

According to the Gallup Poll the most despised group in this country today, second only to the "communists", are student demonstrators. The traditional objects of hate such as religious infidels, prostitutes, and homosexuals are trailing way behind on Mr. Gallup's manure roster. Nemmine, stoontz, you are in good company compared to who all leads the race in the Wobbly opinion poll . . .

Our poll—if you are interested in what our poll is officially called—is called those we would most like to send to the Moon.

The rank and file of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union must be getting up a little list of their own, namely their pie-cards. The ILGWU happens to be the richest union in the World, but on their pension plan, which has been in effect over 20 years, the payments have been increased by only \$15. For the rank-and-file member, that is. The ordinary member retires at the age of 65 after 25 years of work to receive a monthly pension of \$65, while the business agent can retire at the same age after 20 years and get \$350 a month.

The rank-and-filers would like to know why the pie-cards can't negotiate as nice a plan for the workers as they have for themselves. They also suggest that some of the hundreds of millions of dollars in real-estate holdings be liquidated so the membership can benefit a little more, instead of telling a pensioner he should work in a non-union shop in order to supplement his dole.

Like F. T. says, labor needs a new unionism!

At Fort Dix Stalag in New Jersey, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Brass Hats to sweep their dirty linen under the carpet. Jails are jails everywhere, but all civilian jails seem to come out a rest home when put up against the military stockades. A number of defendants who are receiving civilian counsel through the Workers Defense League have been subjected to sadistic tortures that only a career soldier is capable of devising. Crossing one's arms behind his back and tying his hands to his feet before dropping him face down on the floor is one example of how the Army builds men. Maybe that's why so many young men are being enchanted by far-off exotic places like Canada and Sweden.

And out in Reaganland, the Army Corps of Engineers has issued permits to three private companies to drill off-shore oil wells in the Santa Barbara Channel. An additional 16 oil companies have applied for permits to drill. Go West,

(continued on Page 8)

**What Do We Aim To Do?**

If you want to know what we aim to do, the full answer is given in the 128-page book by Justus Ebert:

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LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH

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ALL WEALTH MUST GO TO LABOR

# Industrial Worker

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

VOLUME 66, NUMBER 12 - W. N. 1281

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS DECEMBER 1969

10 CENTS

**WOUNDED KNEE  
DECEMBER 29,  
1890**

**TRUONG AM  
MARCH 17,  
1968**



**"AND A GREAT TRADITION CARRIES ON . . . . .!"**

## BLACK AND WHITE NEED SOME SOLIDARITY IN BUILDING GAME

A place for themselves in the building trades is slowly being won by black workers through demonstrations this summer and fall. These demonstrations have made it dangerous or impossible for white workers to proceed with their projects. In Chicago early in November they resulted in a pact that is to be submitted for ratification by 19 trade unions, the contractors, and the 67 affiliates of the black Coalition for United Community Action. The Coalition has been trying to get around the apprentice regulations and practices that have made the better-paying construction jobs a white workers' preserve. The Reverend C. T. Vivian, head of the Coalition, says the agreement is fair, but warns that unless the unions actually put it into practice "it will be just another scrap of paper."

Lionel Bottari, secretary of the I.W.W.'s Chicago general membership branch, wrote the Reverend Vivian a few weeks ago urging that the Coalition try to create jobs for black workers by increasing the

number of jobs in the construction field through cutting the hours to six a day, as otherwise blacks could get jobs only by shoving white workers out of the industry, thereby developing hostilities instead of solidarity and very likely undermining the bargaining power that has made the industry one in which workers have good reason to

seek jobs. So far no such action has been initiated here.

Industrial-type unions have tended to recognize the need for uniting workers regardless of race, but the building industry is the last large holdout for craft unions. They can point with some pride to their wage rates and boast that they are about the only workers who have kept ahead

of the cost of living. But this bargaining strength comes from the circumstance that one can't build skyscrapers in a factory and ship them to far-off places, and certainly not from the moss-covered practice of dismembering the building industry into 19 or more craft unions. The craft union outlook has favored the restriction of membership as a means of restricting the number of workers who might compete with each other for a job. The historical background of racial prejudice has fitted in with this and made it seem to white carpenters and bricklayers that keeping Negroes out helped keep wages and working conditions up.

The magazine Labor History devoted its Summer 1969 issue to the study of how American employers used race prejudice to pit workers against each other and keep them disorganized. It shows how many American unions accommodated themselves to their employers in this strategy. It also shows how Negro spokesmen like Booker

(continued on Page 7)

### WALK A PICKET LINE!

In many cities the Farm Workers are looking for kindred spirits to help them picket the chain stores to get them to stop selling scab grapes. Hunt them up and give them a hand—or perhaps we should say give them two good feet, for that is what it takes to picket.

You will find a bit of picketing good for your constitution. It will make you feel good to see someone who had started for that supermarket turn away when he sees your sign. That makes the manager wish someone would settle that grape strike. It makes you and the customer you turned away realize that after all we are not completely powerless in this world of giant corporations, but can influence what happens with our two good feet.

You are likely to get a bonus of some good conversation and add to your list of friends. You may feel your weight on your feet after a while, but remember you are exerting your pressure to push the standard of living up, not down.

**DON'T BUY CALIFORNIA GRAPES**

editorial

# MORE THAN MORATORIUMS ARE NEEDED!



The second Vietnam Moratorium has come and gone, and now we are looking forward to the third one coming up in December, which promises to be a humdinger. It is reasonable to expect that as more months of this war ensue we are going to have bigger and better moratoriums, since our duly-elected representatives are showing no intention of being influenced by any such manifestations that do not represent the sentiments of the "silent majority".

It is heartening to be able to witness the largest anti-war movement that has ever existed in this country; but any exhilaration one might feel at the thought of a growing anti-war movement is quickly curtailed by the sobering thought that the war over there is still going on, and soldiers and civilians are still dying every day this war continues. We must also take cognizance of the fact that if the powers that be suddenly see fit to conclude this war in Vietnam, either as a result of its growing unpopularity or because this particular encounter is no longer a profitable enterprise, we would still be far from the World of peace and prosperity that we envision.

In our country alone there would still be the problems of poor housing, inflation, urban unrest, air pollution, and all

the rest of the ills that have been spawned by our capitalist society, not to mention the eventual involvement in another bush war, since that seems to be our economic system's principal means of saving its own neck. The end of the Vietnam war would still leave a lot of questions unanswered and a lot of problems unsolved. This is not to say never mind participating in the anti-war movement, or to Hell with moratoriums. By all means let the blokes in the saddle know that you are getting tired of the overload and are entertaining thoughts of bucking a little. The more people participate in these things, the more the "silent majority" are going to be shaken out of their apathy and be compelled to make themselves be heard one way or the other. Likewise it is a good chance to do some educational work and get in some licks against the system.

However the greatest job of the moratorium is yet to come. It must be recognized that during these moratoriums and all past anti-war manifestations that transpired on a regular work day, the factories that produce the implements of war and the machinery that facilitates the prosecution of war were still running full blast. And for those of you fellow oxen who are not engaged directly in any war production, lest you become overly smug at your minimal involvement, take a good look at your withholding tax deductions and take stock of the number of days you put in producing for the war system for each day that you participated in some anti-war demonstration.

It is those of us who produce for this economic system who each day cast our daily vote of approval for the status quo; for without us these factories would never run. This war and the system that creates it, along with all the attendant evils, continue because working men and women keep running their machinery.

War will stop only when the producers refuse to allow their energy to be misspent in such useless activity. If workers are able to run a factory without ever seeing the owner or the board of directors, there is no reason why workers would not be able to run a society that produces for the good of all humanity. It takes only a simple process. Simple but yet so difficult. THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION, ORGANIZATION, AND EMANCIPATION!

— CAC

## Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

## Attention, Field Correspondents!

Because of all the hassle with last-minute holiday mailing, it will be necessary to set the deadline for material to appear in the January issue of the Industrial Worker for Monday, December 15. All copy intended for the January issue should be in this office by that date.

— The Editor



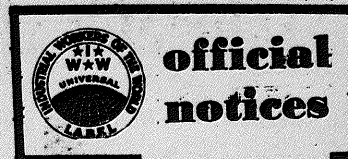
"You know the answer, Buddy!"

## NEW MAG FROM VANCOUVER

SOLIDARITY, published by the IU 620 Branch, has now been put on a regular basis. Volume 1, Number 2 informs us that succeeding issues will abandon the mimeograph for photo offset.

The editors take pains to point out that SOLIDARITY is not a "house organ", but desires to "provide a forum for those who would consider themselves a part of the libertarian left." Some of the articles to be included in the next number are an account of the recent strike at Simon Fraser U., syndicalism in Latin America, B. C. Construction Trade Unions, and the regularly-featured Little Man comic strip. It is a mag that should be of interest to all Wobs and deserves their support.

You can be put on the mailing list by writing Education Workers Union 620, 609 Queens Avenue, New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada. Although there is no subscription price quoted, there is little risk of offending the FWs involved if you enclose a dollar or two to help them in their venture. The Vancouver Branch is one of the most activist-oriented groups in the Wob roster, as shown by the SFU strike, for which several Wobs face probable jail terms. Help them in their efforts by supporting the fledgling SOLIDARITY mag.



official notices

**BERKELEY:** The Branch Secretary is Robert Rush, 1723 10th Street.

**CHICAGO:** Branch general membership meetings are now being held on the first Friday of the month at 2422 North Halsted Street. Write to Branch Secretary Lionel Bottari

**BUFFALO:** Write to IWW Delegate Henry Pfaff, 77 Eckhart Street, Buffalo, New York 14207 or through Peace and Freedom, 507 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York 14222 (716-884-0426).

**DULUTH:** Write to IWW Stationary Delegate Patrick J. McMillen, Post Office Box 559 (55801), or phone Pat (727-3154) after 7 p.m. for an appointment.

**HOUSTON:** Robert (Blackie) Vaughan is Acting Secretary of the Houston I.U. 510 Branch. All communications intended for the Branch should be addressed to him at 7505 Navigation Boulevard (77011).

**ITHACA:** Stationary Delegate Bill Siebert can be reached at the Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue (phone 607-273-0535 or 273-1899).

**LOS ANGELES:** Phone Dorice McDaniels (OR 7-8397) or write to Eugene Nelson, Post Office Box 33463, Los Angeles, California 90033 (213-225-9304).

**NEW YORK:** For delegate service and information, phone Bill Goring (749-6465).

**PHILADELPHIA:** Write to Jarama Jahn, Post Office, Box 17161 (19105), or phone WA 3-6691.

**SAN FRANCISCO:** Michael Mack, 177 Harlow Avenue, San Francisco, California 94112. Phone: 584-4507.

**SEATTLE:** The Seattle Branch is moving out of the Jones Building October 26, and until a new hall is opened inquiry to reach IWW delegates can be made at the ID Bookstore opposite the university or by phoning Herb Edwards, WE 7-2513.

**VANCOUVER:** IWW Stationary Delegate: J. B. McAndrew, 1896 1 Avenue, Basement, Education Workers IU 620: 607 Queens Avenue, New Westminster, British Columbia (L. Gambone, Secretary).

**WATERLOO:** IWW Student-Teacher Branch at University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Cyril Levitt, Secretary, c/o Federation of Students.

**YAKIMA:** Write to Stationary Delegate, Post Office Box 2205, Yakima, Washington 98902.

## OVERSEAS BRANCHES

**AUSTRALIA:** Bert Armstrong, 20 Barton Street, Concord, New South Wales.

**GREAT BRITAIN:** LONDON: Colin Beadle, 49 Lausanne Road, Hornsey, London N. 8.

**HARTEPOOL (NORTHEAST ENGLAND):** Brian Carter, 1 Ormesby Road, Seaton Estate, Hartepool, County Durham.

**SWEDEN:** David Sund, Harpundsavgen 44, 124-40 Bandhagen.

**REBEL VOICES**  
Paperbound copies of Joyce Kilmer's "Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology" may be had from headquarters at \$4.95 each.

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## INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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Carlos Cortez, Editor  
AL JUST, General Secretary-Treasurer  
W. H. Westman, Business Manager

It should be understood by members and others who read this paper that it is the policy of the I.W.W. to designate as OFFICIAL any articles or policies which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official. All other matter herein contained is the mere personal expression of the individuals or individual writing or editing the same.

# Reader's Soapbox



CONSTRUCTION CARD EASY IF YOU HAVE WHITE FACE

Fellow Worker Editor:

The building trades council has set up an office to hire black journeymen for construction jobs, often citing this as evidence of their good faith in trying to get "qualified" black workers jobs. I parenthesize the word "qualified" in that it is the key word in the statement.

When you first appear on the job with your tools (hiring procedures are very relaxed in construction) to see about working, the first thing you must produce is your union card. This card is the sole proof that is demanded to determine whether or not you are qualified. Supposedly, the bearer of the card has either served his apprenticeship, which is seldom less than four years, or is a worker who has joined the union after having worked an equivalent length of time as a non-union man. In the latter case, the individual must pay an initiation fee (never less than \$250) and pass an "examination".

In my own case, I paid my initiation and appeared for my "test" almost completely ignorant of any of the fundamental uses of the basic tools, let alone the ability to utilize them. To some degree I could claim the basic skills (in this case hammering nails without crushing one's fingers and using saws without danger of amputation), but as to the use of the framing square, an indispensable and basic tool, I had no knowledge.

I discovered later that I had no reason to be fearful of not being accepted, because I had other things going for me. I was white and clean-shaven and had short hair at the time.

When I was ushered into the room where my test was going to take place, I found that instead of a written exam my trial was to consist of two questions from two old men. The first was my name; the second was how long I'd worked as a carpenter. I told the truth on one.

I was immediately given a permit to work, and my due book, "pie-card" (the quarterly

membership card on the job), and button were given to me during my initiatory meeting and upon receipt of another \$27. On the job all did not go as smoothly, because my ignorance and unskilled efforts did not impress my employers. Still, I lasted over a week and made almost enough to cover my expenses getting into the union. From then on I improved until at present (two years after my initiation) I am skilled enough to do most kinds of house carpentry work.

I have worked four or five different jobs in that time, and I have yet to see any black carpenters on the sites. Although I cannot speak as a witness, it seems strange to me that no black people have taken advantage of the situation in the carpenter's union to get these high-paying jobs. (The scale is now over \$6.50 per hour.) It seems likely that the black man's test might be a bit more rigorous than mine was, as this is the only part of getting into the union that could prove a pitfall.

— Wood Butcher

SURPRISED AS HELL!

Fellow Worker Editor:

Several years ago, on the 50th anniversary of the Everett Massacre, I went to the library to see if they had a copy of that book. They told me they had only one and they would not loan it out. So I went from one book store to another but could not find any. I finally went to the biggest book store in Seattle. They had one, but they wanted a big price for it. I asked them if they could make a reprint of it and get it into circulation again.

They told me it might be possible. A few months later they made a reprint, and now it is in all the book stores. Never thinking they would do it I was surprised; but I was in for a bigger surprise this year on the 53rd anniversary of the Everett Massacre.

I was sitting watching the news on the Seattle television when I heard them announce that the next program would be a story of the Everett Massacre. I thought to myself: What kind of lies are they going to show now? But much to my surprise, this is what I saw: They showed pictures of Beverly Park where our Fellow Workers were beaten up; the boat, Verona, at the dock; and some other pictures. They gave a true account of everything about the trial. Of course they had to leave out a lot of details because the program was not long enough.

I just wonder what those gunmen who are still living in Everett thought about the program if they saw it. If somebody had told me it would be on television, I would never have believed it.

Nels Peterson  
X297036



## FORESHADOWING TOMORROW

What you read in the Industrial Worker often describes the world as it will or might be. Learn more about tomorrow.

### CONDITIONS ON LAKE SHIPPING

If you want to see the World's largest maritime museum, all you have to do is get yourself a job on the Great Lakes as a seaman. Here on this great inland sea you can ride on some tubs that should have been in some museum or on some scrap heap long ago. Typical of such tubs was the one I just came off, the Henry H. Rogers, an ore boat built in 1904 and owned by the Steel Trust. (Careful how you spell that next-to-last word.)

The sleeping quarters for the seamen were really out of sight. I have been in roomier cells in county jails and city lockups on the Coast than the staterooms we had on the Henry H. Each of these cubicles had a double bunk, so the only way one man could move around was for the other to stay in his bunk. Which made it just ducky when both had to change gear for the same shift. These living quarters were next to the engine and steering-gear rooms, and were noisy as Hell—especially at change of watches.

The majority of the seamen on this tub were from the Southern Appalachians. During lifeboat drill out of one of the ports, one man with an able-bodied seaman certificate did not know how to remove the cover from a lifeboat. For the edification of you landlubbers, a lifeboat ticket is an essential part of your able-bodied seaman certificate.

The workers of this boat are organized under Local 5000 of the Steelworkers. The dues are by the check-off system, with an initiation fee of \$52.50 as compared to the SIU's fee of \$245. The wages averaged \$2.30 an hour for a 40-hour week, with time and a half for Saturdays and Sundays. SIU gets double time on Sundays. Whenever anybody had a gripe, he was invariably reminded of SIU's higher initiation fee and asked if he would prefer being organized under SIU. Nice going—playing one union off against the other! The boss will use any means at his disposal to keep the stiffs in line.

As for food, the grub on this boat was pretty fair, but the cook and the mess boy were religious as all get-out, with the result that we got religion thrown in with our chuck. Prayers at every meal, and

prayer meetings in the morning. I asked these jokers why in the Hell they were running off at the mouth about a mansion in the sky while they were sleeping in bunks that were considered primitive 50 years ago.

There is a lot of organization and education needed on the lake shipping today!

— X310324

## PUNY MAN

Little Man you've had a busy day. You screwed up the law of evolution and upset the balance of nature; thus to hell you're on your way.

You've learned to grow more food in a day, than your family needs in a week, yet your weekly need determines your pay, and the surplus piles up in a heap.

When the warehouse is filled all the way up with the stuff that your wages can't buy, they say: to work and eat you must stop; until we dispose of our oversupply.

So what do you do about the dilemma? You resort to our standby panacea; You send your sons into the trench; to blow the surplus to hell and gone; Then to keep you busy at both ends; you go back to work and make some more.

But your great solution boomeranged and knocked you into a silly harangue, because your kids who remained behind refuse to heed your sage advice. If you think your gripe is justified; just look what you left 'em to idolize!

You gave Moloch your sons in sacrifice, Robbed your daughters of their birthright and nature's rule for mate selection. Don't fret because the world's all askew; You're as much to blame as Spiral O'Gnu.

— 8.166166

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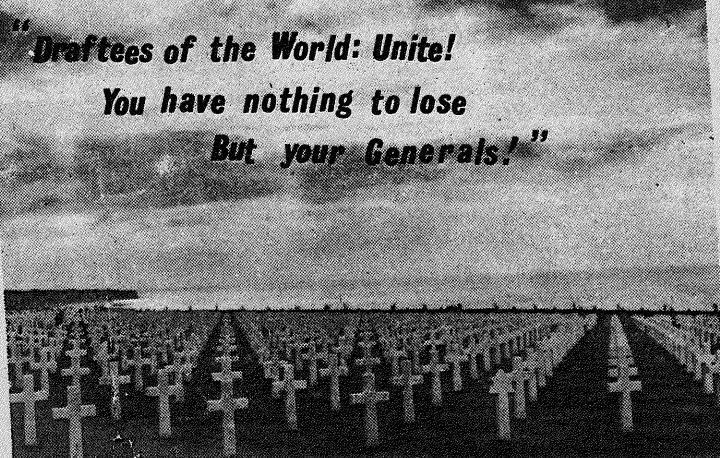
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The Industrial Worker is in need of added news agents and news boys to sell the publication with other IWW literature.

The Industrial Worker sells for 10c a copy and the commission to the agents or news boys is 5c per copy. The commission on song books and other literature is 40 per cent.

Anyone interested in the offer please communicate with "Industrial Worker, 2422 No. Halsted Street, Chicago 14, Illinois."

W. H. Westman,  
Business Manager



**"Draftees of the World: Unite!  
You have nothing to lose  
But your Generals!"**



# Gilded Slogans — Plain Planning ?

I had hoped that the popular movements would encourage self-reliance among the common people. But this job they have done very indifferently well.

Our logic was bound to break down because of the many illusions implicit in it. There was the illusion of the Great Leader, a god-like aspiration in the hearts of many people, a miracle to which they turned. There was the faith, borne of the despair and longing of our country's poor, that out of some vague future abundance peace and freedom would automatically flow. There was the conviction that the amorphous pacifist inclinations, so widespread during recent years, represented the hard substance of resistance to war and the practical means of abolishing it.

It was a reflection of

immature incompleteness, this optimistic social outlook. It took for granted that only capitalists profit economically from war. It overlooked the sugar-coated blood-money reaped by the working class in defense jobs. It set workers and capitalists in opposite ideological camps, an assumption that ignored the strong hold that the two-party political system has on the country. It misinterpreted the value of power as a simple remedy in itself. It assumed that while power in the hands of capitalists made for war, power in the name of the common people or their leaders necessarily made for peace, regardless of the form that social and economic organization took. From this reasoning it followed that all would be well, all good would

flow from simple organization of the people and eventual overthrow of capitalism.

Organization of whom? For what? To be sure, there is much movement, there are many groups bustling and scurrying in circles. This is the great, tangible result of the pitiful strivings and aspirations of the common people. Alas, when rank and file insight and self-direction are lacking, organization actually weakens and destroys self-reliance. For organization is a pliant instrument, as readily converted to the service of militaristic and dogmatic ends as to democratic objectives. The

(continued on Page 8)



## A DETECTIVE

by William D. Haywood

A detective is the lowest, meanest, most-contemptible thing that either creeps or crawls, a thing to loathe and despise.

A detective has the soul of a craven, the heart of a hyena. He will barter the virtue of a pure woman or the character of an honest man. He will go into the labor union, the political party, the fraternal society, the business house, the church. He will drag his slimy length into the sacred precinct of the family, there to create discord and cause unhappiness. He breeds and thrives on the troubles of his own making. He is a maggot of his own corruption.

That you may know how small a detective is, you may take a hair and punch the pith out of it, and in the hollow hair you can put the hearts and souls of 40,000 detectives and they will still rattle. You can pour them out on the surface of your thumbnail, and the skin of a gnat will make an umbrella for them.

When a detective dies he goes so low he has to climb up a ladder to get into Hell, and he is not a welcome guest there. When His Satanic Majesty sees him coming, he says to his imps "Go get a big bucket of pitch and a lot of sulphur, give them to that fellow, and put him outside. Let him start a little hell of his own. We don't want him in here, starting trouble."

## A SURE BET

*Is there food on the table,  
do you know what shape you're in?  
When you see the price of living,  
do you wonder where you've been?  
Take your dollar to the bookie,  
how many times you ever win?*

*Well now give your dollar to the city  
and your dollar to the state,  
And your dollar to the union,  
and a dollar on the plate.  
They all will take your dollar  
and they all will say to wait.*

*They all will take your dollar  
while they sit around and grin,  
Cause all your dollar's buying  
is the bosses' cold and empty glow,  
Take your dollar to the bookie...  
how many times you ever win?*

*If you're coming with your dollar,  
why you're welcome any place.  
But if you give them your opinion,  
and you give it to their face,  
That's like selling the old bookie  
on the outcome of the race.*

*Now you think you can't do nothing  
and there ain't no use in trying,  
And you're better off just buying  
what little peace you can,  
With a dollar for the bosses,  
and a dollar for the plate,  
And a dollar to the bookie  
on some horse who also ran.*

*Your brothers think the same thing,  
and the man across the hall,  
And the bosses and the bookies  
that are giving you the stall.  
Yes, they think so most of all,  
most of all.  
But it's the bosses and their bookies  
that are riding for a fall.*

— Satchel Bones

## The IWW and Violence

The IWW has never advocated violence; neither has it specifically opposed it as one of the tools for social change. Instead the question of the use or non-use of violence has been looked upon as a purely-tactical question, and the organization has refused to be tied down to any one particular tactic, preferring instead to be flexible toward each new situation.

Yet the IWW reputation as a violent organization has probably more than any other single issue been used as an excuse for repression against it. The organization's early advocacy of "Sabotage" and direct action were probably most responsible for the confusion.

Sabotage as the early Wobs understood it had really very little to do with the World War Two concept of the word. In most instances Sabotage meant the withholding of efficiency in an effort to raise production costs and thus put pressure on the bosses. Sometimes it meant doing the kind of damage to machinery that would halt production. At worst it was violence against property, certainly not against men.

Direct action had for the

Civic Association about the same connotation as riot now has for the Chicago Tribune. Yet most IWW direct actions were non-violent strikes, picketing, or demonstrations such as the West Coast free speech fights. But as Bill Haywood observed: "There is nothing more violent in the eyes of the bosses than a worker with his arms folded."

The IWW has never believed that a man has a moral obligation to take beatings, shootings, and other mayhem lying down without defending himself. Almost exclusively the use of traditionally conceived violence by IWW members was in self-defense. The workers aboard the Venice fired back when attacked by a mob of vigilantes at Everett, Washington. Had they not, the massacre might have been more complete.

Most of the violence associated with IWW history was perpetrated against the Wob members. Frank Little, Joe Hill, and hundreds of other bloodied, nameless Wobs are testimony to this.

In some ways the IWW reputation for violence and that of the Black Panther Party

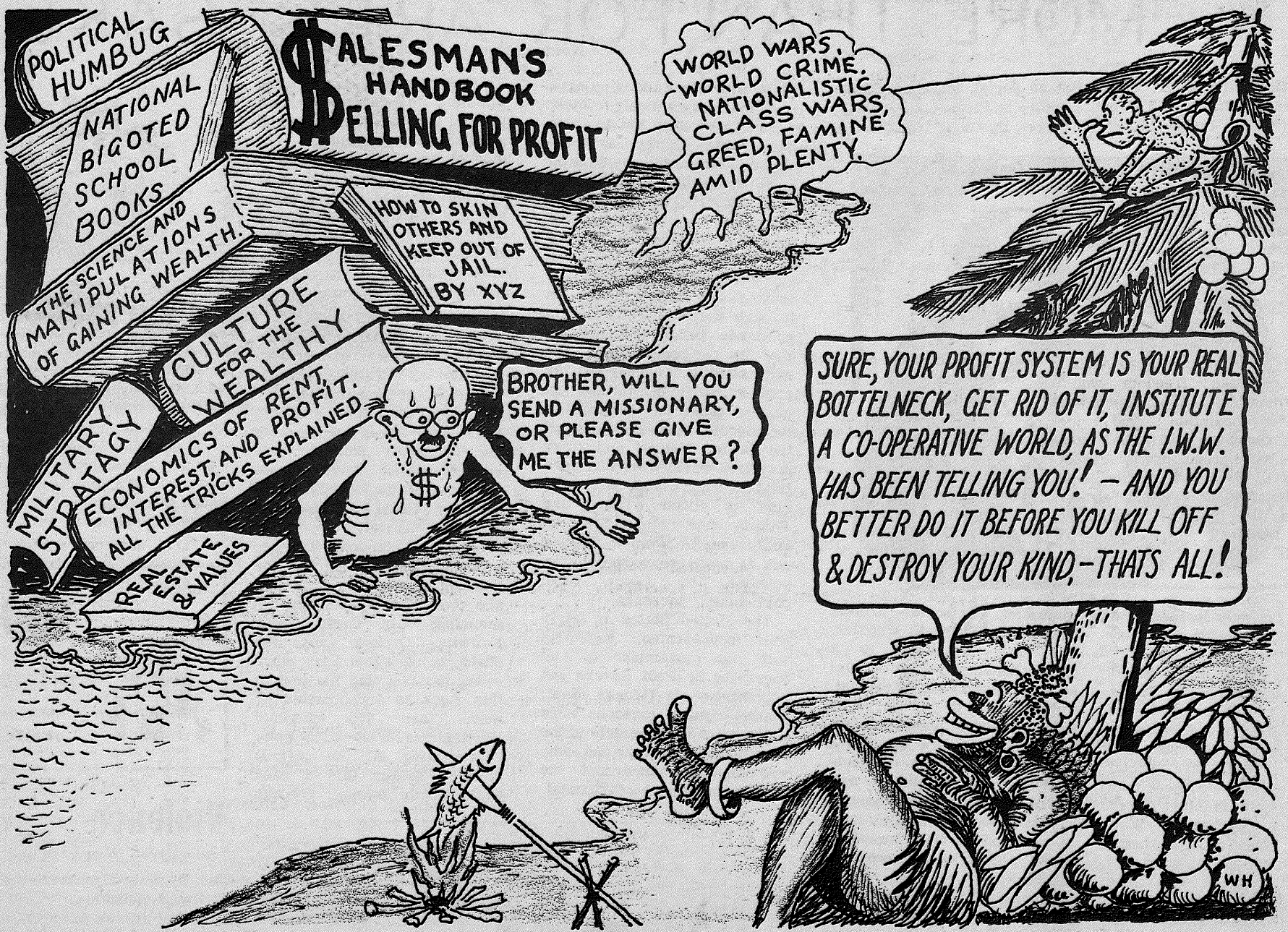
are analogous. Both groups made use of rhetoric associated with violence, yet in actuality employed it on a very limited scale. Both groups suffered severe repression largely on account of their violent reputations, but also found that the same reputations could sometimes be used as effective levers in gaining immediate demands.

In realistic terms there are about four ways violence and the threat of violence can be tactically used. Each of these ways has its strengths and weaknesses in given situations. It might be well to briefly examine them here.

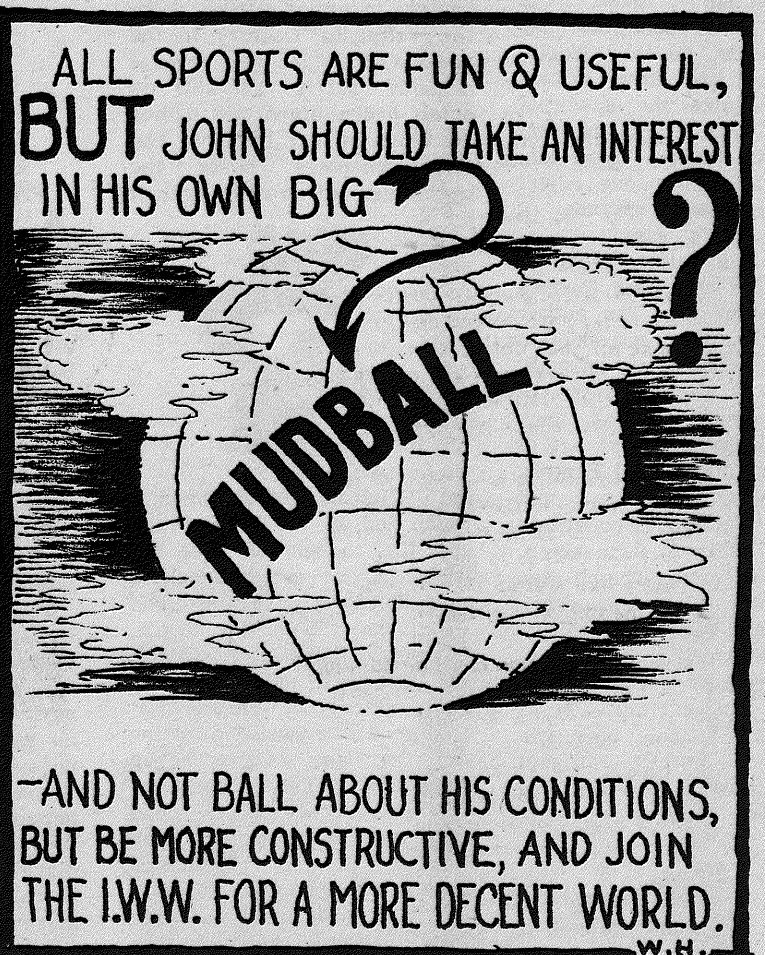
First there is the use of the threat of violence and the corresponding implementation of it. This is really useful only in a truly revolutionary situation. Contrary to popular myth, America is not yet ready for armed revolution. The recent silliness in Chicago perpetuated by the Weatherman faction of SDS demonstrated admirably how detrimental this kind of action can be. The job of the hard-working day-to-day organizers in the streets, schools, and factories of Chicago was considerably set

(continued on Page 6)





JOHN J. WORKOX, BY THE MILLIONS PAYS TO SEE THE ANTICS OF COMMERCIALIZED BALL GAMES, AN ESCAPE AND RELAXATION, FROM HIS HUM DRUM SPEEDUP JOB



CONVENTION NEWS NEXT ISSUE

## BOOK REVIEW

## MORE THAN FOR "ART'S" SAKE

**THE INDIGNANT EYE: The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso, by Ralph E. Shikes** (Beacon Press, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 02108, \$12.50).



Art is not only freedom, but also the desire for freedom. Without these two factors, Art cannot survive as a meaningful entity in human society. While it is true that we are far from creating a free society, and while it is true that not all artists are social revolutionaries—any more than those engaged in other fields of human endeavor, what relative freedom is being enjoyed today is being enjoyed because of those who have constantly asserted their desire for freedom and freedom of expression. The concern for freedom is the concern of all engaged in productive activity. All productive workers have a vested interest in freedom—and that is particularly true of the artist.

There are those artists who through the patronage of the parasitic elements of the human race have won themselves a privileged position in society, and no longer consider themselves as having any interests in common with the overwhelming mass of humanity who constitute the hired hands of this World. And there are those artists who recognize the essential fact that what affects the rest of society affects them too, and as a consequence reject the ivory-tower attitude of "art for art's sake".

It is this latter group of artists that this book focuses its attention on. The author admits in his introduction that he does not attempt to give a world history of social-protest art, as such fields as the satirical art of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe or Chinese and Japanese art would constitute separate books by themselves. With the exception of a chapter on Mexico, this book covers the Western European tradition of art of which United States artists are a part. Though your reviewer is certain that if the author of this book had engaged in a little diligent archaeological research he would have come across with



examples of social protest before the Fifteenth Century, this book in itself is a comprehensive review of art as a medium of social protest. Furthermore it can serve as an introduction to many artists for those who are interested in making a more complete study of social-protest art.

The one thing that most of the artists in this book have in common is the element of mass production through the medium of woodcut, metal engraving, silk screen, and other means of making more than one copy. In other words, rather than paint one canvas or carve one piece of marble that would end up as the private possession of one person for the enjoyment of a very-limited number of people, it was more important that what they had to say would be seen and understood by as many people as possible. Since the latter course was not as lucrative as the former, it is a high point of commendation for those artists.

As the title of the book suggests, the field of social protest in art is covered from the Fifteenth Century to the present. This includes several unknown artists as well as some pretty important names in Western art history. The first chapters cover the beginnings of protest against



the Church establishment, which led to the Reformation and the indignation over the feudal barons' absolute control over the lives of the peasants. Prominent names like Bosch, Cranach, Holbein, Brueghel, and Duerer, to mention a few, figure in these chapters.

The start of industrialization and the rise of an urban proletariat brought Hogarth, Cruikshank, Delacroix, and many others to the fore. The Spanish painter Francisco Goya rates a complete chapter, and the Frenchman Daumier most of another chapter in this book. This is deservedly so, since both these men lived in an atmosphere of complete tyrannical repression, and the fact that they were able to carry on their protest against the conditions of their day

while literally walking on eggs is a testimony not only to their artistic ingenuity, but to their indomitable courage as well. Anyone reading the chapters on these two artists cannot fail to be impressed.

Daumier in particular had been the inspiration of a long line of successive artists who carried their war of the etching needle right on through the days of the Paris commune to be followed by the impressionists and the expressionists. One of the richest periods of art in modern times has been that of the German expressionists of the period before and after the First World War, who were finally suppressed with the rise of Hitler. They, like Posada and other Mexican engravers, believed in turning out as many reproductions as possible to carry their particular message.

The United States is fairly well represented, beginning with an example of an engraving by Paul Revere and engravings of Thomas Nast, whose populist cartoons were well known in the middle of the Nineteenth Century and who was the forerunner of the modern editorial cartoonist.



## A RESTIVE MIDDLE CLASS

Inflation has been described as a tax on the poor and the elderly, but evidence that it is beginning to hurt the average wage-earner continues to mount. The great American middle class is having trouble making ends meet, and its mood is turning ugly.

Pete Hamill and others call it the revolt of the White Lower Middle Class. "The working class earns its living with its hands or its backs," he writes. Its members do not exist on welfare payments or handouts; they do not live in abject swinish poverty or in safe, remote suburban comfort. They earn between \$5,000 and \$10,000 a year. And they can no longer make it. Their grievances seem to be centering—in the more heavily populated cities—on anti-poverty and welfare programs for Negroes and on the failure of local government to provide services to match galloping tax rates. Some call it "the revolt of Mr. Middle".

A union wage study released

This chapter pays considerable attention to such well-known pointed pens as Art Young and William Gropper and the rise of such publications devoted to the cause of radical education as the Masses and similar journals that followed. Also mentioned were those artists of the "Ashcan School" who broke with the idea of just making pretty pictures.

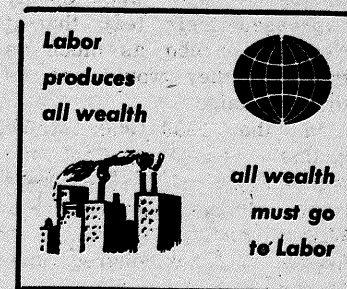
The only serious omission in this chapter is that of such artists as Taisto Luoma, "Dust", Cliff Bennett, and X13; but since the author probably had never been exposed to the Industrial Worker, this reviewer will forgive him in view of the excellent job he has done in amassing a great variety of social protest art in one volume.

Space does not permit the mention of all the artists who are treated in this book—including Van Gogh, Kathe Kollwitz, Orozco, and Ben Shahn, to name just a few more—but the fact that the text of this book is accompanied by more than 400 excellent illustrations in black and white representing all the periods covered makes this a book well worth owning. Though



your reviewer recognizes that some may consider twelve and a half bucks a little too much to hand over for a book, what with the ravages of the daily battle of the cost of living, he sincerely recommends it as a good investment to those who are interested in the arts. After all, \$12.50 is just a visit to the sawbones or half a night out with the boys.

— Carlos Cortez



## Violence

(continued from Page 4)

back by this ill-conceived and ill-timed operation.

Second is the advocacy and use of total non-violence, which is really effective only in certain very special circumstances. Non-violence requires historically a strong charismatic leader and a mass following to be effective. Perhaps because of man's innately-violent nature, a King, Christ, Gandhi, or Chavez is required to hold the people's attention and devotion through displays of his own strength and goodness. But the IWW has always rejected the personality cult inherent in this kind of movement. Instead it has placed its faith in the workers and masses to direct themselves and has been leary of centralizing power in one man's hands. In that it has been wise, for it has been far too easy to kill or buy off a single man and thus render a whole movement directionless.

Third is the use of violence while making no public pronouncements about it. This tactic was characteristic of the CIO movement in the Thirties. While it may be very effective in one sense, discovery of such secret use of violence can have a devastating effect. No one really likes a terrorist.

Finally, it is possible to use the rhetoric of violence while holding its use substantially in check. This has generally been the IWW approach. The tactic has often been highly successful in gaining immediate demands because it plays upon the fear of the enemy. But fear is a very strange thing, and often results in the intended victim's lashing out violently himself, thus doing damage to the movement and crippling the chances of attaining the ultimate goal of re-shaping the whole society.

On the whole it seems best to view violence and its various uses as just one tactical tool in a whole boxful. Flexibility is best when trying to build a new order.

— Patrick Murfin

(continued on Page 8)

# BLACK & WHITE

(continued from Page 1)

T. Washington and many Negro preachers were equally accommodating to employers. Black capitalism is not a new cure-all.

The coal-and-steel industry of the Birmingham area grew after the Civil War, as Paul Worthman explained in that issue, employing a large number of former slaves who were now landless and free to hunt for a job. After the United Mine Workers got started in 1890, it pioneered the industrial outlook in contrast to the mining industry; it integrated its union meetings and usually had a Negro as vice-president of its integrated locals. This shocked many white unionists who wanted to use union strength to keep black workers out of their trades or industries and who openly expressed their fear that if Negroes earned as much as they did they would act as their equals.

In the 1899-1900 strike against Tennessee Coal and Iron, most of the strikers were black. The Reverend William McGill, who had been urging his black congregations to keep away from unions, now went around preaching that Negroes should show their appreciation of an employer like TC&I, that gave Negroes jobs, by scabbing for it. In 1903 white mobs chased UMWA organizers out of Walker County for organizing black and white workers together. In 1903-1904 they struck again for 16 months, while most of the scabs came fresh from Ellis Island speaking the many tongues of Eastern Europe. By 1908 these immigrant groups were so fed up with conditions that they joined with the Negro and native white workers to strike once more, and vigilante groups threatened them on the ground that they could not "tolerate the organization and striking of Negroes along with white men". After this 1908 strike the UMWA collapsed in Alabama, and so did its influence on the Alabama labor movement to organize black workers.

Large numbers of Negroes who knew nothing of industries or unions or strikes were recruited in Southern rural areas to break the Chicago packinghouse strike of 1894. The butcher union had industrial tendencies and organized black and white together for their next big effort, the 1904 strike immortalized in Sinclair's novel "The Jungle". Once again black workers were recruited in Southern rural areas by the thousands, one train alone dumping 1400 black scabs in the stockyards. In 1905 the Chicago Teamsters struck, and Negroes who did not know the Chicago streets were imported to scab under the guidance and direction of Chicago's largely Irish police force. The result was a race riot in May of 1905 in which Negroes, even though they had gotten themselves a union card, were beaten up as members of an allegedly "scab race". In Chicago the churches and even the YMCA were used by the employers to ally black workers with them in these struggles, says William Tuttle in his article on the Chicago scene.

In those days most unions either avoided taking in Negroes or put them in separate locals, giving black

carpenters, for example, cards but not much chance to work at union rates. Many railroad crafts openly barred them from membership, and the Louisville and Nashville Railroad hit on the policy of hiring black switchmen and firemen to discourage white unions from organizing their engineers and conductors. Negroes had ample grounds for wondering what was in it for them to help white workers win union recognition if this barred Negroes from work. Negro demonstrators in the early Thirties confronted the AFL conventions to ask whether the only way they could enter industry was as scabs. Even after the CIO was launched on the program of organizing all workers in the same industry together regardless of race or language and had induced national Negro organizations to support this position, the local Negro leadership was still used in the old way. James Olson writes of Ford:

"To further hurt the CIO, industrial management often cultivated relations with black community leaders. By means of financial contributions to local Negro organizations, management gained their allegiance and increased their dependence on local industry. The black church became the focal point of this support, and the most sophisticated practitioner of this policy was the Ford Motor Company. The Ford Company made financial contributions to selected Negro churches, and then in effect used the ministers as employment agents. Prospective workers were hired upon presenting written recommendations from their ministers to Company officials. Negro ministers

welcomed Ford's assistance because it increased church attendance, helped keep the church financially solvent, and strengthened their community leadership positions. Once having secured Company approval, a minister was anxious to keep it, and thus willing to follow Ford's anti-CIO position." (Page 481)

In 1933 Clark Foreman had written to Harold Ickes: "The industrialists and the AFL are both hostile to Negro labor, the former because they want to keep Negroes as a reserve of cheap labor, and the latter because they want to eliminate Negro competitive labor." Raymond Walters, in his article on 7A and the black worker, quotes that formula and also the following 1936 statement of DuBois: "The AFL is not a labor movement. It is a monopoly of skilled laborers who join the capitalists in exploiting the masses of labor." Pro-union black workers liked Senator Wagner's idea of Section 7A and the guarantee that workers should have the right to select bargaining representatives of their own choosing, but wanted some assurance that voting for the union would not enable it to make a contract barring Negroes from employment. Walters quotes Keyserling as explaining: "The Act as originally drafted by Senator Wagner provided that the closed shop would be legal only when there were no restrictions upon membership in the labor union to which the majority of workers belonged. The AFL fought bitterly to eliminate this clause, and much against his will Senator Wagner had to consent to the elimination in order to prevent the scuttling of the entire bill."



Joe Hill  
The I.W.W.  
is a Party of  
the People  
It is the only  
Party that  
stands for  
the rights of  
the workers  
and the  
people  
of this  
country  
and  
the  
world  
Order from  
I.W.W.  
Chicago, Ill.

# TURE NERMAN

Ture Nerman, author of "Joe Hill, Murderer or Martyr?", is dead at 83. Nerman had been a radical socialist since his student years at Uppsala University. In the Thirties he was a member of parliament, and as such was to the Left of his contemporary "practical social democrats", who often accused him of being querulous because of his critical attitude regarding easy panaceas. During the Second World War he published a paper called "Trots Allt" dedicated to the fight against Hitlerism. Books and pamphlets supplemented his paper exposing Nazism for the hoodlum outfit it was. He was an uncompromising opponent of all forms of dictatorship.

Besides translating Joe Hill's songs into Swedish, Nerman also translated our General Strike pamphlet. His translation from German to Swedish of Rosa Luxemburg's critical commentary on the Russian revolution was more than a creditable job. He even found time before his final curtain call to turn out an instruction book on citizens' rights regarding burial procedures together with co-worker Per Anders Fogelstrom. The state church held a monopoly on this at one time.

— Evert Anderson



### BOYCOTT GRAPES



REBEL VOICES  
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Chicago, Ill. 60614

So the Reverend Vivian has good historic precedent for fearing that the new pact may become just a scrap of paper. Unionists should know one elementary idea in economics: To put any group of workers at a bargaining disadvantage converts them into a force inhibiting the upward movement of real wages. If unionists cannot develop a sense of brotherhood, they had best at least develop an enlightened sense of self-interest. In this age when pre-fabs are being built under union contract with women installing the plumbing and the electrical conduits at wages far below those paid on building sites, it is time to think through the economics of industrial unionism and the six-hour proposal of Lionel Bottari. — FT

(As of this printing, the pact submitted for ratification between the affiliates of the Black Coalition, the nineteen trade unions and the building contractors has fallen through.

—Editor)

# Class War Prisoner Released At Last

Walter F. Haas, after serving 32 years of a lifetime sentence in Maryland State Prison, was released on parole in September 1969.

He and two other SIU members were convicted of throwing a bomb into a rooming house which housed seaman scabs during an SIU strike in 1937, killing several

of the strikebreakers.

At their trial all three of them denied having had anything to do with the holocaust, and their conviction was based wholly on circumstantial evidence.

Kennon Langham and Marty Vicks, who were convicted with Haas, were released on parole a number of years ago.

Allan H. Just  
Secretary-Treasurer  
General Defense Committee



### What Do We Aim To Do?

If you want to know what we aim to do, the fullest answer is given in the 128-page book by Justus Ebert:

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Chicago, Ill. 60614

LEFT SIDE

(continued from Page 1)

young man. If the poisoned grapes won't get you, swimming will.

In a housing project in Boston a large group of children were shown a picture of a teddy bear and asked to identify it. Over 40% thought it was a rat! How's that for a terse commentary on the state of the nation?

One of the Fellow Workers eats hamburger now instead of choice roasts. The butcher at the supermarket was weighing a roast for him on the scale when the FW said: "I don't want to appear fussy, but you're giving me a lot of bone with that roast!" "I'm not giving it to you," replied the Butch. "You're paying 99¢ a pound for it."

Like F. T. says, labor needs a new unionism!

BOYCOTT GRAPES



The rag man

(Durango, Dgo. December 18, 1964: On seeing a shabby man gathering rags along the street, with four or five ragged hats on his head and wearing three or four torn jackets.)

Who will look into the eyes of the rag man? I won't.

Will you?

And perhaps see something intelligent there — even human?

I'm going home to stand before the mirror

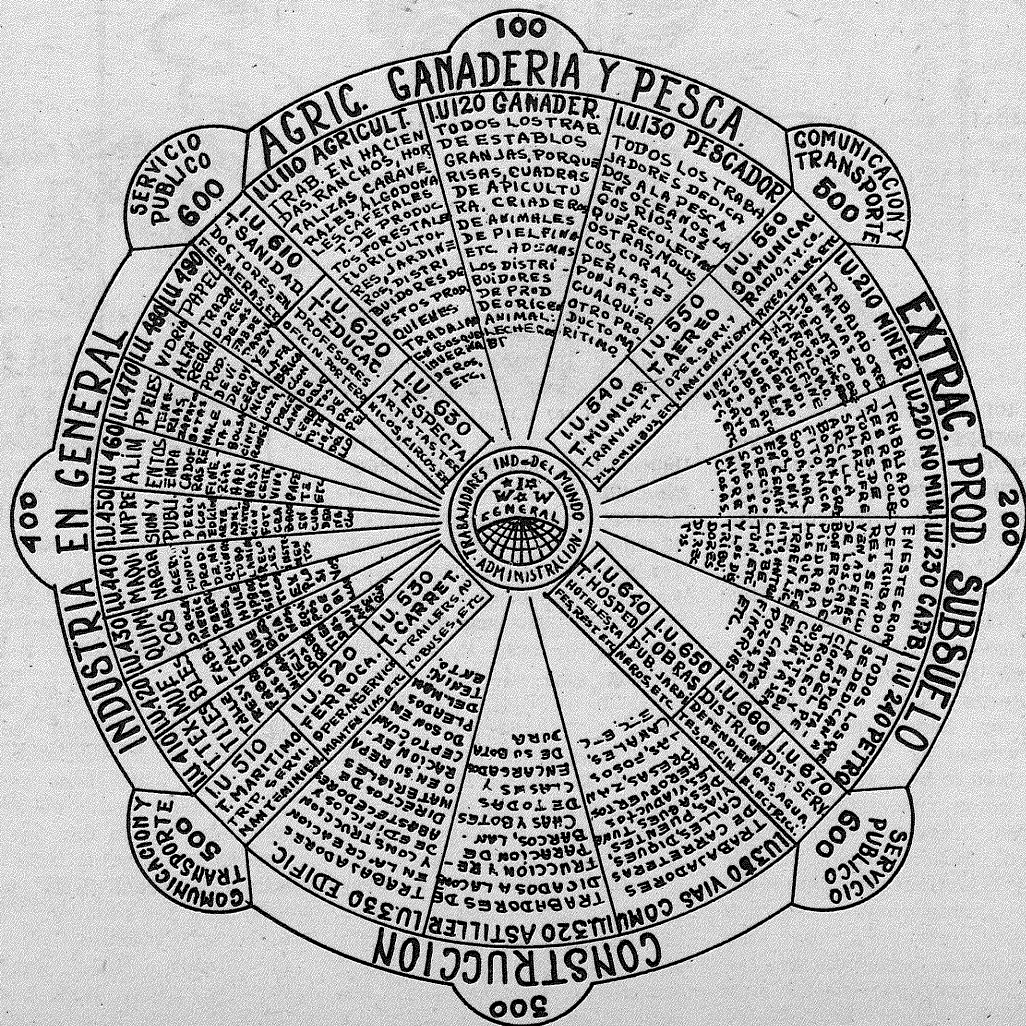
And look into my own eyes first,

To see if there is something intelligent there — Or even human.

— Eugene Nelson

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Una Gran Unión de los Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo



Una organización que represente correctamente la clase trabajadora debe tener dos puntos de vista: 1— Debe de combinar los trabajadores asalariados de tal manera que salgan ventajosamente en las batallas y protección de los intereses de los trabajadores en las luchas por menos horas más salarios y mejores condiciones en el trabajo. 2— Debe ofrecer una final solución al problema Obrero la emancipación de huelgas, encarcelamientos y rompimientos, esquiroleos. Estudie esta carta y observe como esta Organización provee los medios para el control de las necesidades del taller, proveer un unionismo Industrial perfecto, convergiendo la fuerza de todos los trabajadores organizados a un centro común, desde el cual cualquier punto débil puede ser reforzado y protegido.

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Middle Class

(continued from Page 6)

local, state, and federal taxes. "Adam Smith", the ubiquitous and frequently on-target philosopher of the money marts, has invented a term for the new kind of paper wealth being created in America today. He has named it Supercurrency. This could be money earned in a company which goes public and sells at 30 times the earnings. "So they have 30 times as much money as we poor people who only earn the money and put it in the bank," writes Smith. "The poor innocents among us will not know there is a superior currency around. They will still think the green stuff in their wallets is money, and they will be bewildered."

A bewildered public is a potentially explosive one, and warnings already have been posted of a "taxpayers' revolt". Moreover, some citizens are making the connection between inflation and the war in Vietnam, which according to many economists is the root cause of rising prices and the growing cost of government at all levels.

Something is in the wind. For the first time in years national spending proposals such as the anti-ballistic missile system and the supersonic transport are being subjected to close economic as well as technological and political analysis. For the Nixon Administration the big question of 1969 may be not how to deal with the Russians or Hanoi, but how to pacify restive American wage earners whose struggle is for the emancipation from exploitation of the working class.

— Anita Soleski

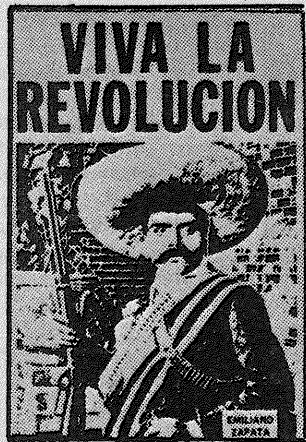
REBEL VOICES

Paperbound copies of Joyce Kornbluh's "Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology" may be had from headquarters at \$4.95 each.



"Viva La Revolucion" 17" X 23" POSTERS OF VILLA AND ZAPATA

heroes of the Mexican Revolution, sold as a fund-raising project by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.



Emiliano Zapata (black on red)



Pancho Villa (black on brown)

Send \$1.50 for each poster (or \$5 for 5 posters) plus 25¢ for postage and handling to: EL MALCRIADO, % UFWOC, P. O. Box #130q, Delano, Ca 93215

SUPPORT THE FARMWORKERS

Don't Buy Grapes!

Gilded Slogans ?

(continued from Page 4)

mere process of organizing enhances the power of leaders; but it does not solve any problems. It is through this habit of organizing that people have acquired the custom of turning to leaders for the magic solution of their problems.

True, reliance on reformist organization has worked reasonably well for a while. But it is not in the nature of such movements to provide solutions indefinitely. There comes a time when they run out of things to do and ways to repair our broken-down capitalism, and are compelled to rely on expedients of a more conservative nature. The time is rapidly approaching when basic economic issues can no longer be evaded by this or that palliative. The great pressing question is not Shall we return to individualism? but rather What form shall collective planning assume?

(This analysis, penned in the writer's notebook on the eve of a huge student peace strike in April 1938, is equally applicable in December 1969. And to old-timers who weathered World War I, our present dilemma must bear a dreary similarity to a poor

and oft-repeated rehearsal staged by bad actors.)

We should give full credit to those hardy young men who, at considerable sacrifice, refuse to go to Vietnam. But we must also be alert to the familiar brassy ring of organization that substitutes easy slogans for hard-core economic substitutes for war.

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President Nixon, recently questioned about military commitments elsewhere than in Vietnam, replied: "There are no American combat forces in Laos." When pressed by reporters, he admitted: "We have been providing logistic support and some training for the neutralist government in order to avoid Laos' falling under Communist domination. As far as American power in Laos is concerned, there are none there at the present time on a combat basis." (What, only military advisors?) Later: "We do have aerial reconnaissance; we do have perhaps some other activities. I won't discuss those other activities at this time."

Those "other activities" include a mere 12,500 bombing sorties a month in Laos. And how many more thousands

of military personnel are serving as "advisors" in Thailand and in Korea?

"Bring the boys home alive!" The cry echoes around every corner in this rebellious and single-minded series of demonstrations. And I hope every lusty Wobbly is adding his voice to the clamor.

Yes, we just may bring 'em home alive from Vietnam—by December 1972. But what have we gained if they are shunted out through the back door to some other military hellhole?

A slogan wears thin. Organizations dramatize, lead, plan immediate objectives. They do not—can not—do men's thinking or solve their problems for them. A man wearies of glittering formulas. In a few years his kids need shoes, bread, doctors. A good job with the Establishment beckons. Ah well! The making of napalm and bombers comes easier than he had supposed.

They'll be fighting in Laos (or perhaps in China) then. A man can't eat a hollow catchword. Certainly not if that catchword or slogan or rallying cry conceals abysmal ignorance of basic economics and fails to rebuild a world.

"Hell no, we won't go." Not today! Not to Vietnam! But tomorrow...?

— Dorice McDaniels