A handbook for the Africa Peace Tour

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Towards Peace and Jobs
in
Virginia and Africa
Handbook for 1990
Africa Peace Tour
Introduction:

In context of the changing international division of labor and fueled by federal government's military spending (including sending arms to Africa), Virginia's development over the last decade has increasingly dichotomized the state's economy, impoverishing increasing numbers of Virginians and undermining their quality of life. To help Virginians understand that it is in their best interests to support liberation and development in Africa, this handbook describes the results of this process. It should be read in conjunction with the book, Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast,¹ which provides a deeper analysis of this process and evidence as to its consequences for the US Southeast in general. Specific references for more details provided in that book are included here at relevant points.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. The Causes.................................................. 3
   a. Role of transnational corporations.................... 3
   b. Militarism at home and in Africa..................... 4

¹. by Ann Seidman (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990). This book aims to provide a sounder approach to winning support for African peace and development by helping to explain the impact of US militarism, not only in Africa, but in the US.
2. The economic and social dichotomization of Virginia
   a. Southwest Virginia and inner city decline
      i. The mineworkers' struggle
      ii. Factory jobs lost
      iii. Family farms sold
   b. Increased militarization
      i. Growing dependence on military contracts
      ii. Norfolk-Newport military-naval bases
      iii. Northern Virginia: Pentagon and hi tech
      iv. The military's impact

3. The consequences for the people of Virginia
   a. Weak unions, low wages
   b. Growth of poverty side by side with wealth
      i. Pockets of poverty
      ii. Discrimination against blacks
      iii. Worse conditions for women
   c. Tearing the social welfare security net
      i. Cuts in federal social welfare programs
      ii. Military reduces community revenues
      iii. Environmental degradation

4. Towards an alternative strategy of peace and jobs
   a. The peace dividend
   b. Better paying jobs and social welfare
   c. The need to organize

5. Appendix
   1. Map of Virginia's military installations
   2. Tables of detailed characteristics of major metropolitan areas in Virginia
1. THE CAUSES:
   
   a. Role of transnational corporations:

   Seeking to maximize global profits, transnational corporations have taken advantage of the post-World War II technological revolution to shift mining operations and manufacturing industries to lower wage areas like apartheid South Africa. In effect, they thus put US wages and working conditions -- including those in Virginia -- in competition with those of the world's most oppressed peoples. Chapter 3 of Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast describes the pattern of and gives the reasons for transnational corporate investment in South Africa. Recent changes in South Africa have not yet met the conditions for removal of sanctions set forth in US Sanctions Act of 1986 which the African Peace Tour supports.

   From an historical perspective South Africa constitutes a transnational corporate entry point for Africa. This may be compared to the late 19th-20th century Latin American experience. Even larger than Latin America, Africa comprises a continent three times the size of US. It possesses with untold resources. The present crisis has further impoverished its peoples, creating vast unemployed labor reserves. In the last decade, IMF-World Bank "restructuring" policies have explicitly opened African economies to transnational corporate penetration.

   b. Militarization at home and in Africa:

   The militarization of the Reagan era, as spelled out in
Militarization, Apartheid and the US Southeast, reflected the domination of US government by these transnational corporate interests. In the US, it generated a distorted prosperity, based on militarization financed by debt and the deliberate reduction of social welfare programs. This proved profitable for transnational military contractors, but, in Virginia as throughout the United States, it has impoverished growing numbers and an increasing percentage of US citizens.

US policy in Africa, too, reflects this reality. On the one hand, the US exercises about a fifth of the votes in IMF and the World Bank. Through them, it pressures African countries to restructure and open their economies to transnational corporate penetration. On the other hand, it ships weapons to bolster African governments, including military regimes like Mobutu's Zaire and Liberia, that open doors to transnational corporate penetration. As Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast shows, it also sends weapons to contra groups, like UNITA, that undermine governments which, like Angola's, seek to pursue more self-reliant policies.

2. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DICHOTOMIZATION OF VIRGINIA

Transnational corporate strategies to profit from the changing international division of labor, bolstered by US militarism, are impoverishing growing numbers of Virginians, and accelerating the deterioration of the state's quality of life. This is illustrated by the decline of traditional industries and
growing poverty alongside pockets of booming military activity.

a. Southwestern Virginia and inner city decline:

The transnational corporations have shifted mines and labor-intensive factories out of Virginia to low wage areas like apartheid South Africa. In Virginia, itself, as throughout the US southeast, transnationals sought to break unions that obstructed their efforts to push down labor costs to meet the resulting international competition. Combined, these factors led to the miners struggles for union rights in southwest Virginia; loss of factory jobs and severe unemployment in several areas; and a steady decline in family farm ownership, forcing poor rural folk, especially blacks, into overcrowded impoverished inner city areas.

i. Virginia's mineworkers' struggle:

For nearly a century, mining employment provided the backbone of southwest Virginia's economy. After World War II as transnational mining firms either closed down mines while importing coal from low-labor cost areas like South Africa, or introduced automated machinery that slashed labor requirements, Virginia's mining employment dropped drastically. Some US mining conglomerates invested directly in mines in South Africa itself, participating in importing coal to the US while closing down US mines. Chapter 6. in Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast details the role of the major transnational corporations in fostering this trend throughout the US Southeast. In the four years, from 1980 to 1984 alone, although Virginia miners' wages
averaged about 10% less than nationally and in neighboring West Virginia, about one out of five of them lost their jobs.

As foreign coal imports increased, including those from South Africa, some southwestern Virginia coal centers turned into ghost towns: Journalist Paul Edwards describes one:

St. Charles is a picture postcard no one would want to print. It lies near the head of a hollow, where sooty, two-story brick buildings line both sides of the narrow, twisting main streets. Many storefronts are boarded over. A half dozen dimly lit snack bars and grocery stores are open seven days a week. On a Sunday, the townspeople drift from one to another, talking, playing pinball machines and drinking coffee.

Chickens strut in the empty lots between buildings, scratching the site of a now demolished hotel or grocery store that disappeared with the mining heyday that ended with World War II.

In defending their investment in South African mines, US transnational mining companies argued that South Africa had strategic minerals which the US lacked. Some of the Virginia mines that closed after World War II, however, had previously produced several of these. The strategic minerals Virginia mines had produced, but which the US began to import from lower wage areas like South Africa, include: titanium; manganese; bauxite; nickel; and zinc.

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2. Until US sanctions prohibited it; but given the lax enforcement of sanctions, it is not clear how much of imported coal still comes from South Africa.


Meanwhile, some South African mining interests invested in Appalachian mines. The South African Anglo American Group, for example, joined the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to form a joint venture, Inspiration Coal. In Virginia, Inspiration Coal owns the Clintwood Mining and Harmon Mining companies. Shell-BP and the US Fluor, both with extensive energy interests in South Africa, acquired A.T. Massey.

Mining companies with South African ties gave leadership to efforts break the US miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America. In the early '80s, A.T. Massey, controlled by Shell-BP and Fluor, led the campaign by refusing to bargain with the union through the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association. This, along with Shell's refusal to end its deep involvement in helping South Africa's apartheid regime meet its energy problems, helped to weld US mine worker support for the anti-Shell boycott.³

In the mid 1980s, the Pittston Company, with 16% of US coal reserves, followed Shell-BP-Fluor's lead. It shifted millions of tons of coal reserves to a non-union division, Pyxis. In 1987, it withdrew from the Operator's Association. In 1988, while dragging out its own negotiations with the mine workers union, Pittston cancelled health and insurance benefits of about 1,600 miners who had retired after 1974. After waiting till spring, 1989, the UMWA workers went on strike to protect their hardwon benefits -- a strike that dragged on for 10 months. The

³ See Apartheid and the US Southeast, pp. 118ff.
company brought in unemployed miners from other states to dig and haul coal. It hired a team, headed by President Gerald Ford's former son-in-law, to "protect" the scabs. Joined for a time by more than a third of the nation's coal miners in 9 states -- some 40,000 miners -- the strike dragged on. The National Labor Relations Board charged Pittston with repeated violations of federal labor law. Nevertheless, state police arrested altogether some 3000 union demonstrators, initially using considerable violence until public outcry forced them to modify their behavior. Virginia judges imposed heavy fines on the strikers. Hundreds of church leaders from congregations, however, not only in Virginia, but throughout the country, expressed support. In July, Bishop Walter F. Sullivan declared:

I'm amazed that our state government can send hundreds of state troopers to southwest Virginia to see that law and order are maintained, ignoring the plight of its own citizens in their struggle for justice.

I find it distressing that the courts impose a $3 million fine on the UMWA for illegal picketing while the company is assessed $47,500 for safety violations which resulted in the death of seven miners at the Pittston McClure No. 1 mine in 1983.

Civil disobedience, when it is nonviolent, is a legitimate and moral form of protest. While I decry acts of violence by union members or strike sympathizers, I also strenuously object to media reports and newspaper editorials which highlight occasional violent acts by strikers while maintaining a conspiracy of silence regarding the systemic repression and denial of human rights and human dignity which triggered the strike in the first place. I am glad that the miners have support from the religious community.  

On Augst 23, to show the labor movement's support for the

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strikers, national labor leaders came from throughout the United States to sit down together on the steps of the Russell County Courthouse in Lebanon, VA. On September 17, 1989, some 98 striking miners and an Appalachian religious leader -- all shareholders of the Pittston Company -- initiated a 77 hour peaceful takeover of Pittston's Moss No. 3 preparation plant near Carbo, Va. Finally, the US Secretary of Labor intervened to help the company and union leaders reach a negotiated agreement which President Trumka termed a victory for US labor and the people of Virginia. But the strike dragged on for several more weeks as a Virginia court judge -- despite pleas by the union, backed by the NLRB and even, in the end, the company -- refused to withdraw some $65 million in fines levied against the striking workers.\(^7\)

In reality, the miners' strike represented but part of the on-going struggle against transnational corporate shifts of their investments to profit by exploiting the oppressed labor of third world regions like apartheid South Africa. In the context of the resulting changing international division of labor, they sought to protect the quality of life which, over many decades of struggle, their union had won.

\(\text{ii. Factory jobs lost:}\)

As transnational corporations closed down factories throughout the US South, buying similar products from places like South Africa, manufacturing employment declined. In some areas in Virginia, as many as one out of four, even one out of three, 

\(^7\) New York times, February 14, 1990.
factory workers lost their jobs.

Table 1: MAJOR CENTERS OF MANUFACTURING JOB LOSS
1977-1982 (percentage decline)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charlottesville area:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albemarle</td>
<td>-31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville City</td>
<td>-22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>-16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk-Virginia Beach-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport News area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesapeake City</td>
<td>-12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond-Petersburg area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterfield</td>
<td>-25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrico</td>
<td>-18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopewell City</td>
<td>-10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petersburg City</td>
<td>-14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>-31.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem city</td>
<td>-18.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State and Metropolitan Area Handbook, Table A, "Manufactures"

A plant closure could undermine the economy of an entire town. In the early 70s, when General Instrument Co. closed down Tazewell's biggest plant, it left 1000 workers jobless. In Danville, one of the world's largest textile plants in Danville, faced competition from imported textiles like those produced by near-slave labor in South African bantustans (see Chapter 7 in Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast). As they did throughout the US southeast, textile firms in Virginia intensified automation and reduced employment, contributing to the Danville area's high rate of unemployment.

ii. Family farms sold:

The loss of mining and factory employment meant small farm families could no longer earn the necessary cash to pay for needed consumer necessities and farm inputs. As elsewhere in the
US southeast, this forced many of them -- especially blacks\(^8\) -- to sell off their farms to seek employment in the inner cities. By 1978, although blacks constituted about 18% of all Virginians, and 16% of those living in rural areas, they owned only 3978 farms. About one out of three of these farms sold less than $2500 worth of produce a year, and about two thirds of their owners depended on off-farm jobs for additional cash incomes. About a third of the blacks owning farms with annual sales of more than $2500 also depended in part on off-farm earnings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>173,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>136,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>56,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


iv. Pockets of unemployment:

Despite the military boom of the 1980s, high rates of unemployment persisted on several parts of Virginia. Although the mid-1980s unemployment rate in Virginia's metropolitan areas (4.1%), tended to be lower overall than in the US, in the nonmetropolitan areas it was 7.5%\(^9\). In some rural and inner city areas, it remained even higher. In Greene, in the

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\(^9\) State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1986; see appendix, below, for details.
Charlottesville area, the unemployment rate hovered around 7.3%; in the Danville area, 7.9% (8.0% in Danville city, itself); in Dinwiddie, in the Richmond-Petersburg area, 8.5%; and in Petersburg city, 7.2%.¹⁰

In 1989, Virginia's average unemployment rate (4.1%) remained somewhat less than the US average (5.4%). In some areas, however, like Danville (6.0%) and Lynchburg (5.9%),¹¹ it still remained significantly higher.

In Virginia, only 0.9% of the labor force had unemployment insurance, compared to the higher national average of 2.4%.¹² With little to fall back on, Virginian workers almost had to take whatever jobs became available, regardless of the low wages and lack of benefits.

b. Increased militarization:

Like other US Southeast States,¹³ Virginia's government sought to attract investment into new industries, especially high tech and military-related industries. It established a state technology corporation to direct research and development activities along these lines. From 1978-1983, it attracted 29.7 high tech firms per million residents, a little higher than the

¹⁰ State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1986; see appendix of this handbook for details by metropolitan area.

¹¹ US Labor Department, report on earnings and employment in major metropolitan areas, 1989.

¹² US Statistical Abstract, Table 653.

¹³ See Militarization, Apartheid and the US Southeast for policies of other US southeastern states.
US average (27.5), ranking it second highest in the South. But the results further dichotomized Virginia's economic and social life.

After World War II, Norfolk-Newport News region and the Alexandria-Washington suburbs flourished as Virginia's fastest growing areas. With over a third of the state's population in these areas depending on the defense dollar, the whole perspective of the state tilted towards military matters. Virginian congressmen held important roles on both the Senate and House military related committees.

i. Growing dependence on military contracts:

Virginia's share of national military contracts rose from 0.8% in 1953 to 6% in 1987, dipping slightly to 4% in 1988. As Table 3 shows, a relatively small handful of contractors received most of these contracts. The regional pattern of contract awards tended to aggravate Virginia's lop-sided development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contract Amount ($'000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charolottesville:</td>
<td>Newport News Shipbuilding</td>
<td>32,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Belvoir Dyncorp</td>
<td>36,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gainsville Atlantic Research Corp.</td>
<td>34,115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: BIGGEST MILITARY CONTRACTORS IN VIRGINIA, 1989

Hampton  Freightline Corp.  32,563
  BDM Corp  49,430
  Sperry Corp  102,538
Manassas  *IBM  552,633
Marion  Brunswick Corp  68,051
Newport News  Flight International Gro  24,762
  Newport News Shipbuilding Co.  5,011,235
Richmond  Brand Name Contractor  32,135

Total amount of contracts per major recipient region in Virginia ($'000):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>$'000</th>
<th>% of state total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
<td>$49,407</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport News</td>
<td>$5,089,639</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>$642,042</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>$64,898</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoake</td>
<td>$39,081</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Beach</td>
<td>$187,112</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *IBM's in US Southeast and South Africa is discussed in Apartheid and US Southeast, see pp. 26, 27, 66-67, 72, 153, 155, 185, 186.
Source: US Department of Defense, Prime Contract Awards, by state, county and contractor, 1989

ii. Norfolk-Newport military-naval bases:

Jammed into the Norfolk port area are five of Virginia's six largest cities: Norfolk, Virginia Beach, Newport News, Hampton, and Portsmouth. By the end of the 1970s, the Norfolk-Portsmouth area, with 12 military installations, represented the largest naval complex in the world, employing over 34,000 civilians and 21,000 military personnel. In the other three cities, eight more military installations supported almost 10,000 civilians and over 22,000 troops, including the Army's Continental command, the Army's Transportation Center, and Langley Air Force Base, headquarters for the U.S. Tactical Air Command. Adding reservists and retired officers, the military accounted for a total payroll of more than half a billion dollars for almost
150,000 people.\textsuperscript{15}

iii. Northern Virginia: The Pentagon and hi-tech:

Washington's Virginia suburbs, too, lean heavily on the federal military dole. Many of the two hundred thousand or so of the civilian and military Defense Department live in the area. The Pentagon building and Fort Meyer are in Arlington. Fort Belvoir, the Army Engineers headquarters, and Cameroon Army Station are in Alexandria. The suburbs also provide a home for several military 'think tanks', including the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) in Arlington, the Research Analysis Corporation in McLean, the Center for Naval Analysis and the Mitre Corporation. The IDA coordinates military research, particularly among university professors. The Research analysis Corporation has conducted studies for the Army on the "impact of dissident elements and minority groups within the Army on enforcement of discipline;" "counterinsurgency costing;" and "probable Communist tactics for take over of developing countries: post-Vietnam through 1985."

iv. The military's impact:

Concentrated in the more developed areas of the state, Virginia's military contracts not only aggravated Virginia's dualist development. Companies receiving them tended to oppose unions and ignore workers' safety; to use government military

\textsuperscript{15} "The Military & the South," in Southern Exposure, Vol 1, No. 1, Virginia's State Profile.
spending to accelerate technological advance -- reducing the resulting employment; and to contribute to environmental pollution.

The largest military contractor, Newport News Shipbuilding Co., obtained almost half the total value of all contracts in Virginia, primarily building and repairing nuclear vessels for the Navy. One of the world's biggest and busiest shipyards, it is owned by Tenneco, one of the Department of Defense's biggest contractors. In 1980, OSHA inspected the yard and found 724 health and safety violations. These included exposures to lead, asbestos and 4,4'-Methylene Bis; absence of health monitoring; and the company's failure to report results of medical exams to workers.

The Radford ammunition plant, the primary military installation in the relatively underdeveloped western part of the state produces over 3.5% of the explosives and propellant needs of the military. By the end of the 1970s, it employed 4000 workers, down from the 9200 employed at the Vietnam war peak. Its presence by not means constitutes an unmixed blessing. Backed by the Army, the Hercules management, too, has exhibited lack of concern for the workers' welfare and anti union behavior. When the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) demanded protection for workers in the Radford Army Ammunition Plant and the adjacent Pulaski County storage area along New River, for years the Army delayed OSHA's efforts to investigate. Meanwhile, over those years explosions killed several workers and wounded
others. Following the fatal 1982 explosion that killed Rufus Marshall, Hercules and the Army finally convened inquiry boards that made reports. They refused, however, to release their recommendations to the union or the State OSHA office. They left investigation of still another explosion in the Army's hands. At the same time, Hercules, which operated the project on contract, obtained funds from the Army -- $1.8 billion between 1970 and 1978, alone -- to accelerate automation. President of the union local, Peter Strader, commented, "Not only does automation put our people out of jobs, but about every damn thing they've automated has blown up -- gotten people maimed or killed." In 1981, for example, the thermal dehydration operation exploded, burning four workers and blowing the roof off the building.

At Manassas, across the border from Washington, DC, IBM generates communications equipment, underwater sound equipment, electronic countermeasures, radar gear and electronics research. A high-tech firm, it mainly employs high income scientists in its research centers, and contracts out the unskilled assembly and processing work to firms in low paying, anti-union areas like Huntsville, Alabama, or South Africa.\(^{16}\)

A higher-than-national average proportion (almost a tenth) of all Virginia's military contracts provided for services. These comprised mainly low paid menial jobs for which wages typically average half to two thirds of those in manufacturing.

\(^{16}\) For IBM's role in the US southeast and in South Africa, see Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast, pp. 26, 27, 66-67, 72, 153-155, 185-186.
4. THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA

The changing international division of labor and militarization undermine the quality of life for the majority of Virginians in several ways. These include: a) a decline of union organization and low wages; b) high poverty rates, especially for women and blacks; c) a decline in federally financed social services aggravated by low local property tax revenues; and d) environmental degradation.

a. Weak unions, low wages:

With anti-unionism strengthened by the military presence, Virginia ranks 44th as one of least unionized states in the US. In 1987, only 10.9 percent of its labor force belonged to unions, a percentage that had dropped by almost a third since 1975 (14.4%). That may help to explain why Virginia's wages in every employment category remain below the US average.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>US $/year</th>
<th>Virginia $/year</th>
<th>% of US average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>$28,808</td>
<td>$25,429</td>
<td>88.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>$20,492</td>
<td>$16,362</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>$21,469</td>
<td>$18,288</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, communications &amp; public util.</td>
<td>$24,041</td>
<td>$23,250</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>$21,507</td>
<td>$21,027</td>
<td>97.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>$10,007</td>
<td>$9,800</td>
<td>97.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real est.</td>
<td>$19,575</td>
<td>$16,906</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>$15,351</td>
<td>$15,011</td>
<td>97.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State and Metropolitan Area Handbook, Table C, p. 554.

Several indices indicated that labor did not fare well in
Virginia. Among all the states, it ranked 36th in average wages for factory workers; 28th in average annual salaries of all workers; 39th in percentage of manufacturing jobs in low-wage industries; 23rd in percentage of households with workers earning subpoverty wages; 20th in percentage of jobs with high occupational diseases; 47th in state laws to protect workers; 41st in maximum weekly unemployment benefits; 36th in percentage of black male workers in traditional white male jobs; 15th in percentage of white women workers in traditional white male jobs; and 46th in terms of non-agricultural workers in unions.

b. Growth of poverty side by side with wealth:

i. Pockets of poverty:

While the military boom raised incomes for military-related managerial, supervisory and research personnel and the communities in which they lived, pockets of poverty spread in the southwest, rural areas and inner city areas. Many workers who had formerly held mining and manufacturing jobs had to take part time jobs at much lower wages with far less fringe benefits. Low wages, even more than unemployment, caused low incomes and growth of poverty populations, especially in rural areas and in inner cities, and especially among blacks and women.

In 1979, Virginia's overall poverty population averaged 9.2%, slightly lower than the national average of 9.6%. In


18. For details, see appendix to this handbook.
non-metropolitan areas, it was 11.4%. In several areas, however, it was significantly higher: In the Charolottesville area, in Fluvanna, it reached 13.6%; around Danville, 11.1%, and higher in Pittsylvania (11.9%); in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area, 11.4%, and even higher, 16.8%, in Norfolk city; in Portsmouth, 15.8%; and, in Suffolk, 13.6%. The poverty population averaged 8.6% in the Richmond-Petersburg area, but it reached 11% or more in Charles, Dinwiddie, and Goochland; 10.6% in Hopewell city; and about 15% in Petersburg and Richmond cities. In Roanoke city, the poverty population reached 12.4%, roughly double that in the rest of the Roanoke metropolitan area.

iii. Discrimination against blacks:

High poverty population rates predominated in areas with relatively high proportions of blacks in the population: Fluvanna, 29%; Danville, 30%; Portsmouth and Suffolk, about 45%; Charles city, 70%; Dinwiddie, 42%; Goochland, 36%; Petersburg, 61%; Richmond city, 51%. They reflected the consequences of discrimination that denied blacks equal job opportunities; forced them to live in areas where no new jobs, other than service work, were opening up; and provided them inadequate education, thus excluding them from the state's new hi-tech industries.

iii. Worse conditions for women:

Women, too, faced discrimination, which for black women meant a double burden. Women in Virginia participated in the

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labor force at a higher rate (59%) than average in the US (56%). This suggests that Virginia's low wages force a higher percentage of Virginia women to work, taking unskilled low paid jobs, to help support their families. Nevertheless, unemployment rates among Virginian women (4.8%) exceed those among Virginian men (3.8%), suggesting Virginian women may confront more job discrimination than average in the US (where the unemployment rates of both sexes are about the same).

c. Tearing the social welfare security net:

i. Cuts in Federal social welfare programs:

Increased military spending led to cuts in national welfare spending that affected the poor in Virginia as well as throughout the US Southeast. (see Militarism, Apartheid and US Southeast). In Virginia, from 1980 to 1984, for example, the recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children fell about 4.2%. The numbers of children benefitting from the program dropped from 114.7 to 105.2 per thousand in the population, an even higher percentage of almost 10%.20

ii. Militarization reduces community resources:

Since military installations and contractors pay little or no taxes, low property taxes reduces local Virginian communities' capacity to replace these kinds of national losses. With a high number of military installations and military contractors, Virginia's per capita property tax revenues remain low: almost

20 State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1986, Table A; see Appendix for data for each metropolitan area in Virginia.
10% less than the US average in metropolitan areas, and 40% less than the US average in nonmetropolitan areas. The Army arsenal in Radford, for example, spreads over 7,000 acres in Pulaski and Montgomery country, on which it pays little or no taxes. (Given the size of a given military installation, and the local property tax rate, you can calculate the annual local property tax loss incurred.) Property taxes remained particularly low in Virginia's poverty areas, reinforcing the factors that denied adequate education and services to the poor who live there.

In 1981-2, Virginia's average local expenditures were 22.5% below the national average, and Virginia's rural local expenditures were a third less than urban areas.

### Table : LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES
Selected areas, 1981-2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$ Per capita</th>
<th>Percent of total for:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US average</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metrop.</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State and Metropolitan Areas Data Book, 1986; see Appendix for details by metropolitan area in Virginia.

iii. Environmental degradation:

Degradation of the environment by military and military-related activities constitutes a major problem. The chemicals and materials used to make ammunition, as in the Radford Arsenal, for example, may pollute ground water and surrounding areas.
This requires constant monitoring, and may incur heavy expenditures in the health of nearby residents as well as in funds to clean it up. Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast examines the dangers as exemplified in other parts of the US southeastern region (see pp. 190-194).

Even in Fairfax and Arlington -- in the mid-80s, second and ninth, respectively, among the wealthiest counties in the US -- military-related prosperity has had negative environmental impact. The late Lieutenant Governor Sargeant Reynolds, observed in 1970:

Take a trip to northern Virginia and have a good look: the sprawling suburbs that have swept away trees and hills and all that is green from the path of 'Progress,' the choking arteries of highways that feebly try to feed Washington its daily work force; the glass jungle of Rosslyn; the pervading massive development of Crystal City.

Northern Virginia suffers from 'excess opportunity' -- from more demand for houses, highways, hospitals, utilities, office and commercial buildings than the area has been able to supply with the abortiveness of time for planning and financing....

We have not developed methods of coping with mass transportation, the need for high-rise living, capital requirements for rapidly developing communities, and zoning requirements that eliminate competition between contiguous areas to attract the quick-turn developer who uses a bulldozer as the great leveler....

Pierce noted that the military-propelled growth of the 1980s had worsened these conditions.

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4. TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY OF PEACE AND JOBS

a. The peace dividend:

Military expenditures, directed to peacetime needs, could provide more jobs and the necessities people need to live better including more adequate social services and security network. According to C. Robert Zelnick, Pentagon correspondent for the ABC News, now that the cold war is winding down, he potential peace dividend could "easily" be $736.3 billion by the year 2000.\(^{22}\)

b. Better paying jobs and social welfare

Virginia's governor and state agencies could direct investment to peace-oriented jobs with adequate pay to produce consumer necessities directed to improving the quality of life, including improved environment which affects Virginians, regardless of income. Chapter 11 in Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast indicates the specific improvements that could be made to improve the quality of life in Virginia, as well as throughout the entire US, by transferring that amount to meet the needs of the people.

c. The need to organize:

To gain control over their own workplaces and lives, Virginians need to work together through their organizations to support a state and national program of peace, better paying jobs and improved social services for all. Militarism, Apartheid and the US Southeast gives examples of action in other states along

these lines (see Part IV).

To prevent the changing international division of labor from undermining their efforts, Virginians should support liberation and development in Africa. They should work to end the transnational corporate strategy that puts their wages and working conditions in competition with those of the poorest and most oppressed Africans. At the same time, working together with the peoples of Africa for liberation and development, Virginians and all US citizens can make the decade of the 1990s one of peace and jobs on both sides of the Atlantic.

APPENDIX

Map of military installations.......................... 26
Table 1: Area and population.......................... 28
Table 2: Population characteristics................... 29
Table 3: Personal income............................... 30
Table 4: Education and money income.................. 31
Table 5: Money income and persons below poverty level.. 32
Table 6: Civilian labor force and unemployment......... 33
Table 7: Civilian labor force, unemployment, and nonagricultural employment.................. 34
Table 8: Nonagricultural employment by industry group.. 35
Table 9: Manufactures.................................. 36
Table 10: Average annual pay and production workers earnings........................................... 37
Table 11: Employment and federal funds and grants...... 38
Table 12: Top wealthholders and federal funds and grants................................................. 39
Table 13: Public aid and journey to work.................. 40
Table 14: Social security and public aid.................. 41

VIRGINIA

LEADING CONTRACTORS, FY 1983

Contractor                  Total Amount      Product
Newport News Shipbuilding  $3,683,357,000  Shipbuilding
IBM                        374,158,000     Aircraft parts; sonar equip.
HB H Co.                   251,001,000     Logistics support
Hercules Inc.              143,110,000     Ammunition
Sperry Corp.               122,605,000     ADP services

COUNTIES/CITIES RECEIVING MOST DoD FUNDS, FY 1983

County/ City Area (T)otal (F)eder Capita Pct. all Federal (P)ayroll (C)ontracts spends
Newport News  $2,966,677,000(T)  $27,375(P)  21,682,000(Pa)  $3,121,978,000(C)  96%
Arlington     2,259,847,000(T)  $14,809(P)  1,524,138,000(Pa)  $865,241,000(C)  72%
Norfolk       1,966,753,000(T)  7,367(P)  1,527,378,000(Pa)  $326,784,000(C)  56%
Fairfax       1,350,895,000(T)  22,675(P)  832,536,000(Pa)  $3,052,000(C)  72%
Virginia      595,953,000(T)   2,273(P)  546,233,000(Pa)  $85,652,000(C)  72%

LEADING R & D CONTRACTORS, FY 1983

Company (Rank in US) Location Total Amount
TRW Corp. (4) Falls Church, McLean, Langley AFB
IBM Corp. (11) Arlington, Roslyn, Nanaseas
BDM Corp. (46) McLean, Norfolk, Warrenton
Inst. for Defense Analysis (74) 22,440,000
Alexandria
Computer Science Corp. (22) 19,670,000
Falls Church, Ft. Eustis

MAJOR LOCATIONS OF PERSONNEL

Site             Personnel            Payroll
Arlington        18,874            28,905  81,550,522,000
Norfolk          17,337            15,981  1,656,420,000
Portsmouth       2851             15,820  415,447,000
Langley AFB      9573             1780   228,498,000
Fort Belvoir     5572             5480   254,373,000

CENTRAL AMERICA MISSION

Norfolk Naval Base serves as home for destroyers and aircraft carriers in Caribbean and off coast of Ctr. Am. Sen- common Coast. Station from Norfolk stationed in Honduras during Big Pine II. Navy Special War Group Special Boat Forces, based in Norfolk trained Honduran Navy in interdiction techniques during Big Pine II.