of universities within the industrial structure—promoting research in science while at the same time fostering efforts along industrially-defined lines.

The NRC provided invaluable assistance to burgeoning science-based industry, sponsoring research projects, conducting extensive surveys of research facilities in the government and the nation's colleges and universities, publishing bibliographies of research in progress, compiling personnel rosters of research institutes, university science and engineering faculty, graduate students, and recent Ph.D.'s, and even conducting tours for businessmen of major research facilities in industry and universities.

Redefining the form and content.

Industrial sponsorship and direction of university research successfully shifted the major costs of science-based industry from the private to the public sector. But this was not all. Perhaps more important, it redefined the form and content of scientific research itself.

This involved more than the general shift away from natural philosophy, the search for metaphysical truth through an understanding of nature, to utilitarian science, the quest for intervention in, and power over nature. The shift toward utility assumed particular forms, measured by the specific needs of particular firms intent upon increasing their profit-margins and their power.

The industrial transformation of science affected not only what kinds of questions would be asked but also what particular questions would be asked, which problems would be investigated, what sorts of solutions would be sought, what conclusions would be drawn. Science had, indeed, been pressed into the service of capital.

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