

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

*Industrial Workers of the World*



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## WOBBLIES HEAD FOR HUGE NEVADA PROTEST

The Colorado IWW Branch is calling on fellow workers from all over the world to join them in direct actions to end nuclear testing in Nevada, March 11-20. The watchword will be high visibility: black and red IWW banners, flags, buttons and T-shirts. This is Wobbly country. Do not be surprised if you wind up in the Goldfield jail built in 1906 when the town was an IWW stronghold.

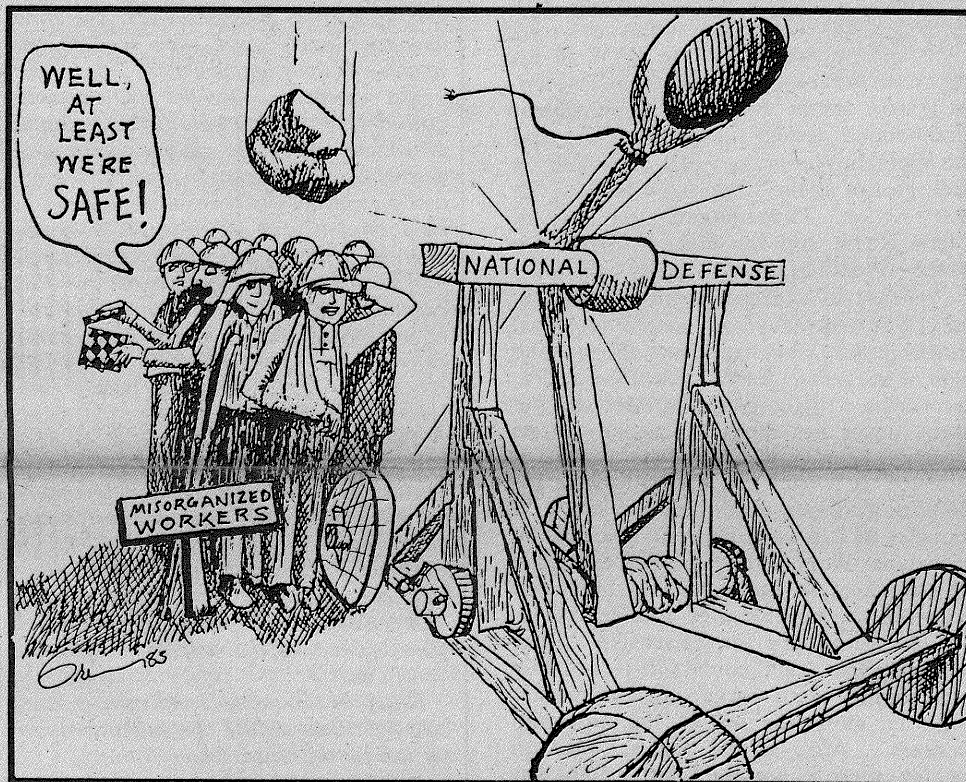
This "Reclaim the Test Site" campaign, sponsored by American Peace Test, will be the longest and most elaborate to date. Scenarios include boundary, back-country and fence actions, leafleting, blockades, incursions, infiltrations and reclamations. The largest trespass may occur on Saturday afternoon, March 12 following a rally. All participants are expected to join affinity groups, plan their actions and attend nonviolence workshops at the Peace Camp. Food at a dollar a day and water will be available, although it is important to bring your own stocks. There will also be portable toilets, parking, garbage recycling, first-aid stations, ambulance and a Community Center. Call the APT Action Office (702-731-964(4-5-6)) by March 5 for any of the following: free transportation to and from the Peace Camp and Las Vegas, sleeping space (free) and child care (\$15 per day) in Las Vegas and marketplace space to sell hand-made crafts.

The Peace Camp where most actionists will be staying is located on Highway 95, 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas just north of the Mercury Exit and is between the towns of Beatty and Indian Springs. There will be

two information rest stops—one between Las Vegas and Indian Springs and one between Beatty and the Peace Camp to apprise arrivals from either direction of parking conditions, etc. Registration is on a sliding scale from \$25-\$50, but is not required of those unable to afford it. Bring adequate camping clothes, raingear and equipment.

The IWW contact person is Joel Lewis who will be waiting at the Community Center to direct arriving Wobs to our camp all day Friday, March 11. For more info, call the Colorado Branch.

Joel Lewis X337036  
Colorado Branch Correspondent



Robert Green

## SPANISH PORTS SHUT DOWN TO DEFEND HIRING HALL

Every since Spanish longshoremen formed their union, *Coordinadora*, in 1976, they have been under attack from the employers, the government, and the two large unions dominated by PSOE (the ruling Socialist Workers' Party) and the Spanish Communist Party. Any union with all these forces lined up against it certainly deserves a close look.

I was able to get that look when I was in Barcelona and a *Coordinadora* delegate invited me to attend the General Assembly meeting last December 28, which called a one-day port strike. The government was attempting to reorganize Spanish ports without union involvement, resulting in the union threatening another another week-long strike beginning January 4 if the exclusion continued. However, with over 90 percent of the country's dock work halted, the ruling PSOE quickly reversed itself and agreed to January negotiations.

The current Spanish port struggle, like those for the past 12 years has centered around the dockers' control of their work through the hiring hall. Dockers are registered with the OTP (Office for Port Labor), a division of the Spanish Labor Ministry. In each port, every docker has a number which is moved to the bottom of the hiring list when he receives a job. This rotation system assures that work is evenly distributed and is therefore the backbone of docker solidarity.

Owners have yearned for "reorganization" of port labor ever since the massive wave of unionization which swept Spain following Franco's belated death in 1975. At that time, the government legalized all left parties except the Communist Party (CP). When dockers across Spain joined a general strike

to force legalization of the CP, the government gave in to the pressure, but fired 7 longshoremen. The dockers then asked the legalized CP to organize another strike to get these men their jobs back and were politely told that the time was not right. They concluded that longshoremen could not trust the CP-dominated *comisiones obreros* (workers' commissions) and formed their own organization, *Coordinadora*.

Many dockers anticipated that the 1982 assumption of power by PSOE would bring an end to government attacks on their hiring system. Instead, the attacks intensified. PSOE's Felipe Gonzalez eagerly demonstrated that a reformist socialist government can pursue "privatization" with as much vigor as a Reagan or Thatcher.

The employers and PSOE soon began testing the union's strength when major shipping companies contracted for dockers outside of the hiring hall. It took several national port strikes from 1983 to 1985 to force Sealand Company to use only hiring hall dockers for unloading fish in Algeciras. Another series of national strikes began in late 1986 to likewise force the shipping giant, Contenemar, to phase out its non-registered workers. Barcelona dockers still enjoy describing how scabs received unanticipated swimming practice during that strike.

Earlier in 1986, the government passed a law required to replace the OTP with 27 regional *consejos estatales* (state councils). Outraged that Spanish media would not present their side, Barcelona dockers drove a caravan of loading equipment through the city. They tied up traffic for two hours and received the demanded coverage.

Throughout the struggles of the past few years, *Coordinadora* has achieved a level of unity that seems astounding for a union of completely independent locals. The central factor in attaining this solidarity is direct control of the union by its members. All delegates and other union officers work on the docks. This means that every agreement is negotiated by members who will experience the consequences of any contract that they propose to the members. *Coordinadora* has vehemently resisted other unions' attempts to engulf it. Barcelona dockers pointed out to me that, if they lost their autonomy, they would be assigned "professional negotiators" who had never been longshoremen.

An American talking to *Coordinadora* members is immediately struck by the class consciousness and intense international interest that runs through the membership. When I attended the Barcelona delegates' meeting during the December 28 strike, the delegate who introduced me said I would like to take pictures and would answer any

## IWW BRANCH ORGANIZED IN TORONTO!

IWW headquarters in Chicago has just received word that our fellow workers in Toronto have organized a General Membership Branch. A handful of Toronto Wobs have been fanning the flames of discontent for months—on the job, on the picket line and in the streets, spreading the Wobbly word of workingclass emancipation—and their all-out agitational and educational activity has been rewarded by an impressive growth in Union membership. Delegate Ted Dymnt informs us by telephone that the first meetings of the new IWW Branch have resulted in several major organizing and strike-support campaigns, along with an expansion of the ongoing educational program. For more news from Toronto, see next month's paper!

## ANTI-NUCLEAR ACTIVISM UP 60%

The number of arrests for anti-nuclear civil disobedience in the United States and Canada increased in 1987 by nearly 60 percent over recent years, to a total of over 5,300. This figure equals the record number of arrests reported in 1983, the year of the Euromissile deployment and massive demonstrations in North America and Europe.

Arrests occurred during over 180 actions at more than 70 different sites. About 400 of the total were arrests for protesting nuclear power, uranium mining and related projects. 95 arrests were reported from Canada, during nine actions at three sites.

As a result of these arrests, in 1987 more than 120 people served or are serving from two weeks to 17 years in prison, while hundreds more served lesser sentences.

For detailed coverage of anti-nuclear agitation read *The Nuclear Resister* (P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733).

questions. Expecting they would want a few quick answers, I was amazed when they put off coordinating the national port strike so they could get information about Americans. I was asked: "Do workers in the U.S. really vote for the capitalist Democratic Party? Are all American unions run by the mafia? Why isn't the American working class revolutionary?" It took quite a bit of groping through my limited Spanish vocabulary to try and deal with these items.

After the meeting, I was surprised to learn that only about half the 23 delegates had been present because I counted at least 25 people in the room. They explained that some delegates were on vacation, sick, or picketing, and that there were always rank-and-file members who showed up at meetings and participated fully in the discussions.

Excluding members from meetings would be incompatible with *Coordinadora's* belief that election to office means accepting the responsibility to carry out decisions of the General Assembly. All of *Coordinadora's* (continued on page 2)

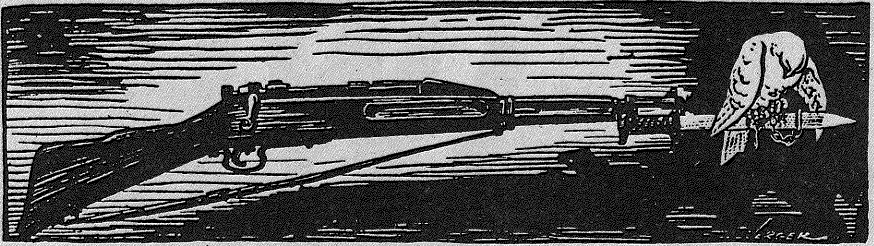
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## EDITORIAL:

## WOBBLIES AGAINST WAR

The wealthy officers of that strange outfit that someone once called the AFL-CIA have always thought it was fine and dandy for the workers of this country to go out every once in a while and shoot the workers of other countries. That these portly bureaucrats have been so willing to sacrifice the rank and file of their own unions tells us much about the true character of what still passes for a "labor movement" these days. Actually, it is hardly a labor movement at all, but rather a capitalist movement to control labor.

In contrast, the IWW has always consistently opposed war. Since this Union was founded in 1905 Wobblies have taken part in every serious antiwar struggle. No other labor organization in North America can make such a claim—and this isn't a boast, it's a plain fact. Indeed, it's a rather sad fact, for we are well aware that there are not enough of us Wobblies just now to effectively stop the onward sweep of the military juggernaut.

Fortunately, notwithstanding the ceaseless jingoistic chatter of that warmongering halfwit in the White House, his billionaire bosses, their AFL-CIA "labor" lackeys and the "official" lying media, a continent-wide mass movement of mostly young people has risen to "just say no" to nuclear tests, the draft, contra-aid and the whole Defense Department swindle. This militant movement is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, and Wobblies everywhere are supporting it in every way they can.

Especially heartening, in our view, is the growing trend toward direct action on the part of antiwar activists. It is hard not to admire the folks who pour blood on the carpets of draft-registration offices because they object to murder even when it is government-sponsored, or those who climb over the high fences of remote military installations or sail little boats out to mid-ocean nuclear test-sites to protest the insane idea that guided missiles and hydrogen bombs are somehow making us "safe."

Such exemplary actions, above and beyond their possibly limited practical effects, have powerful symbolic effects that resonate far and wide and for a long time. Each and every one of these authentic gestures of revolt does more to influence people, to make them think, to change their minds, to inspire them to take action themselves, than a million petitions or letters to senators. Above all these direct actions help drive home the point that the military madness will end only when we ourselves do something to end it; that we can't wait for anyone else—least of all the politicians!—to do it for us.

Unlike those strange little Left political groups that pretend that their way is the Only True Way to achieve radical change—that all other ways are useless and harmful—the IWW has always been characterized by organizational flexibility, strategical diversity, tactical innovation and all-around receptive-

ness to new and better ways of doing things. Don't forget: Wobblies invented the sitdown strike as well as the thousand-mile picket-line, and organized tens of thousands of workers previously regarded as "unorganizable." How to make the world livable is a big question, and answers can be found only in a "One Big Union" of all kinds of ideas and inspirations.

It should thus come as no surprise that the IWW's farflung membership has included proponents of nearly the whole spectrum of antiwar strategies over the years. The Union has never declared itself pacifist, as such, but it has always had many pacifists in its ranks. The Wobbly press published some of the first sympathetic articles in the U.S. on Gandhi's struggle in India, and a small but active Gandhian current has been discernible in the IWW from the 1920s on. Many antiwar Wobs have served long prison sentences for refusing to fight the bosses' wars, while others managed to get themselves recognized as conscientious objectors. Historian Staughton Lynd was surely not wrong to include a chapter on the IWW in his important anthology, *Nonviolence in America* (1966). In the flowering of nonviolent direct-action against nuclear weapons and the Vietnam War in the 1960s—especially in such groups as the Committee for Nonviolent Action, Peacemakers, the Student Peace Union and the General Strike for Peace—Wobblies played a major role.

Contrary to widespread misinformation, the IWW has never advocated violence. Although the Union has always affirmed the right of workers to defend themselves against the violence of the capitalist class and the State, never has the IWW or any of its members been known to initiate any act of violence. It is true that the motivation for IWW nonviolence is not based so much on morality as it is on practicality. No less an archetypal Wobbly than Joe Hill explained why workers in the advanced industrial countries can never win by armed struggle: for one thing, it's too expensive! "Fifty million dollars would not be sufficient to buy arms for the miners," argued Fellow Worker Hill, "let alone the rest of the organized workers.... After all the bills are paid on payday, there is not much left to buy war supplies with."

Elsewhere in these columns are reprinted some thoughts on militarism and war, and ways to end war, by a couple of Wobblies from the World War I years: Mary E. Marcy and Vincent St. John. Much has changed since then, in war as in everything else, but the core of the old-time Wobbly critique seems to us to be more relevant than ever. Modern militarism and war are products of capitalism—U.S.-style monopoly capitalism as well as state-capitalism *a la* the USSR. Until the ecocidal capitalist patriarchy is replaced by a nonexploitative free society, wars will continue. And the free society will remain a dream until the great mass of humanity, the working class of the world, wrests control of production from the planet-destroying capitalist class and starts to make the dream come true.

And what is our task in this protracted global struggle?

To expand the consciousness of working men and women; to draw them out of their passivity and fear; to multiply their self-confidence and autonomy; to unbend their backs and open their eyes; to help them break the chains that bind them to a death-oriented civilization; to promote their self-activity and solidarity; and to inspire them with the possibilities of a new life: That is what the IWW is all about.

Wage-slavery causes war—so let's abolish both!

Interested? Let's hear from you!

X322339

## RAIL WORKERS STRIKE IN BRAZIL

Feb. 1, Brazilian rail workers began their first national strike to press for pay increases of 60 to 80 percent. Antonio Araujo do Vale, president of the Rio de Janeiro rail workers' union and a member of the national strike command, said all 85,000 workers were striking. Railroad administrators contended some were scabbing.

## Where We Stand on War

by Mary E. Marcy

*Every intelligent working man and woman is opposed to all capitalist wars. We vote against all war appropriations. We are opposed to all armies and navies. We object to having one workingman sacrificed to the interests of the capitalist class.*

*Even the capitalist has no patriotism in the shop, mill or factory. He talks patriotism and the flag when he wants to use you to fight his battles against other capitalists. But he hires the man who will work for the lowest wages, be he German, French, English, Japanese or American.*

*He exploits you, discharges you, permits you to starve regardless of your nationality. In every land he makes new laws, or evades old ones, to bring foreign workingmen into that land when the foreign worker will work for lower wages.*

*He only emphasizes your nationality when he needs you to fight wars against other workingmen, who are also fighting for new markets for the employing class of the foreign land.*

*Workingmen of all countries have no fight against each other. Their interests are common. Their only enemy is the capitalist who exploits them.*

*The employing class is at present making all the rules in the game, and every one of these rules is to further their interests at the expense of those who work.*

*We are opposed to all armies and all navies because they always have been, and always will be, the weapons of the ruling class to keep us in wage slavery. The army and navy have never been used in the interests of the working class.*

*Just remember, when the politicians are considering appropriations for national armaments, that these will one day be used against us and never for us, that every army and navy means that some workingmen will be forced to kill other workers in the interests of those who exploit you.*

*We want no army, no navy, not one cent expended in the implements of warfare, because these will not only be used against us today but will successfully crush any rebellion or revolution on the part of your class and my class in the future.*

*The only foreigner we know is the boss who exploits us, whether he be German, English, French or American. All workers are our countrymen. The capitalist is our enemy.*

*The only war worth fighting is the class war, the war of the workers against the robber class. The abolition of the profit and wages system is the only fight that will benefit us.*

*Better to lose a thousand men in your own fight than to lose one workingman in the war for the bosses who rob you!*

*Not one cent for armies, navies or the munitions of war!*

*And a general strike to prevent war!*

March 1915

The Working Class and War  
by Vincent St. John

*The wage workers of the world are the only class that is really concerned in abolishing war. It is they who furnish the victims and reap no benefit whatever for their class. All wars, past and present, are in the interest of the employing class of some particular political division.*

*From the viewpoint of working class interests, no war is justified except it be for the purpose of overthrowing the wage system and establishing industrial control of, by and for the working class.*

*The only practical method whereby the workers can abolish war is to organize within the industries in such a manner that they can refuse to support an armed force in times of peace and refuse to produce the necessary wealth for carrying on the struggle in time of war, by refusing to produce the implements used in warfare, to enlist in the army, and by paralyzing the industries of any nation or nations the rulers of which show a desire to involve their respective countries.*

*The U.S. standing army should be abolished forthwith in the interest of the working class. This can be accomplished by an active campaign against militarism and the workers organizing and refusing to enlist in the army or support it in any way, shape or form.... With the workers organized to a sufficient degree and educated as to their class interests, they will be able to combat the mis-education and force now at the service of the employing class.*

August 1914

## SPANISH PORTS

(continued from page 1)

officers are subject to immediate recall. This happened to at least two delegates who did not go along with a majority decision to donate their 40 hours per month of union work so that the government money could be turned over to the union. It needs this money to finance its many zone and national meetings. Coordinadora insists that frequent face-to-face contact between dockers from across the country is essential for building solidarity between locals. By rotating those who attend the zone and national meetings, Coordinadora ensures that dockers are well acquainted with the concerns of those in other ports.

In this way, the union does not become dependent upon any narrow leadership clique. Coordinadora has such a dislike of power politics that it selects its National Coordinator (somewhat like a union president in the U.S.) in a two-part process: first, there is a national vote for a port; and second, dockers from that port elect him. The officer is thus selected by people who have worked with him on the docks and any "electioneering" that could accompany a nation-wide election is avoided.

The day of the December 28 strike, I asked to meet Julian Garcia, the union's current National Coordinator. But dockers told me he was on vacation, and, when he returned on December 30, he would have to discuss the strike with the Spanish Labor Minister. When we were finally able to get together the next day, Garcia emphasized that, like all other Coordinadora officers, he would return to loading ships the next Monday. The fact that union delegates can carry out an inter-port strike in the absence of the National Coordinator indicates the power in the hands of the rank and file.

Tentative agreements in mid-January call for the government's involving Coordinadora in port-reorganization plans. Shipping companies will be required to have some hiring hall dockers on all jobs, but about 10 percent of longshoring will probably be done by private employees with another 20 percent by employees hired for times varying from one month to three years.

If the past tells us anything about the future, we can expect the government and owners to quickly overstep this toehold in privatization. Coordinadora is clearly banking on rank-and-file solidarity as the bulwark against such moves.

(I would like to thank Stan Weir for putting me in touch with Coordinadora and explaining the ins and outs of longshore.)

—Don Fitz  
St. Louis, MO

## 34 KILLED IN MEXICAN MINE FIRE

Thirty-four miners were killed in a fire in the Cuatro y Medico coal mine in northern Mexico January 25 when a fire caused some walls in the mine to collapse. Ten other miners were missing 400 feet underground; 20 were hospitalized. Eighty-eight miners were able to escape unharmed when the fire broke out. Police said sparks from a faulty power generator may have ignited coal gas and caused the fire. The mine belongs to Hulera Mexicana, a company based in Mexico City.

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

## INDUSTRIAL WORKER



ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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Fred Jerger



# HOMELESS IN THE CITY

I went to Grand Central Station in New York City to wait for my train back to the Windy City and with the better part of an hour to departure I gravitated to the benches in the waiting room. Sitting there on one of the benches it soon became obvious that I was the only bonafide passenger sitting down. My fellow "train waiters" of all races and sexes had the appearance of having slept in their clothes for many weeks. Most of them carried some sort of scruffy satchel in the hopes of passing themselves off as someone actually waiting to board a train. However a phalanx of New York's Finest keeping close watch over them was ample evidence that they were following no one, and the pervasive smell further shattered any such illusions.

While sitting down and hoping the time would not drag too much, a racket ensued several benches behind the one I was sitting on. Arising to see what was going on I saw many of the people making hasty departure from the immediate area of the disturbance. A fight had broken out among some of the homeless which was just another example of the frustration of poverty. Part of the police phalanx moved in to quell the disturbance but not before a considerable crowd of rushing commuters had stopped to see what was going on. Myself having also made a hasty departure from the donnybrook, as I am not the overly adventurous type, could not help but notice the bemused looks on the faces of the otherwise scurrying commuters.

These people who rush to their comfortable suburban homes and who otherwise never seem to notice the homeless panhandler on the streets even when directly confronted, take a moment out from their busy and important lives to smile at the frustration of these poor wretches.

Only the week before I had been invited to join a vigil of artists in front of City Hall in Chicago. It was a candlelight vigil in remembrance of several homeless who died from exposure during the Chicago winter and to impress upon the city officials the need of providing shelter for the homeless during these inclement months.

I was previously a mile further up from City Hall with plenty of time to spare and rather than pay an extra bus fare only to kill time at some hash joint or overpriced gin mill, walking that distance would adequately fill that time gap. Michigan Avenue is one of the most posh shopping districts in Freedomland, but once the stores are closed it looks more like Skid Road judging from the hordes of homeless panhandlers. It is then that the homeless become evident. People of affluence, even if they are of the one-jump-ahead-of-the-bill collector variety, have a miraculous blind spot for those who are worse off than they are. But these poor homeless dudes keep plugging away and every now and then strike themselves a spare change bonanza.

For the most part the office workers and late shoppers are too busy scurrying back to their comfortable homes in the outskirts and at all costs avoid eye contact with the panhandlers. Is it because they might possibly harbor some guilt about their relative affluence? I do not sit behind their eyes so I will not answer for them.

However when they notice the homeless, there is always the look of annoyance on their faces and genuine disturbance. Well may they be disturbed because if they realise it or not, an office that hasn't yet been computerized, a job that has not yet been exported to a country with cheaper labor and a mortgage that has not been foreclosed is the only damn difference between them and the panhandler on the street.

—Punapilvi

# LAND RIGHTS & JUSTICE NOW!

*A Message from Australian Anti-Bicentennial Activists*

*Australia's bicentennial follies, \$140-million worth of idiotic ruling-class propaganda, has been little-noticed in the U.S. press which, as always, prefers its idiocy to be homegrown (and lord knows, they have plenty to choose from).*

*Readers of the Industrial Worker, however, will be interested to learn of the enormous anti-bicentennial agitation, organized largely by Aborigines, who recognize last January 26 as the 200th anniversary of their enslavement. In one of the largest demonstrations in Australian history, over 35,000 Aborigines carrying boomerangs and spears—and joined by Wobblies, anarchists, socialists, surrealists, Earth First!ers and rebel workers galore—came from all over the continent to protest the official government celebration at Sydney Opera House on that day.*

*Reprinted below is an important leaflet prepared for the occasion, in which some of our fellow workers "down under" explain their whole-hearted support not only for the anti-bicentennial actions, but for the broad Aboriginal land rights movement.*

## WHY ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS IS THE ONLY HOPE FOR US ALL

As the clowns of commercial and bureaucratic interests flail around us trying to muster "that certain feeling" from the crowds, desperately attempting to convince us that life is worthwhile, or a party yet, that we are still "all in the same boat," that history is marching ever onwards for the benefit of all, we are struck with how similar this all seems to one long beer ad. "I feel like a... sucker. Oh what a feeling! I can feel a bout of deep depression coming!"

The voices multiply, the stations flick through but they're all the same. Time to radically change the channel; maybe the set is on the blink.

Earthquakes in Tenant Creek, UFOs on the Nullabor, strangely cold ocean currents and king tides on the East Coast in the wake of the tall ships, those Hollywood replicas of horror. There is something grand afoot in the land. This is the accompanying music as the great convoys of Aboriginal people, mile after mile of buses and cars blazing with the red, black and gold, making a rainbow serpent of the highways, descend upon Sydney for the largest corroboree ever seen in this country. This is an occasion of positive mourning for those who have fallen, and fall still, in the two hundred years' old battle of colonization. Yet much more than mourning, this is also a celebration of survival and continued creation in the face of overwhelming physical odds. A celebration of the indefatigable, indomitable rhythm of the Aboriginal soul.

No doubts here about whether life is worth carrying on with. Life itself is carrying these people onwards. The tide of spiritual healing is rising high. We are not talking of matters mystical here, unless it be of the "natural mystic" Bob Marley sang of. No, not of the mystical but of nature itself, a nature of which we learnt only enough to insulate ourselves from it, to damn up its forces for small moments in the mega-historic continuum. On January 22, Vincent Lingiara, elder of the Guirindji clan and out of the land rights movement, leader of the mass strike/walk-out by unpaid black workers and their families from the huge corporate beef farms of the North, took his leave and passed on to his son guardianship of that part of earth. The people gathering here and the people they've come to speak for are collectively accepting and reasserting that mighty responsibility for the land with an unassailable confidence that ought to gladden the alien hearts of our lost and ghostly tribe.

dispute, is that health-care workers are plainly seeing themselves to a lesser degree in the traditional self-sacrificing "Florence Nightingale" mold, and have begun to recognize themselves and one another as members of a class whose place and function has been increasingly delimited by the consolidation of the medical industry as a whole, and aggravated by the much less subtle stratification of institutional hierarchy imposing itself on a day to day basis within each facility. Clearly, nurses today see themselves as workers who have the right to organize and collectively demand justice in the workplace, by whatever means prove most effective.

Having achieved this major first step, all that remains for health-care workers is to unite under a common banner—not just for bread, but for the roses, too!

Here we flick back the channel again to see the brutalized deportees of the newly emerging industrial empires of Europe huddled in the holds of creaking wooden ships. If indeed we were all in the same boat once, we were certainly not all on the same deck. This nightmare of transportation has not been vanquished by our consequent brutalizing of the indigenous peoples of this land of our exile. Everywhere we have seen dangerous shadows lurking in delirium of our fear. When the bush moves in its own manner we run for cover and come back with our bulldozers. Where we have attempted to eradicate that fear of the great wilderness and the timeless creation of the peoples living within its harmony, we have starved and thirsted in the barrenness we have sown and are scarred by the knowledge of our continuing attempts at genocide.

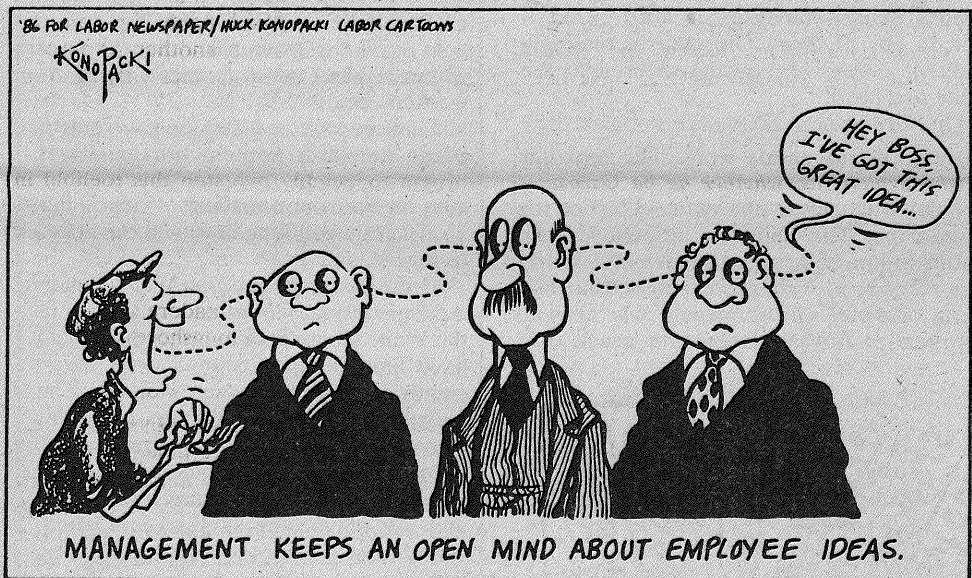
Where the Aboriginal people have continuously regenerated their lives and culture, we now huddle in the holds of the coastal city/ships or in the vast fortified corrals of country towns ever alert for bushfire and drought. Our grasp on this land is a desperately flimsy one.

The accepting of land rights and justice is not a balm for our conscience or even a paternal gift we have to bestow; rather it is a recognition of the land rights which have been continuously exercised by Aboriginal people for 40,000 years at least. The real land rights already irrevocably exist. All we have to do is remove our cloak of desolation, our murderous police force, our privatized property, our Christianity and our other assorted contraptions of death.

This way there may be a future for our lost tribe yet.

*Land Rights and Justice NOW!*

*Sydney, Australia, January 26, 1988*



# NURSES FIGHT CUTBACKS

Nurses and other health-care workers throughout Great Britain took to the streets in early February to protest government plans to alter the national wage-bargaining structure, which would impose a system of "regional pay variation" to replace the current system of across-the-board salary agreements. The action—which was sparked by a Department of Health report leaked in the British trade journal *Nursing Times*—forced the cancellation of surgical operations in London, Leicester, Leeds and Pontefract, though ambulance and emergency operations were maintained through a prior agreement between strike organizers and hospital administrators.

On February 3rd, 3,000 nurses, health-care workers and patients joined in a march from Trafalgar Square to Whitehall in London, halting traffic for an hour. One nurse was arrested as police attempted to block the march, and three others claimed police assaulted them.

The government's proposed revision of the health-care worker pay structure is seen as a clear attempt to reduce incremental wage increases and to disable health-care worker solidarity by introducing varying pay scales to be applied according to a worker's locality and specialization (i.e. pediatrics, intensive care).

Nurses in Los Angeles returned to work in late January after a judge ordered an end to their county-wide strike, citing the possibility "of imminent danger to the public health and safety." Pharmacists called in sick, however, and doctors voted to strike when talks between their professional union and Los Angeles County hospital administrators

collapsed. The nurses, pharmacists, and doctors have worked without contracts since September.

Health-care workers at DeGraff Hospital in North Tonawanda, New York, represented by Nurses United, CWA Local 1168, successfully defended their jobs against the union-busting campaign of the DeGraff administrators, winning a 13 percent wage increase (over a period of 39 months) at the conclusion of a bitter 14-week strike. Although the agreement was reached on November 14th, management has continued to play games with the union; thus far, only half the workers are back on the job, and the hospital is attempting to take unemployment benefits away from those still not at work. As if that were not enough, the hospital administration has filed unfair labor charges against the union for trying to solicit back dues from the scabs still employed at the facility.

In each of the above disputes, nurses and health-care workers received the support of individuals and groups who were sympathetic with the worker's demands. Neighborhood associations, religious groups, and even the patients themselves picketed alongside strikers in Great Britain and Los Angeles County; in New York, community groups and various union locals from one end of the state to the other instituted boycotts, set up an emergency relief fund and an adopt-a-family program, and even picketed the private businesses owned by hospital board members.

What seems most significant, regardless of the possible outcome in each separate

## YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS

*Last October's Great Stock Market Collapse, a.k.a. the Crash of '87, was much worse than the more famous Crash of '29. Some of the Wall Street parasites actually had to work (in a manner of speaking), and overtime at that—shooting their brokers, doing their paperwork and lining up to jump out the window. Those of us lucky enough to live in shacks in the back don't have to worry about these things: When we jump out the window we don't have far to fall.*

*The Great Crash of '29 has always been called just that, but now we'll have to call it The Great Crash I. Once upon a time there was "War to End All Wars" but eventually they had to call it World War I because World War II came along and messed everything up.*

*Of course ebb and flow in the market is nothing new—it's not only expected, it's "planned." But sooner or later even the planners get caught with their Dows down so far they head for the windows. We workers really ought to plan ahead as well. Let's start by declaring a new international workers' holiday—Crash Day—to ponder, wander or just say, "Nyah, nyah, we told you so!"*

\*\*\*

*If you go in for wasting time you've probably heard of the Shriners—those funny-looking businessmen who are so silly that one of them is bound to grow up to be President some day. Harper's Index reports that these capitalist clowns raised \$17,500,000 for charity in 1984. And how much did those greedy little Nobles of the Mystic Shrine actually give to charity? A whopping \$182,000! Which just goes to show: Charity is a good racket as long as you can avoid being on the receiving end.*

\*\*\*

*And here's one for our favorite key club, up there in Austin, Minnesota, and dedicated to the memory of Fellow Worker Fred Thompson:*

*When it comes to Hormel hams  
Or Spam-in-the-Can,  
We workers hold the key  
In the palms of our hands.  
It's just a little bitty key  
When we look at its size,  
But the biggest key for all of us  
Is to ORGANIZE!*

*For the whole pie (with extra cheese),*  
—Bob Young

# JOIN THE OBU





One architect by name of Wilbert Hasbrouck believes that architects should be compelled to put their name on the buildings that they design, much in the same way that an artist signs his canvases. His reasons are not to appease the vanity of the architects as much as to hold them accountable for the buildings they design. He alludes to the days of classic history when the early Greek and Roman architects, after having set the keystones in their arches, were compelled to stand under them when the supports were removed.

It was also in classic Greece where part of a lawmaker's uniform of office was a piece of rope tied around his neck, the purpose of which in the event that said lawmaker's latest statute was deemed unjust, the other end of the rope would be summarily attached to a limb of the nearest lofty tree. There are all sorts of testing and accountability for the ordinary working stiff wherein his bloodstream, bladder and personal history is carefully scrutinized by those above him or her. There should be some monitoring on the part of the working stiff over the accountability of those who control so much of their lives.

Looking for recycleable aluminum cans apparently is not just an urban enterprise confined to back alley garbage cans. Our brethren in the countryside are likewise viewing discarded Caca Culo containers as a source of supplement in these days of capricious economy. One couple in Iowa had walked the road in front of their farm collecting recycleable cans in order to raise enough change to put gas in their tank so they could drive to the courthouse in the county seat to attend the foreclosure hearing on their farm.

When they finally got to hizzoner's chambers they found that the judge had left for other parts but nevertheless had the courtesy to leave behind a recorded message informing them that they had lost their farm. It is hoped that the magistrate's compassionate consideration was not lost on this couple whose life work and the life work of who knows how many generations before them had become another economic statistic.

When I think of that recorded message, I do not feel so bad about making a long-distance phone call only to hear a recorded voice ask me to leave my name, phone number, time of call and nature of business, all within thirty seconds at the sound of the beep.

This month I had the pleasure of watching a special program on one of the educational TV channels. It was a special about the infantry and its development over the centuries from the days when spear-throwers met each other on the open battlefield to modern day flame throwers and tanks. It was indeed educational in that it brought home the hard truth that no matter how technologically advanced warfare becomes, the plain ordinary foot soldiers till remain the most important part of any war.

Much technology and research has gone into, not necessarily making things better for the ordinary soldier but into making a more efficient killing machine for his masters. It staggers the imagination when one takes into consideration all the hosts of scientists, physicians, mathematicians and what have you who have pooled their resources to make their armies the best in the world. The modern soldier may be the most technologically advanced and able to handle equipment that his colleague of a thousand years earlier could never have imagined, but in essence if he is to be a good soldier, he must still permit his brain to be turned into mush by his superior officers.

How else does a drill sergeant treat those under his command as kindergarten children? Can you imagine standing with a group of your peers while someone of lower intelligence than any of you barks out, "What are you in the army for?" and you and your mates are compelled to answer loudly in unison, "To kill!" "To kill who?" the sarge barks, and again you shout back, "The

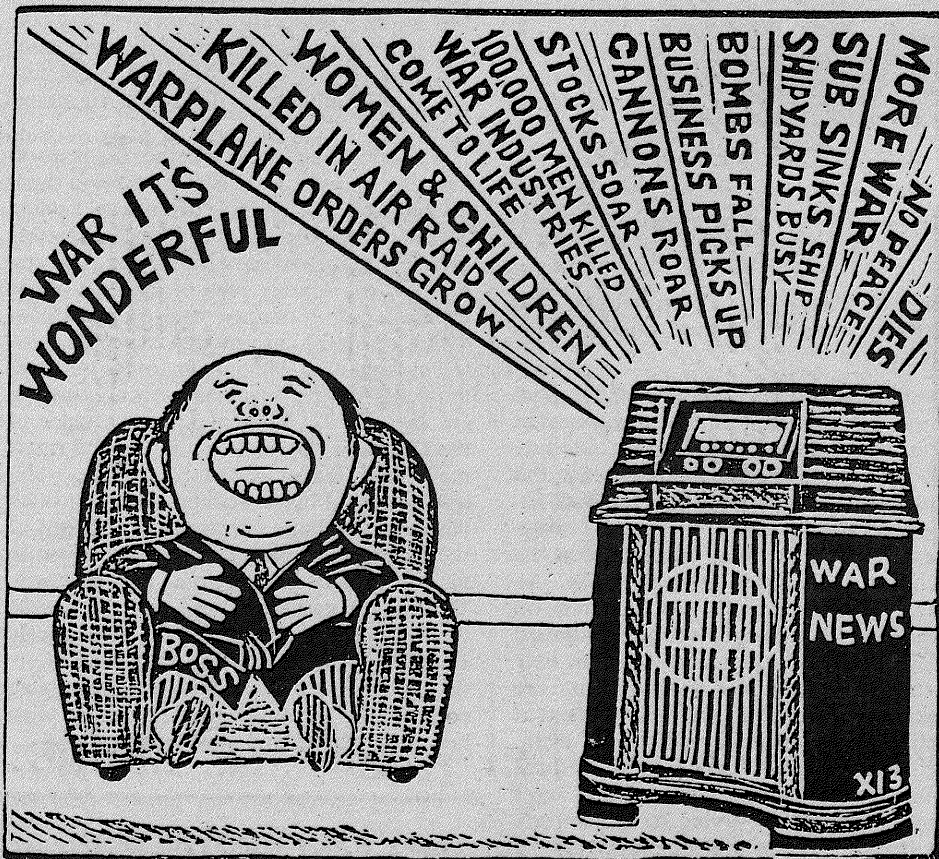
enemy!" Most Joe's if they want to survive without going section-8 will play along with such goings on, knowing full well that their immediate superior officer is most likely an army career man who would not survive on his own in the outside World and that his opportunity to play god over others keeps him from facing his own inadequacies.

Of course drill sergeants have as much likelihood of being blown apart on the battlefield as those under their command. The real vermin of the military are those of the high-ranking upper echelon who are only too ready to wine, dine and wench with their upper echelon colleagues in the other army while their own foot soldiers sleep in the mud. The special program on the educational channel did not go into commenting on how much of humanity's creative endeavor is used to bolster so negative an institution as militarism but one does not really have to have that spelled out in so many words.

I was once asked at a public forum how I could have any optimism about my fellow humans in the face of thousands of years of one war after the other. My reply was that there never was a war fought on volunteers alone. Never mind revolutions as we all know that revolutions are not considered respectable according to classic military etiquette.

War and militarism are only symptoms of a society where too many decisions are made by too few people. We need not look too far down our noses at the Neanderthal drill sergeant who endeavors to make mush out of the draftee's brain. Many of us are equally guilty of making mush of our own younger generation's brains by teaching them to conform to society in the interest of economic survival.

Draftless of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your generals!  
-C.C. Redcloud



**UAW TARGETS NISSAN**

In late January the United Automobile Workers announced the opening of a campaign to organize workers at Nissan Motors in Tennessee, the second largest unionless Japanese auto plant in the U.S. The only other nonunion Japanese auto plant in the U.S. is the Honda plant in Ohio. The Nissan plant has been a point of contention even before it opened in 1981, with officials and business organizations maintaining that the Japanese investment of \$840 million in a unionless plant can be a strong selling point for attracting industry to Tennessee. Wages in the plant, where 265,000 Nissan light trucks and Sentra cars are made every year, averages \$12.62 to \$16.35 dollars an hour,

**CLASS STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA**

**MURDOCH PAPER DEMANDS UNION CONCESSIONS**

In early February, Rupert Murdoch, owner of the *New York Post*, announced he had agreed to sell the paper to a real-estate entrepreneur contingent upon \$24 million in concessions from the *Post's* unions. When the unions refused 12 percent wage cuts, a wage freeze at the lower scale for three years and job cuts, Murdoch threatened to close the paper. Murdoch has been under pressure to sell the *Post* because of a Federal Communications Commission rule barring ownership of a newspaper and a television station in the same city.

The proposal was denounced by the leadership of the Allied Printing Trades Council, the umbrella group of the newspaper unions, who later hinted at an employee buyout.

**STRUGGLE AT McDONNELL DOUGLAS**

One of the largest and most significant worker health and safety struggles in Canada has been taking place at the Toronto McDonnell Douglas aircraft plant the past few months. With a history of health and safety problems at the plant, the 3,000-strong members of Canadian Auto Workers union Local 1967 carried out work refusals on November 18, 1987.

A new union executive elected last year promised a committed fight for better working conditions. An independent health clinic was brought in and revealed that workers all over the plant were being exposed to harmful, carcinogenic substances. The clinic found lung function abnormalities, elevated levels of aluminum in blood and urine, fibres from asbestos. The Ministry of Labour was called in and reported 213 violations against management, but refused to act on any of them. Only the increasingly militant actions of the workers brought the issue to a head.

On November 18, 600 workers utilized their right to refuse unsafe work. The next day the number increased to 2,000 and later escalated to almost the entire 3,000 of the workforce. The company responded with intimidation, harassment and lay-offs. Workers refusing to work were sent to the cafeteria or other offices, which only allowed workers to further debate the issues. The



union and independent clinic laid charges of professional misconduct against company doctors for covering up worker health problems.

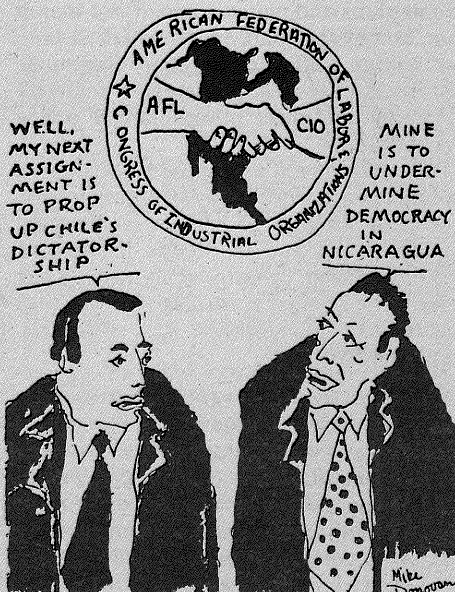
The company was forced by action to backtrack; almost all workers are back at their jobs and a number of hazardous conditions have been corrected. Workers will also be paid time off to go to the independent clinic or doctor of their own choice. The battle is not over, but it has already proved to the workers at McDonnell Douglas that, organized and educated, they can force the company to change its course.

-Len Wallace  
Toronto

**GRAINDUST RULES: EXPEDIENCY RIDES AGAIN**

In 1977, two grain elevator explosions within a week of each other killed 54 workers. In 1982 the National Academy of Sciences proposed that the government adopt standards limiting accumulations of grain dust to one sixty-fourth of an inch on horizontal surfaces of the U.S.'s 23,770 grain-handling facilities: elevators, terminals and grain and flour mills. In 1983 the Occupational Safety and Health Administration submitted draft rules to the White House budget office that would have limited dust accumulations to an eighth of an inch on such surfaces. The budget office rejected these proposals after the National Grain and Feed Association had contended that meeting the standard, through purchase, installation and use of vacuum suction equipment, would cost elevator operators \$1.2 billion.

In late December 1987, OSHA issued rules which take effect March 30, requiring elevator and terminal operators to meet the one-eighth-inch standard only in those areas within 35 feet of inside bucket elevators or potential ignition sources. They would also exempt 9,000 grain and flour mills from the standards, as the government claims that the accumulation of dust in mills is general less heavy, less explosive, than in elevators and grain terminals. The rules require that all grain employers, including the mills, develop "housekeeping procedures" to limit dust accumulations. One way of doing so is vacuum suctions, but employers frequently merely damp the dust with either water or oil instead of actually removing it from a building.





# A TALE OF TWO SITDOWNS

In yet another example of the lavish and arrogant disregard with which General Motors and the UAW leadership conspire to find new ways of mangling and choking the GM rank and file, the auto workers learned last month that they would not be receiving their anticipated "profit-sharing" bonuses, despite the fact that GM declared a 24% increase in quarterly profits over and above their third quarter earnings of last year.

In January, GM executives sponsored a three day extravaganza in New York aimed at wooing an audience of car dealers and market analysts who had been critical in recent months of the company's lack of luster and shoddy performance record in the market. UAW president Owen Bieber was flown in from Detroit on a GM-owned jet and was provided with a suite at the Waldorf, above the Grand Ballroom where the publicity bash was held. Mounted on the Ballroom walls were over two hundred video monitors displaying an electronically choreographed array of messages lauding GM's glorious merits, while a select variety of glistening futuristic automobiles sparkled under tactically arranged beams of exhibition lights. All said, the company paid approximately \$20 million for the party, at a time when GM was closing down more than a dozen of its plants.

"If you look at it from the standpoint of GM's total advertising budget, \$20 million doesn't look like all that much," argued Bieber, rising to the defense of his munificent hosts.

## Flint, 1937

In the spring of 1936 rank-and-file members of the AFL-controlled Automobile Workers Union revolted against the AFL-imposed leadership, joined the CIO and under the newly adopted named United Automobile Workers, spent the remainder of the year struggling to organize despite the constant harassment of company spies and club-toting thugs. By December the union felt itself strong enough to demand GM's recognition. In direct defiance of the newly-passed Wagner Act, the company steadfastly refused to recognize the union or to engage in collective bargaining. Despite the CIO's unwillingness to support an automobile worker's strike at the time that it was heavily involved in a steelworker's strike, wildcat strikes broke out in Cleveland, Toledo and Flint. Paying heed to the rank-and-file's rage and commitment, the CIO called for an official strike against General Motors in January 1937.

Though the "sit-down strike" as a tactical device was nothing new, it came as a surprise to GM and sparked a conflict that eventually made auto workers at the Flint plant famous. GM called the act a violation of property rights; the workers answered with the claim that the right of a worker to his job was more sacred than any so-called property rights. GM cut off the heat in the plant, but the workers remained. City police rushed one of the buildings, but then retreated under a shower of coffee mugs, bottles, bolts and hinges. Police retaliated with tear gas. The workers opened fire with the plant's fire hoses.

GM obtained a court order which obligated the workers to evacuate the plant by February 3rd. The strikers, undaunted, declared that they would sit still until GM "obey(ed) the law and engage(d) in collective bargaining." February 3rd came and went with the workers still occupying the plant; despite GM's appeals, Governor Frank Murphy refused to involve the state militia. On February 4th, instead of hearing news of a bloodbath—as had been widely expected—the public learned that negotiations had commenced between GM and union representatives, resulting one week later in GM's recognition of the UAW as bargaining agent for its members.

## Detroit, 50 Years Later

By contrast, the agreement signed in late 1987 between the UAW leadership and GM was, to say the least, anticlimactic. Although nothing of a confrontational nature was expected, the fact that on the one hand GM sales were significantly falling, while on the other hand the UAW—smitten by unceasing plant layoffs and closings—faced a crisis over job preservation, none but a privileged few could have anticipated the relative ease and punctuality with which the talks proceeded. GM pledged to spend \$300 million annually on such worker involvement programs as worker-management discussion groups (known as "quality circles"), "trust-building" seminars, substance abuse programs and job-retraining courses. Additionally GM agreed that, except under certain narrowly defined circumstances, they would not close plants

or enact layoffs—for the life of the contract. The contract was ratified in October 1987 by 81 percent of the membership's vote.

None but a privileged few, however, were aware of the underhanded goings-on between GM executives and UAW officials during the few weeks prior to the July bargaining sessions.

UAW's bargaining team—at GM's expense—went off together with GM's negotiators for a ten day "get acquainted" visit to Japan. Ostensibly, the trip was planned so that the two groups together could tour Japanese auto plants and communally sip from the cup of what has become the mecca of managerial expertise. Alfred Warren, Jr., GM's vice-president for industrial relations, considered the trip a complete success, saying it "gave us an opportunity to develop a trusting relationship before going to the table."

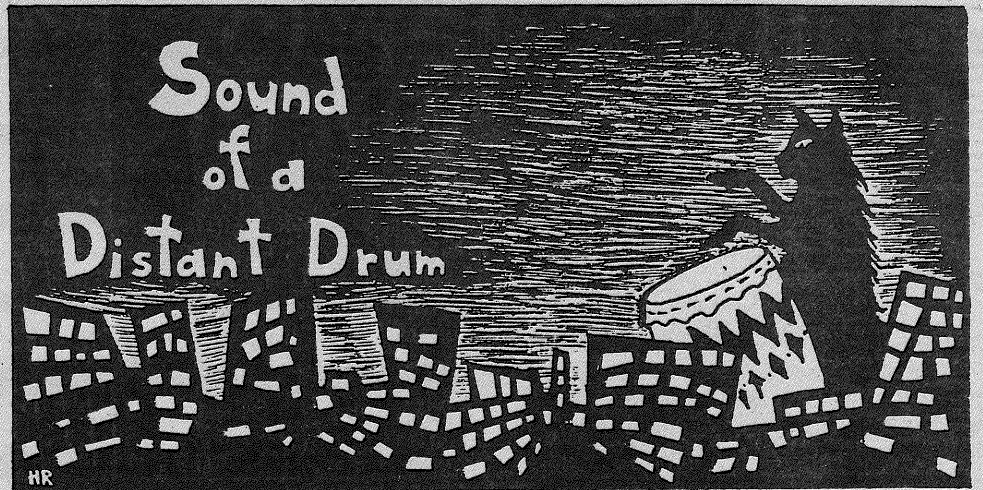
In addition to the negotiators' many field trips to various Japanese plants, members of the two teams took meals together, and even went shopping together.

This heartwarming scenario is without a doubt of little comfort to the workers at GM's plant in Farmington, Massachusetts, where only ten days after the ratification of the July contract GM suspended production, resulting in the laying off of over 3,000 workers. Thousands of additional layoffs followed at other plants, and GM has plans to close at least twelve plants in coming months, relocating their facilities, in some instances, outside the U.S.

Media commentators traditionally regard the UAW's successes and failures as indicative of U.S. labor's successes and failures as a whole. Surely these must be the worst of times, that being the case.

One June evening in Japan, after their guests had gone off to bed, GM's negotiators remained standing around the dinner table, raised their glasses of sake, and joined together singing a chorus of the song "Solidarity Forever." Meanwhile, upstairs in their company-financed bedroom suites, the inheritors of the legacy of the Flint strike of 1937 nestled comfortably beneath their blankets, and in so doing gave new meaning—one might reasonably argue—to the expression "sit-down."

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LONDON—For more years than the barman within the Nag's Head pub can remember the American dollar was the keystone, the hall mark and the anchor of western economy. It was as fixed, as mystic and as eternal in its value as the North Star and was a theme in its own right of American drama, musical comedy, pulp magazine fiction and even into the dealers' market of American painting of Pop Art. But now the British Stock Exchange and Ma Thatcher stand aghast that because of President Reagan's inept administration the inhabitants of this green and pleasant land, give and take the freezing winter cold and the December fog, must face up to the two dollar pound. We are told in brutish headlines that the two dollars = 1 British pound coin will lead to a run on the banks, inflation, a mass increase on Britain's mass unemployment, copycat suicides by London's American tourists unable to buy the daily hamburger and dirty snide remarks by Ma Thatcher to poor ol' Ron, her ex-Wonder Boy. All our lives within western Europe the dollar was a fixed currency by which one could work out the customer cost in British money the price of the *Industrial Worker*, or the American pulp magazine, but now panic in the bookshops and the voice-over of Charlie saying "Do your best Arthur." Yet I am of that simplistic generation of street corner socialists who do not believe that, even in a capitalist laissez-faire economy, when the store houses of Europe are literally crammed with mountains of stored food, when the fields are fer-

tile, the seas heavy with fish and the factories lined with oiled and working machinery that any man, woman, child or animal may go hungry but in the money markets of the world the usurers are this day selling their life boats, sacking their glazed eyed staff and sending off desperate job applications for entertainment officer on the Titanic. But comrades we are the historical unskilled labouring class and like Ma Thatcher we will survive, we will survive. What is important for the British working class this month is the position of Arthur Scargill in the battle for the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers for Scargill has thrown in his position of life-time president of the N.U.M. and said to his mining members, 'judge me by voting me into or out of office.' In this he is blowing an industrial raspberry at Ma Thatcher's Tories who are fart arsing around with a law demanding that every union boss must stand for re-election every five years and after four years in office Scargill is saying put him to the test. I place my naive support at this moment in time with Scargill while the Tories, the coal bosses and the national right wing media are giving their open and implied support to John Walsh, a Yorkshire area union boss and a one-time Rugby League international (American-style football).

Walsh is what is known in the political jargon of the rightwing as a 'moderate,' which means in employers' terms that one is sensible, reasonable, ready to discuss in round terms the employers' problems and is not a factory gate rabble rouser appealing to the mob rather than the explained logic of the employers' balance sheet of wages, costs, viability of the introduction of new work saving machinery and "the need for us all to make sacrifices."

Walsh is, at this moment in time, the only contender for Scargill's office and one wonders where they dug the poor sod up, for as one listens to him one has the sorrowful feeling that one is watching a re-run of *On the Waterfront* with Walsh as a poor imitation of Marlon Brando ("I could have been a contender—I could have been a contender"); Johnnyboy is a contender with full support, with or without his agreement, from the rightwing and one can but wait for the 100,000 British miners of the N.U.M. to register their vote. Place not your faith in heroes comrades but at this moment in history I am in the bleachers cheering for good ol' Arthur Scargill.

John Walsh may have his troubles but then so does the leader of Britain's Labour Party Neil Kinnock for having tried to win the votes of Britain's briefcase-carrying middle class by flushing old time socialism down the loo in the "Little Boy's Room." Neil has now declared open war on Labour's "Young Socialists" for being Trotskyists and physically violent in ideological debates for one feels that Neil views the youth of the Labour Party in the same mould as that of the youth of the British young Conservatives. Share owning and standing to attention during the playing of "God save the Queen." The TV crews are threatening strike action over manning, 5 crew instead of 3, but with their claimed 5,000 dollars a year wage I'll concentrate on my 3,900 dollars a year and wish them well unionwise but dollarwise it ain't my scene. What must concern us, the British labouring class, is the post workers fight for a small cut in the working week, the playing down of the cruelty and the deaths in certain Old People's Homes, one of which fouls the name of a dead socialist but for Ma Thatcher it is roses all the way for once again she avoids the banana skin by grabbing some one else's shirt tail, for with inflation, mass unemployment and Britain lowest in the western world's Health expenditure (USA GNP 10.5, Britain 5.9) she is now blaming poor ol' Ron the ex-USA-Wonder Boy for today's rightwing national *Daily Mail* black headlines "AMERICA THE WRECKER." Poor ol' Ron and the Almighty Dollar.

— Arthur Moyses



Thinking only of the future generations.

## CASSETTE REVIEW

**It's Sister Jenny's Turn to Throw the Bomb,** sung and performed by Carol Fineburg Mason, Leslie Fish and Kathy Taylor, issued by Off Centaur, P.O. Box 424, El Cerrito, California 94530, \$9 cassette only.

Back in the mid-70s, the DeHorn Crew became the Chicago Branch's unofficial band. Three former band members got together in 1987 to tape some of the old favorites and create some new ones:

"It's Sister Jenny's Turn to Throw the

Bomb," "The Preacher and the Slave," "Ramboing" are hard-core satire; "Jefferson and Liberty," and "John Barleycorn" are traditional; "We have Fed You All for a Thousand Years" is IWW, "Dark Rosaleen" is an old Irish political song that slipped through the censors because they thought it was a love song; "Bella Ciao" is an Italian archivist song; "God Bless the Grass" is by Malvina Renolds; "Sisters Dancing Together" is by Kathy Taylor; and "The Cats are Taking Over," "Trinity," and "Freedom Road" are by Leslie Fish.





# REVIEWS

## THE YALE STRIKE

**ON STRIKE FOR RESPECT: THE YALE STRIKE OF 1984-85**, Toni Gilpin, Gary Isaac, Dan Letwin and Jack McKivigan (Charles H. Kerr Company, 1740 West Greenleaf, Chicago IL 60626), 1988, \$6.95.

Common sense, as a great Italian philosopher told us long ago, too often leads us astray. Observing the woeful, decimated U.S. labor movement, for example, we might conclude that anything new would be an improvement. Thus when labor leaders cook up harebrained schemes like organizing by issuing credit cards, someone will surely say, "Well, at least they are trying something different." But new is not necessarily better. One of the many virtues of *On Strike for Respect* is that it shows that new and better results for organized labor are most likely to come from the revival of old methods.

*On Strike for Respect* brings to life the organization of clerical and technical workers at Yale University and their first strike in 1984 and 1985. In succeeding at Yale, Local 34 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union addressed most of the problems that a labor movement which hopes to bounce back must confront. The local enlisted mostly female employees, many of them Black, won a certification election and negotiated a contract. It united workers with blue, white, gray and pink collars. It won.

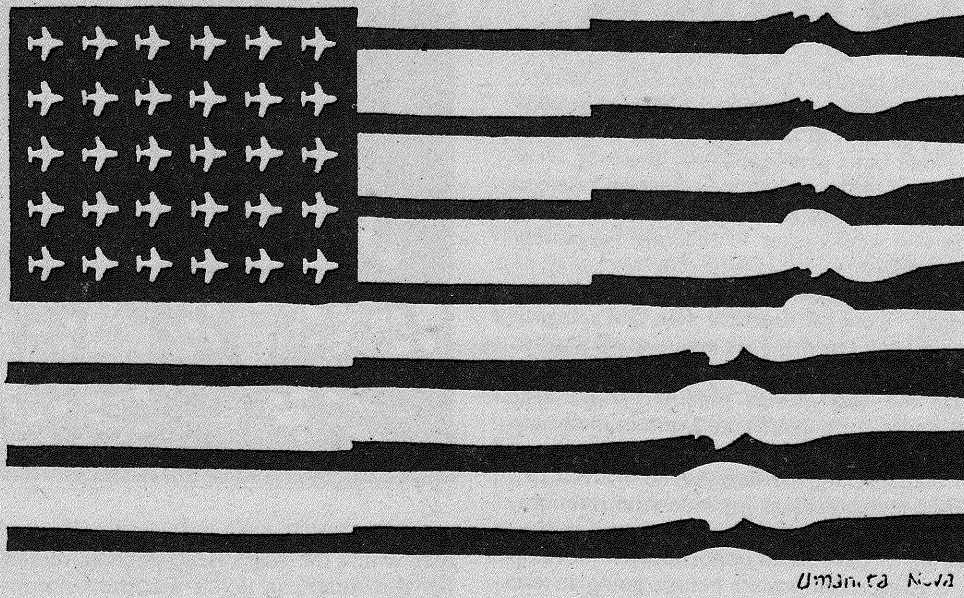
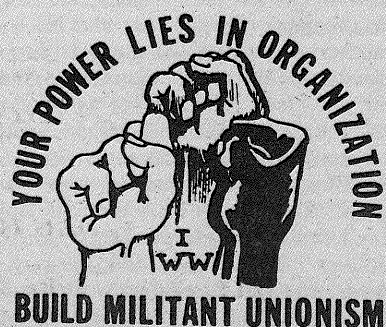
How was this miracle—and it was that by contemporary labor movement standards—pulled off? The answers will not seem very new to those who have inquired much into the past of the IWW and other fighting labor organizations. For example, one noteworthy feature of the Yale strike was that workers with different skills did not cross each others' picket lines. Like unionists of a century ago, Yale workers believed "an injury to one is an injury to all." Local 35, the maintenance and dining hall workers' union, supported Local 34 financially, organizationally and, above all, by not scabbing. A minority of the faculty even supported the strike by not holding class on campus and by observing a moratorium on classes.

Local 34 won with democracy. When things were hardest, they turned only to more democracy, not bureaucratic shortcuts. The union did not make demands for (or upon) the rank-and-file but organized around workers' demands. Often these demands came to center on how jobs were defined and rewarded and especially on how women's labor was valued. Workers discussed what a just job structure would look like. Key tactical decisions were openly debated. Strike and organizing committees were huge with some "committee" meetings drawing 400 to 500 workers. The virtues of a union which avoided condescending saviors and empowered workers collectively and individually stood in stark contrast to the university's actions: limiting attendance at negotiations, intimidating union workers, holding lunchtime meetings at which workers were fed anti-union propaganda, seeking to move bargaining unit hearings to Hartford to limit participation. Respect for free speech and for democracy clearly resided, as they so often have in the past, on the union's side.

Local 34 won, finally, with militancy and aggressiveness. Its picket lines were loud and spirited. The local and its supporters engaged in disruptive mass actions and practiced civil disobedience. At a key juncture, members carried their struggle back inside the workplace, voting to return to work with only a partial contract and to struggle from within in the "Home for the Holidays" campaign.

Unreconstructed labor radicals are regularly branded by experts and bureaucrats as hopelessly nostalgic and wedded to shop-worn maxims and tired clichés about the "class struggle." Buy *On Strike for Respect* for the brilliantly told story of how much life there is in some of these old bones.

—Dave Roediger



## REBEL ART AT THE MODERN MUSEUM

Art Review

**COMMITTED TO PRINT, Social and Political Themes in Recent American Printed Art**, January 31-April 19, 1988; Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York City.

This exhibition is a bit of a breakthrough for a major American art gallery. There have long been artists, particularly those who have worked in multiple reproductions and whose work was of a social or outrightly social protest nature, but their work has invariably been ignored by the art establishments of their day, especially the art establishment of Freedomland. Such "recognized" artists as Goya, Kathe Kollwitz, the German Expressionists and more recently, the Mexican printmakers, have had to have been dead for a generation or more before the "respectable" art galleries would hang their work. Apparently these art moguls reasoned that if the artists were long gone, so too were the conditions that inspired eloquent works of social consciousness. However such conditions do not disappear with either the passing of the artists or those who are responsible for these conditions. Rather these earlier artists have provided the inspiration for their modern colleagues, and the still-existing social conditions continue to provoke art of a revolutionary nature.

This is the first time in this writer's memory that a large art institution in this country has held an exhibition of recalcitrant artists who are still very much alive. The only irony is that an exhibit like this is held in a place that charges four dollars admission, drastically limiting exposure to those who would benefit most from this kind of art. To those for whom four dollars is a drop in the bucket, the messages promulgated in these works are valued by them only for their "artistic" value, so aloof are they from the concerns that inspired these works. For that I can beseech those who share my level of affluence that the sacrifice of the price of a half pint of bourbon or a fraction of the cost of a VCR merits checking out this exhibition. That is one way I can ease my conscience for participation in an exhibition held in an institution that is frequented more by those who are free of economic duress, than those of us for whom economic duress is an everyday facet of our lives.

The material in this exhibition is graphic work that has been done in this country since 1960 to the present day. While there are such well-established names in the art world like Ben Shahn, Jack Levine and Leon Golub represented, the greater majority of participants, like yours truly, are of more humble renown. One also realizes that some of these artists—upon gaining respectable recognition and being able to make their living on art alone—will no longer be revolutionary once they are assured of moneyed patronage, as there are former protest artists who upon finding an assured market for their work no longer have their initial fervor. But knowing that the social conditions that provoke art of a social nature will not voluntarily disappear, there is no danger of revolutionary art being corrupted. Only revolutionary art will continue as long as there is a need for it.

Treated here in this exhibition are the events and movements that have transpired since the turbulent social upheavals of the '60s: the Civil Rights Movement and subsequent ethnic pride manifestations, the anti-Vietnam war movement up to the current protest against intervention in Central America, the concern over nuclear proliferation and the rape of the ecology and many more concerns, including the disappearance of the American small farm.

All ethnic and minority groups are represented here, Southern Whites, Rural and Urban Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Orientals and many others. Over one hundred thirty artists and art groups have on display some 170 individual graphics and printed books. The graphic techniques range from etchings, wood and linoleum blocks to billboard-size silk screens. Recent and contemporary politicians come in for some savagely biting treatment at the hands of these artists.

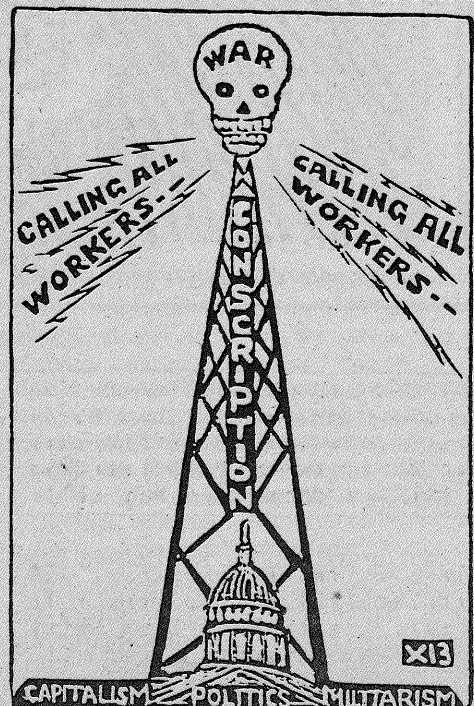
Paul Marcus works in limited editions of large woodcuts. His woodcut on exhibit entitled "The Auction" and measuring four feet by six, shows buzzards tearing apart a scarecrow in the foreground while in the background a family are having their possessions sold out from under them. While this piece evokes what happened to many farmers during the Great Depression, it also addresses what is happening to the family farm today in the contemporary rural economic crisis.

Many different art traditions are represented here along with modern-day innovations. The very purpose of these works makes them clearly understood and removes them a respectable distance from the "art for art's sake" variety of art. To the socially committed graphic artist, artistic merit is secondary to the importance of making the message clearly understood. Many times, mere printed words express what the artist feels and wishes to impart to the viewer; Cheyenne artist Edgar Heap of Birds expresses his reaction to the dominant society's use of Indian words while disregarding the Indians themselves. Some of the most striking and revolutionary work is done by Black and Puerto Rican artists who experience first-hand a second-class status as colonized peoples.

An attractive catalog selling for eleven dollars is available at this exhibition, including reproductions of all the works displayed as well as a chronology of the events that inspired these works. There are also biographical sketches of each artist, and though yours truly chafes at belonging to the "International" Workers of the World, he will not complain otherwise about this catalog.

There are plans to put this exhibition on tour after its run at MOMA and it is hoped that readers of the *Industrial Worker* will avail themselves of the opportunity of seeing it. I see no danger of social protest art becoming "chic," but let us hope this exhibition may usher in a new trend.

—Carlos Cortez



## WORK AND MADNESS

**WORK AND MADNESS**, Diana Ralph (Black Rose Books, 3981 Boulevard St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2W1RS) \$13.95

Although it was published in 1983, this book has suddenly come into its own in the late '80s with the advent of mass drug-testing of workers, the "work-fare state" and other new forms of management control smuggled into North America under "Lady Liberty's" skirts. Written by a sharp-eyed Canadian critic of social work, Diana Ralph, *Work and Madness* advocates a persuasive new "labor theory" of the rise of community psychiatry (mass psychiatry). Ralph's argument traces the origins of community psychiatry's post-World-War-II triumphs in the doctrines of Taylorism and Industrial and Military Psychiatry, which themselves expressed the anti-labor demands of industrial leaders beginning in the late 19th century. By the Ford and Rockefeller eras, theorists of mass social work were already listening closely, and today the concerns of business are first priority for mental health bureaucrats of the Reagan era.

Ralph establishes the "mad" were deinstitutionalized, not for humanitarian or libertarian reasons, but ultimately to provide a pretext for over-arching bureaus of social control, themselves under the control of business, to assume a greater "psychiatric" role to condition workers' lives off the job as well as on. Her analysis even extends this picture to the overseas dominions held or coveted by western capitalism. U.S. counter-insurgency and torturocracy are "community psychiatry" with an international clientele. Now that the present economic crisis has come and the streets mingle the homeless and penniless with the "mad," we can sight in from Ralph's vantage-point and see the opportunities presented to the controllers. A noble humanitarian such as Mayor Koch of New York City is in a position to send his police through the streets to pick up bodies for selective incarceration in hospitals, with no medical recommendation needed.

The political "workfare" con-game is another indicator that could be extrapolated directly from *Work and Madness*. The former "poor," erstwhile citizens of a psychiatrically respectable "culture of poverty," are now errant workers needing to be rehabilitated by doing conscript labor without rights in the public sector, and eventually in the private sector no doubt. The armchair social engineers behind these schemes, New York Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, for instance, have thought of everything, it seems: child labor, conscripting mothers of newborn babies, convict labor—everything except (so far) bringing General Jaruzelski over from Poland to honcho the thing. Of course the AFL-CIO unions in the public employee and service sector cannot afford to draw the necessary down-to-earth conclusions about all this. The bureaucrats are airily mumbling about a new "partnership" with business and government, knowing that the high kings are looking to them to finally close the circle around the workers.

Ralph suggests that the workers themselves are still real combatants in this challenge, whether or not they know they are or want to be, and that they can and will fight back. We could add that a new organizational form waits to be discovered (or rediscovered), following up on the innovations of the old unemployed unions and the recent unions of the homeless—to combine a response to the dominant needs within and without the workplace. One thing this book proves for sure: capital has wandered from the workplace and is now conducting its offensive in the streets as well, trying to make the whole society its own, in mind as well as body.

—Joseph Jablonski

## IWW GOES TO SCHOOL!

The IWW was present at Rutgers University last month as over 700 student activists representing 130 campuses around the country gathered for the first annual National Student Convention held February 5-6 at the university's New Brunswick campus. Fellow Worker David Zatz—a Rutgers student—set up an IWW literature table at the convention, and reports that in addition to introducing several of the convention's participants to the One Big Union, there were many who had heard of the IWW or had read *Industrial Worker*, but until then had never met a real Wob.

As a result of his success, FW Zatz informs us that he's been unable to keep enough literature on hand to keep up with the increased demand, and circulation of *Industrial Worker* around the New Brunswick area has already doubled.



# DIRECTORY of IWW Branches & Delegates

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**ALASKA.** Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage 99508. ★ Barry Roderick, Delegate, Box 748, Douglas 99824.

**CALIFORNIA.** San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, Box 40485, San Francisco, 94140. ★ Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609. 415-658-0293. ★ San Diego IWW Group, PO Box 16989, San Diego 92116.

**COLORADO.** Denver-Boulder General Membership Branch, 2412 E. Colfax Ave., Denver 80206. 303-388-1065. Open Saturdays 9-12 noon. Meetings at noon, second Sunday of each month. Educational Forums 7 pm last Sunday of each month. Gary Cox, Branch Sec'y, Box 478, Johnstown 85034. 303-587-4507. ★ David Frazer, Delegate, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474. 303-494-4809. ★ Lowell May, Delegate, 2201 Eliot, Denver 80211. 303-458-0870.

**FLORIDA.** Fred Hansen, Delegate, Box 824, New Port Richey, 33552.

**GEORGIA.** Atlanta IWW Group, PO Box 54766, Atlanta, 30308-0766, 404-257-1838.

**ILLINOIS.** Chicago General Membership Branch (Fred Lee, Sec'y), 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago 60657. 312-549-5045. ★ Chicago General Defense Committee Local 2 (same address as Chicago Branch). ★ Champaign-Urbana IWW Group Box 2824, Station A, Champaign 61820.

**KENTUCKY.** Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 37581.

**LOUISIANA.** Shreveport IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport 71133.

**MARYLAND.** Baltimore IWW Group, PO Box 33528, Baltimore 21218.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Boston General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139, 617-522-7090. ★ Berkshire Learning Center Job Branch, 35 Curtis Terrace, Pittsfield 01201.

**MICHIGAN.** Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197. 313-483-3478. Meetings second Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. ★ University Cellar I.U. 660 Job Branch, 425 South Summit, Ypsilanti, 48197. ★ People's Warehouse I.U. 660 Job Branch, c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. ★ Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids 49506. ★ Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock 49930.

**MINNESOTA.** Minneapolis-St. Paul General Membership Branch (Nancy A. Collins, Delegate), PO Box 2245, St. Paul 55102. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

**MONTANA.** Western Montana General Membership Branch Hall, 415 North Higgins, Room 104, Missoula. Open Monday through Saturday, 12-5. 800-873-4000 or 406-721-3000. A. L. Nurse, Delegate. Address all correspondence to IWW Branch, PO Box 8562, Missoula 59807.

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**WISCONSIN.** Madison General Membership Branch, 1846 Jenifer, Madison 53704. 608-251-1937 or 249-4287.

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### Great Britain

Delegate, 13 Wolsey Street off Heslington Road, York, YO 5BQ, England.

### WOBBLY T—SHIRTS AVAILABLE

The San Francisco GMB is selling bright red Wobbly T-shirts with a black logo and "Industrial Workers of the World" on them. They have some small, some medium, and lots of large and extra large. They're asking \$10 plus postage.



# SOLIDARITY FOREVER! IWW BRANCH NEWS

## DENVER-BOULDER:

Six Boulder women, Paula Zoller, Laura Larson, Donna Hickey, Nancy Scialla, Donna Diamond and Trish Wilson are languishing in a Nevada jail on six-month sentences for hiking to Ground Zero of the Nevada Test Site last Mother's Day. Letters may be sent to them c/o The Rocky Mountain Peace Center, P.O.B. 1156, Boulder, CO 80306.

Several Denver-Boulder Wobs joined a group protesting aid to the Contras at Colorado Senator Bill Armstrong's Denver office last November. Blood was poured on the building steps as "Contra guerrillas" conducted a massacre. There were 19 arrests including Wobbly Mike Mehaffey. Thanks to the gratis efforts of Ken Gordon of the National Lawyer's Guild, a jury acquitted five on charges related to the street theatre because it was "within the realm of free speech." Trials of others were pending at press time. Said Mike, "It is up to the citizen to stop government when it gets out of control... our actions are part of creating a free society for everyone."

On February 7, about 50 people attended a video of *The Mondragon Experiment* on contemporary Industrial Democracy in Spain. The event, which provoked some interesting discussion, was sponsored by the Denver-Boulder Branch and was held at the Auction House and Gallery in Boulder.

## SAN FRANCISCO: BOOK PARTY FOR MCGUCKIN'S MEMOIRS

Commerce came to a halt in San Francisco's famous City Lights Book Store last month as choruses of "Hold the Fort" and "Solidarity Forever" were sung from song-sheets distributed among the crowd jamming the aisles. The occasion was a book party celebrating Charles H. Kerr's publication of Henry McGuckin's *Memoirs of a Wobbly*.

McGuckin's children, grandchildren, and friends, together with local IWWs, trade unionists, Bay Area radicals, literati, and plain browsers gathered to share wine, song, and reminiscences. "Mac's" daughter, Virginia, recalled accompanying her father to waterfront jobs at the Oakland Army base during World War II. The application forms required the dates and details of any arrests. Mac asked the clerk, "Do you really want to know every time I've been arrested?" "Oh, yes," was the reply. "Well, you'd better give me some more paper," said Mac. They were hired, but subsequently fired as "security risks."

Another daughter, Vivian, recalled her girlhood pride at being able to claim with only slight exaggeration that her father had "been in and out of just about every jail in the country in the struggle for free speech and the right to organize." She remembered, too, the unlettered natural eloquence of Mac's speaking and writing. A grandson, Billy Proctor, spoke of Mac's last demonstration when he picketed in Oakland, in his mid-seventies, with "Youth for Jobs."

A San Francisco couple reported that they had dropped into City Lights to kill time before a movie, "but we can see a movie anytime. This is special!" They stayed and bought two copies of the book. Mac would have been pleased at that. When all copies of the book had sold out and the crowd drifted slowly away, Nancy Joyce Peters of City Lights observed, "This was the best book party we've ever had!" Mac, my father, would have been pleased at that, too.

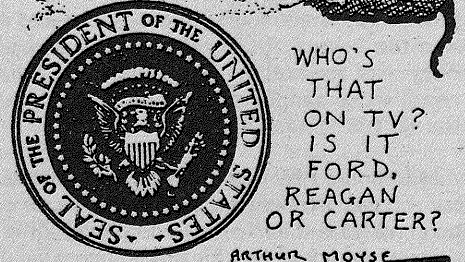
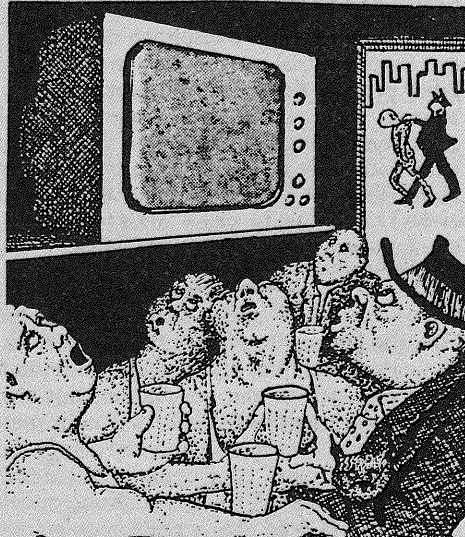
Henry McGuckin Jr.

## CHICAGO: H.L. MITCHELL TOUR

Windy City Wobs arranged several local speaking engagements in February for life-long labor activist H.L. Mitchell, who co-founded the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, the first fully-integrated farm-workers' union in the Deep South, back in 1934. A stirring soapboxer in the Wobbly tradition, the Alabama-born Mitchell also shows a 60-minute documentary film of the STFU's heroic direct-action struggles, *Our Land Too*, based on the new book *Roll the Union On: A Pictorial History of the STFU*, from Charles H. Kerr. Co-sponsored by the Socialist Party, the Illinois Labor History Society and other groups, Mitchell's Chicago tour featured talks and film-showings

at the local IBEW hall and Roosevelt University. Other IWW Branches interested in hearing Mitchell and/or seeing the STFU film should write to Mitch c/o the STFU Association, Box 2617, Montgomery AL 36105 (or phone 205-265-4700) for details.

Local IWWs also joined a Friends of the Wolf, Earth First! and Greenpeace picket-line on February 18, protesting the Canadian government's ecology-devastating war on wolves in the wilderness of northern British Columbia.



## FAREWELL FELLOW WORKER

Enclosed please find check of \$20 to be entered into the *Industrial Worker* sustaining fund in memory of Fellow Worker Paul Ware who past away December 18, 1987 at age 92.

Paul Ware was a good friend of Fred Thompson; the two were together in San Quentin for "criminal syndicalism."

FW Ware, before entering San Quentin, was very much active in the IWW's Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union 510 in 1923 and the San Pedro free-speech fight. After his release from San Quentin he found his way back to San Pedro and again dug into longshoring and other activities he left behind. By 1932 things got going and FW Ware was again in the forefront. He was active in helping organize the harbor again and held several union positions. Active in the 1934 strike, Ware was very much liked and respected by his fellow workers. He was also much sought after on the front—always discussing shop. Although FW Ware is now gone, he is still much talked about and much missed.

Yours for Solidarity,  
Maurice Anderson  
Desert Hot Springs, California

**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 TYPICAL UNIONIST UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TYPICAL UNIONIST 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 TYPICAL UNIONIST AND 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 UPHOLD 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, THIS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE, FOR 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.

THERE IS A CLASS WAR  
DONT BE A SLACKER  
THIS IS YOUR FIGHT, JOIN THE ONE BIG UNION

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- Workers' Guide to Direct Action . . . . . 35
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- Labor Law for the Rank-and-File . . . . . 2.50
- Didactic Verse by Henry Pfaff (IWW humor) . . . . . 2.00
- Proceedings of IWW Founding Convention cloth 15.00

Please add 10% extra for postage.

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40% discount on prepaid bulk orders of five or more copies of any item on this list, unless otherwise indicated. 30% discount on similar orders that require invoicing. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery.

## AVAILABLE FROM IWW LOCALS

- Out of the Depths (best book on the Ludlow Massacre), \$10 postpaid from Gary Cox, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown CO. 80534. Checks payable to Colorado Labor Forum. (All proceeds to P-9.)
- A Worker's Guide to Direct Action. 50¢ from N. Y. IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028.
- Introduction to the IWW. 10¢ each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication) \$10/year from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6J 4P3.
- Amnesty for British Miners (enamel and gold buttons) \$10 each from Chicago IWW Branch, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL 60657. (All proceeds to British miners.)

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# IWW IN GOLDFIELD, NEVADA, 1907: THE PRESTON-SMITH CASE

**THE IGNOBLE CONSPIRACY: RADICALISM ON TRIAL IN NEVADA,** *Sally Zanjani and Guy Louis Rocha* (University of Nevada Press, Reno, Nevada, 89557-0076), 209 pp., illus., cloth, \$18

Studies of the Nazi takeover of Germany have shown that local police, courts and the press played a large role in establishing the Third Reich. Convictions based on faked evidence and perjured testimony promoted the public's belief in outlandish "conspiracies" on the part of Jews and radicals. Duly exaggerated in sensationalistic rightist papers, these nonexistent but much-talked-about "conspiracies" helped create a widespread atmosphere of anxiety and fear that was just what the stormtroopers needed to put over their Iron Heel as the savior of the Fatherland. Such vile methods, however, are no monopoly of Nazis. Just as Hitler's policy of genocide was inspired by his reading of nineteenth-century U.S. policy toward Indians, so too Der Fuehrer would have recognized the essence of Nazi judicial procedure in the traditional treatment of labor radicals in U.S. courts.

In all the famous American labor cases—Haymarket; Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone; Joe Hill; Mooney-Billings; Sacco-Vanzetti—one cannot help but be struck by the glaring contrast between the opposing forces. On one side brutality, hypocrisy, demagoguery, cowardice and dishonesty at their most extreme: a dismal procession of hired perjurers, scheming prosecutors, crooked judges, Pinkertons and other scum dredged up from the bottom of the pit of capitalist corruption. And on the other side, honest, intelligent working folk, brave and true to their class. I am not exaggerating: the record is plain. In each and every case our accused fellow workers were found to be men of spotless integrity, and no proof of any sort of wrongdoing was ever brought forth against them.

The State itself has often, though belatedly, admitted the shameful judicial misconduct in these cases; several of labor's martyrs have been officially exonerated. More important is the fact that all of them have been cleared by the judgment of history. It is true that there are still one or two moral cripples posing as historians who enjoy heaping baseless slander on the memory of Joe Hill. The most dubious of those who have written on IWW history, the pitiable Melvyn Dubofsky, has repeatedly advanced his quaint pretention that Hill was "never proved innocent"—

as if proof of innocence were a requisite either of law or morality. More recently a whole gabble of neoconservative hacks, hustling for a piece of the Reaganite pie, have concocted a fable that Sacco, if not Vanzetti, was really guilty—a fantasy supported by no more than a secondhand fragment of long-after-the-fact hearsay. Serious historians, however, are unanimous in upholding the simple truth of what radical labor said on the subject long ago: None of these men was proved guilty; all were victims of frame-up.

Yet another story of the fate of "Our Class in Their Court" is told in *The Ignoble Conspiracy*, an excellent study of the less-well-known case of Morrie Preston and Joseph Smith, two officers of the IWW local in the mining town of Goldfield, Nevada in 1907. Charged with conspiracy and murder in a frame-up trial well-covered in the radical labor press at the time but neglected by historians, Preston and Smith were paroled after languishing in prison for years. Last year both were fully exonerated by Nevada state decree—long after their deaths, of course, and eighty years after their lives were devastated by judicial lynching.

Last of the great western boomtowns, Goldfield in 1907 was a vital center of the One Big Union. Practically the entire workforce—not only the miners who made up a large majority of the population, but also waitresses, newsboys, Western Union messengers and others—carried red cards. So great was workers' control in Goldfield that there was no need for negotiations, much less contracts, with bosses; the Union merely posted wages and working conditions and it was the bosses, for a change, who had to obey. Not for nothing did Vincent St. John recall those couple of years in Goldfield as the IWW's "golden age."

March 10, 1907 was the beginning of the end of this Wobbly idyll. The owner of a small restaurant had refused to pay an IWW waitress who had left his employment, and the Union was boycotting the place. While Preston was peacefully picketing, the owner, a hotheaded gent who had several times threatened the lives of leading IWWs, suddenly charged through the door with gun in hand. He aimed the weapon at Preston, shouted, "I'll kill you!" and squeezed the trigger. Not too surprisingly, Preston drew his own gun and fired. The restaurant-owner fell, and died soon after.

In a time and place where everyone went armed and shootings were no rarity, this was hardly more than a minor incident, and when Preston turned himself in he had no idea that the bosses would use it as the pretext for an outrageous plot to bust the union. But that is exactly what happened. The Mine Owners and Businessmen's Association, who controlled the city government, hired a hideous collection of plug-uglies and cooked up the incredible charge that Preston and other prominent IWWs, including Smith, had conspired to kill not only an obscure restaurant-owner but several prominent local businessmen. They also hired a high-priced out-of-town lawyer to serve as prosecutor.

The notion that the IWW could possibly have regarded the owner of a two-bit beanery as a serious enemy should have been enough to laugh the prosecution out of court, but in labor cases the more preposterous the charges the easier it seems to be to secure convictions. Reading the account of the Preston-Smith trial makes us realize that labor trials are basically all alike: Only the names have been changed. A judge bitterly hostile to the defendants, endless "dirty tricks" by the prosecutor and enough perjury for a dozen ordinary trials predictably made short work of Preston's and Smith's simple honesty.

The principal witnesses for the prosecution exemplified the caliber of men that the capitalist state invariably brings in to defend the sacred cause of Law'n'Order. W.L. Claiborne was played up as a graduate of three leading colleges and an ex-army officer; later research revealed that he was none of these things but only a professional swindler and sometime private detective. A certain "Thomas Bliss" was presented as a mine-owner, but it was learned a few years later that he was really "Gunplay" Maxwell, a wanted member of the Butch Cassidy gang. Diamondfield Jack Davis was even at the time notorious as a hired gun-thug and murderer, but he was also the bodyguard of the town's leading capitalist, George Wingfield, and therefore, in the eyes of the court, an eminently respectable citizen.

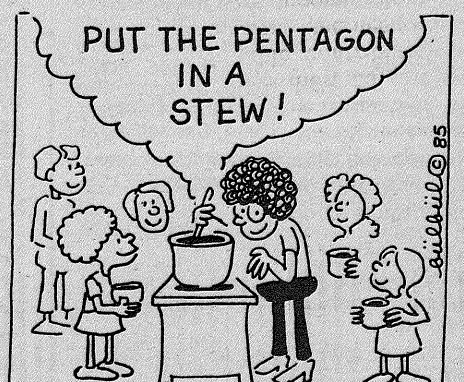
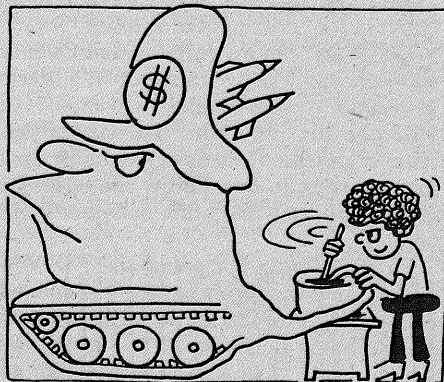
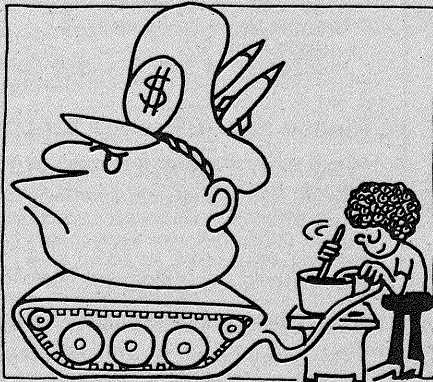
Everything that happened in the Preston-Smith trial is sadly typical of what happens in nearly all radical labor trials. The press merely trumpeted the prosecution's lies, and even exceeded them: One paper featured a drawing of the "crime" showing Preston shooting an unarmed man in the back at

close range! Typically, the prosecutor warned the jury that acquittal would mean the ruin of Goldfield, for growth of the IWW would lower real-estate values and bankrupt the town. Typical were the prosecutor's closing words, emotionally invoking the dead man's widow and orphaned children, though there is no evidence that he was married or had any children. Typical, too, is the story of an anonymous letter threatening the judge, much bruited about in the press and maliciously attributed to the IWW. Illegally revealed to the cloistered jury by a deputy, and thus a factor in the verdict, this letter is now known to have been written by none other than the prosecution's star witness, con-man Claiborne.

The verdict was the signal for a union-busting rampage by the whole employing class of Nevada. Killing or jailing a few militants is only a secondary aim of these frame-up trials. The main aim is to destroy the movement, to terrorize the working class, and to restore the bosses' absolute power over the wage-slaves. And so it was in Goldfield. At the governor's request, labor-hating President Teddy Roosevelt sent in three companies of U.S. troops. The Nevada State Police was formed. Employers reduced wages, imported scabs, refused to hire union members. Courts declared boycotts and even picketing to be elements of an "indictable conspiracy." Within a year of the trial the IWW in Goldfield was no more, and even the conservative miners' union that tried to pick up the pieces was beaten into submission.

*The Ignoble Conspiracy* is not a cheering book, but it tells a tale that deserves to be better known, and surely belongs on every Wobbly bookshelf. Thoroughly researched, written in a lucid, lively manner, rare in books by academics these days, it is an exceptionally valuable contribution to the history of our Union. One need not be put off by the authors' gloomy conclusions. If the IWW was crushed in Goldfield, it popped up soon afterward, and stronger than ever, in McKees Rocks, Spokane, Fresno, Lawrence, Akron, Detroit, Peoria, New Orleans and hundreds of other places. In spite of all efforts to suppress it, it is still fanning the flames of discontent today. Sooner or later Wobblies will make history again in Nevada.

—Franklin Rosemont



## BRITISH UNIONS RESURGE

After years of union curbing by the Thatcher government, early February saw a rash of strikes by coal workers, nurses, sailors, and auto workers. Indeed, there are some indications the union movement's decade of retreat may be coming to a halt. A few unions, such as retail workers and public-sector white-collar employees, have reported increased membership in the last few months. Moreover, after years of sharp declines, strike activity rose in 1987, though it remains at a fraction of the pace of 1979. The latest figures, for the 12-month period ending last November, show 3.5 million work days lost to strikes, compared to 2 million days in the previous 12 months. Since 1979, union membership in Britain has fallen by 3 million, to roughly 9 million, and the unionized share of the workforce has dropped from 51 percent to 37 percent.

### Safety Workers' Strike

In the coal industry, 10,000 pit safety workers held a one-day national strike, demanding a 10 percent pay hike. The safety workers' strike follows a series of wildcat strikes by miners at individual pits recently, protesting the government-owned British Coal Board's plan to try to make the industry more competitive internationally, partly by bringing back the 6 day work week.

Arthur Scargill, leader of the National Union of Mineworkers, was re-elected president in January, vowing to oppose any reorganization of the industry. Since the 1985 coal strike ended, British Coal has laid off 70,000 workers and closed 67 coal pits. The NUW now represents about 86,000 miners, after about 20,000 miners split off to form a union more conciliatory toward the coal board.

Striking sailors stopped all ferry services for 24 hours to protest continuing cutbacks in Britain's 40,000-strong merchant marine, which has lost 5000 workers a year since 1975.

Nurses began a series of one-day walkouts to protest low pay and the Thatcher government's underfinancing of the National Health Service.

### British Ford Workers Strike

On Feb. 7, 32,500 Ford production workers struck all 22 of the auto maker's British plants, their first strike in a decade, over management demands for more changes in work procedures. Under a two-year agreement in 1985, the number of job titles was reduced from more than 500 to 52, giving the company greater ability to shift workers around as it pleased. Partly as a result of such changes, pretax profits at Ford's British operations tripled in 1987 to \$615 million.

Early in 1988, Ford demanded a three-year contract, which would—in exchange for wage hikes ahead of the inflation rate—give management the right to introduce "work teams" and "quality groups" on the factory floor. Most of the Ford workers regarded the team idea as a management weapon for making their work regime resemble a Japanese "Modern Times," and 60 percent voted down the contract.

"Work teams and group leaders are a way of setting worker against worker," said shop steward Eddie Chapman. "We recognize Nissan and the need for modernization. But these new work procedures are a way of getting around the unions, with the company as judge, jury and prosecutor in the plant."

The impact of the Ford strike promises to extend well beyond the British auto industry as labor-management negotiations at Ford have traditionally been a bellwether for British industry. In fact, a Ford strike in 1978 was the opening salvo of the industrial unrest that climaxed in the 1979 "winter of discontent," a show of union power that led the Thatcher government to pass laws requiring pre-strike ballots and outlawing sympathy strikes. By the end of the first week of the current strike, its effect was spreading through Ford's highly profitable and highly integrated European operations. Thousands of Ford

workers in Belgium were idle for lack of parts produced in Britain and the production pace slowed in Ford's West German plants.

Penny Pixler

### MINE WORKERS APPROVE PACT

Feb. 8, members of the United Mine Workers voted 2-to-1 to accept a 5 year contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, which represents most of the U.S.'s largest coal producers. The contract provides a wage increase of about 6 percent at the top of the pay scale, guarantees that sub-contracting will not cost the union jobs and requires member companies of the coal operators association that operate nonunion mines to offer the first three of every five job openings to union members laid off from that company's union operations.

Negotiations continued with a number of independent coal producers, including Pittston, which dropped out of the coal operators association last year. Pittston employs about 2000 union miners at its 15 companies in West Virginia, Virginia and Kentucky. In January of this year Gene Matthis, president of Pittston Coal, announced that Pittston would stop providing health benefits to retired workers, disabled miners and miner's widows.