

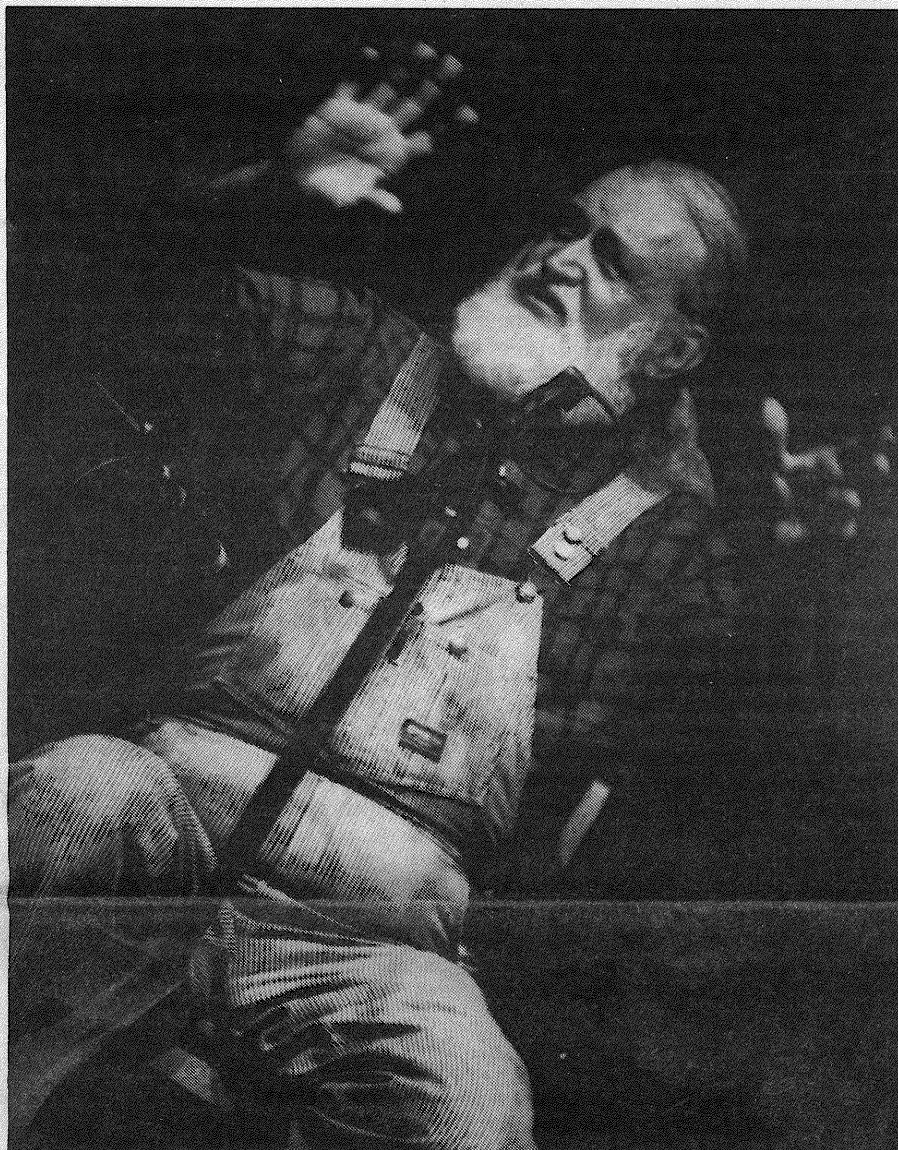


INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ Education
October 1991

★ Organization
Volume 88, Issue No. 1540

★ Emancipation
50 Cents



Utah Phillips in Concert. See Review, page 7.

Photo: Catherine Mittleman

Wobs Steal the Show at AFL-CIO Parade

—X341104

In late July, the Lehigh Valley Wobs circulated a flyer and cover letter to eastern IWW groups initiating a call for an IWW marching bloc in the August 31 AFL-CIO parade in Washington, DC. This was done realizing that the parade itself would not get us a health care bill or a striker replacement bill. But with labor steadily losing ground, it seemed the right time for the IWW to educate workers that we are an alternative to the business-as-usual unions. The call also reiterated the fact that most workers don't know the IWW still exists and the march would give us an opportunity to get out the word that the IWW is still alive.

Twenty northeastern Wobs showed up. The most interest came from the Lehigh Valley, New York and Baltimore Branches. Through various meetings, phone calls and correspondence, a meeting place in DC was set. Logistics were a bit of a problem since arrival times were varied, but everything fell into place days before the march.

The LV group arrived at the Silver Springs metro stop and shared a train with miners from the UMWA. The Flying Column Wobbly singers launched into songs like, "Power in the Union" and "Which Side Are You On," which went over well. The miners and other unionists sang along, clapped hands and stomped their feet all the way to our stop. On the walk to our meeting place, Wobs Fara Farbod and Mike D'Amore personally leafletted Jess Jackson, who was walking

across the street. Jackson thanked us for coming down and told us to keep up the good work.

At our meeting place we leafletted unionists and shared our OBU philosophy. Many were happy to see us, recognized the IWW symbols on our posters and told us about problems of unity within their respective unions. Things began to get a bit hectic when one worker signed on and then brought seven of his friends to hear what we had to say. They also eventually signed cards. Most were from the Harrisburg, PA area. As the day went on eight more workers from different parts of the country were signed up. In total, fifteen new people took out cards. We were on a roll and loving every bit of it.

Our marching bloc entered the parade at 17th and Constitution. Huge throngs of people and oppressive heat caused long delays in the march so our bloc formed a semi-circle and started going through the Little Red Songbook. The reaction of other unions was fantastic—they joined in and gave us rousing cheers. The press also took an interest; GEB member Brian Mahoney was interviewed for NPR radio and photographers had a field day snapping photos of our banners and colorful signs.

As we readied to march, a thunderous sound caused us to turn around and stare in disbelief. The UMWA contingent 10,000 strong, dressed in green camouflage turned the corner and formed di-

continued on page 4

Why I Hate The Government

by Judi Bari

I hate the government, and I've never had any faith in working through the system. My 20 years of political activism have all been out on the front lines—from anti-war riots to wildcat strikes to Earth First! logging blockades. I know the history of violent repression of the Wobblies, the Communists, the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement. But nothing in my knowledge or experience could have prepared me for the sheer horror of being bombed and maimed while organizing against big timber last year. And I never thought I would be doing something as grandiose and apparently in-

genuous as suing the FBI. But neither did I expect to find our movement under attack by a COINTELPRO-type operation led by Richard Held, the very same FBI/Gestapo agent who framed and jailed Leonard Peltier and Geronimo Pratt.

Richard Held is the head of the San Francisco FBI office. He is the agent in charge of my and Darryl's case, and he went on TV after the bombing to say that Darryl and I were the *only* suspects in the assassination attempt that nearly took my life. Held became notorious during the 1970s for his active role in COINTELPRO, an outrageous and illegal FBI program to disrupt and destroy any group that challenged the power that be.

COINTELPRO's method was to foment internal discord in activist groups, isolate and discredit them, terrorize them, and assassinate their leaders. The best known example of this was Black Panther Fred Hampton, who was murdered by Chicago police in an FBI-planned assault as he slept in his bed in a Chicago apartment in 1969.

Richard Held's personal role in COINTELPRO began in L.A. in the early 1970s, where he ordered the FBI to draw and send insulting cartoons, supposedly from one faction to another in the L.A. Black Panthers. This heated up antagonisms between the factions so much that, with a little help from FBI infiltrators, they erupted

into shooting wars that left two Panthers dead. Richard Held also sent fake info to the press to discredit actress and Panther supporter Jean Seberg, who eventually committed suicide as a result. Held's final coup in L.A. was to frame and jail Geronimo Pratt for supposedly murdering two people on a tennis court over a petty robbery.

Held was also on hand in Pine Ridge South Dakota in 1975 to help direct the FBI's reign of terror against the American Indian Movement. In this case the FBI took advantage of existing divisions in the native community to hook up with a

continued on back page

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

★ **1991 General Assembly Report:**
See Center Pullout

★ **Canadian Strike:** *See Page 3*

★ **Confronting Environmental Racism:** *See Page 10*

Industrial Worker
1095 Market St. #204
San Francisco, CA 94103
ISSN 0019-8870

Second Class Postage
PAID
at
San Francisco, CA 94188

Letters to the Editors . . .

Fellow Workers:

I feel I must register my displeasure at the apparent ideological campaign being waged in the Industrial Worker to get the IWW to abandon its original identity and purpose as a revolutionary industrial union in favor of some amorphous kind of "social movement" group. What else can one make of all the talk in the IW about how we should stop referring to ourselves as workers or that we should make establishing small businesses a corner stone of an updated strategy for social change.

I joined the IWW back in 1972 because, as a working class person, the IWW allowed me to affirm my identity as a member of that class. From the time we are born to the time we die we are bombarded with the message from our bourgeois culture that if you are a worker you are stupid and a failure. Our parents, taking this message to heart, work their butts off so that we can have something better. The old idea that the only alternative to wage slavery is to become a professional or open your own business is as old as capitalism itself. I joined the IWW because the IWW said that there is another alternative: to organize on the job, to resist the dehumanization of wage labor, and to one day take over these "means of production" and "abolish the wage system."

Now we are being told by some that this is all old hat; that, yes, indeed, if you are a worker you are stupid and a failure; that the only viable alternative to wage

slavery is to escape it by opening your own "collective," business or, perhaps, you and your co-workers could buy your workplace. One even reads the complaint that one of the problems with working for someone else is that "you're always fighting with the boss." (Well, that's called the "class struggle"—something we're not supposed to talk about anymore in the "new IWW").

When the IWW pioneers spoke of "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" they weren't talking about building co-ops. That was a strategy they left behind in the 19th century. That is a strategy for individual escape from wage slavery, not a strategy for its abolition. They were talking about building industrial unions which would be capable of both resisting the degradation of labor under capitalism and of administering a socialized economy in the future. The future of the IWW as a revolutionary labor union does not lay in the direction of becoming a sort of chamber of commerce for small business safely ensconced in a cozy countercultural ghetto but in turning our faces toward the wage slaves and fanning the flames of discontent.

In solidarity,
Mike Hargis

Brothers and Sisters:

First I would like to congratulate you on a great paper. Your work will hopefully inspire all unions to open their lines of communication.

I am a union worker. My hands are callused. My muscles hurt after a day's work. My life is shorter than yours, but treat me with respect because I am strong. If my union local has a problem my brothers and sisters listen and bring change. Change may seem slow but if enough of us try *we can do it!* We, the workers!

I would like to have every union member attend their meetings. If you have a problem you and only you can make a change. The union empowers a worker to make changes themselves. It is not a boss, a racket or a company.

Keep up the good work.

Fraternally yours,

Jeff Kelly

(member International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, Local #300)

Dear People:

Logging began yesterday in the Fairview-Church section of the Shawnee National Forest here in Southern Illinois. The protest of this legal crime is continuing as it has for several years. Local media has reported 16 arrests. I saw the IWW logo (arched black cat) on one of the protester's shirts and know that Earth First! is and has been involved. I am writing in the hope that you will relay the following information to local activists in case it is useful to them.

The yard here at USP Marion is on the east side of the prison, which sits on the edge of Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in or near or part of Shawnee Forest. Today some prisoners on the yard saw a truck full of logs come out of the woods. This raised the suspicion that the U.S. Bureau of Prisons was allowing

North America's Only Radical Labor Newsmagazine

INDUSTRIAL WORKER



Printed by members of Graphic Arts International Union, Local 583. Pre-press production by members of IWW I.U. 450.

IW Collective

Mike Ballard, David Collins, Dave Drabble, Bill Dunham, Michael Dunn, Fritz, Emma Gilbride, Jess Grant, Dave Karoly, Mike Kolhoff, Bill Myers, Saul Pagan, Cliff Ross, Gary Sargent, Harry Siitonen, Zimya A. Toms-Trend

Contributors

Judi Bari, Catherine Mittleman, Penny Pixler, Jon Bekken, David Griggs, Brian Glick, Bruce Mackay, Holly Tannen

The Industrial Worker (ISSN 0019-8870) is published monthly by the Industrial Workers of the World, 1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco, CA 94103. Second class postage paid at San Francisco, California. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Industrial Worker, 1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco, CA 94103. Subscriptions to the Industrial Worker are included as part of dues for all IWW members. Subscriptions for nonmembers are \$10 per year. The Industrial Worker is the official publication of the Industrial Workers of the World. Submissions whose content violates the principles of the IWW as laid out in the Preamble and Constitution will not be printed. Unless designated as official policy, articles in the Industrial Worker do not represent the official position of the Industrial Workers of the World. No paid or commercial advertising accepted. The Industrial Worker is published monthly. The deadline for all copy is the 12th of each month. Submit articles to: IW Collective, 1095 Market St., #204, San Francisco, CA 94103. For more information, call (415) 863-WOBS.

IWW DIRECTORY

For those unfamiliar with IWW terminology, we offer these definitions: Job Shop—an IWW-organized group of workers at a particular workplace—either worker-owned, or owned by the bosses. GMB—General Membership Branch, a chartered branch of members linked by locale, rather than workplace. IWW Group—A group of IWW members in the same locale—not large enough to be a GMB. I.U.—Industrial Union, the IWW number assigned to a particular industry. Delegate—An IWW member authorized to collect dues and to sign up new members.

AUSTRALIA

Jura Books—110 Chrystal St., Petersham, Sydney.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Sydney Area IWW Group—Delegate: Ray Elbourne, 14 Kroombit St., Dulwich Hill, 2203, Phone: 02-558-1412

CANADA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver GMB—110-511 Gatsbury St., Coquitlam, V3J 5E7.
Eastside Datagraphics Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1460 Commercial Dr., Vancouver V5L 3X9, (604) 255-9559. John Barker, contact.
SE British Columbia IWW Group—P.O. Box 54, Balfour, V0G 1C0. Contact: David Everest (604) 229-4978.

MANITOBA

Winnipeg IWW Group—B. Mackay, P.O. Box 3204, GNPO, R3C 4E7.

ONTARIO

Kingston IWW Group—472 Albert Street, K7J 3W3, (613) 544-2382. Delegate: Brad Waugh (613) 549-6094.
Ottawa IWW Group—388 1/2 Kent Street, K2P 2A9, (613) 231-2922.
Toronto GMB—11 Andrews Avenue, M6J 1S2, (416) 941-9945. Meetings first Thursday, 7 pm, each month, phone for location.
Blackbird Design Collective Job Shop (I.U. 450)—394 Euclid Ave., Suite 301, Toronto M6G 2S9, (416) 972-6293.

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND

IWW Delegate—D. Czunys, 13 Wolsley, York, YO1 5BQ.
IWW Delegate—F. Lee, 22 Vicarage Lane, Belgrave, Leicester, LE4 5 PD, Phone: 0533-661835

UNITED STATES

ARKANSAS

IWW Delegate—P.O. Box 1403, Conway 72032.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles contact—Dorice McDaniels, (213) 679-2570.
IWW Local 1/Mendocino/Humboldt GMB—Delegates: Judi Bari, P.O. Box 656, Willits, 95490. Anna Marie Stenberg, 254 Wall Street, Fort Bragg, 95437, (707) 961-0302.
San Diego IWW—RMR Kroopkin, 2675 Fletcher Parkway #211, El Cajon 92020.
San Francisco Bay Area GMB—1095 Market St., #204, 94103 (415) 863-WOBS.

I'm currently writing concerning an article written in the September 1991 issue entitled "Trade Union Meetings May Be Hazardous to Your Health," by Bruce Kern.

Well, Bruce is right when he said most readers don't attend their union meetings. This being the fact, let's hope your readers don't believe what Bruce tells them instead of finding out for themselves.

Our local *does not* start with a prayer. Our union officials *do not* stay in first class hotels.

We do give money to the benevolent fund but we also give money and labor to other charities. It's true that some cops are bad but we have no beefs with a widow or a child who has lost a parent.

I also feel that if Bruce spent as much time reading parliamentary procedures as he does counting cigarettes he would understand how a meeting is conducted in an orderly fashion.

My union represents many different crafts. My union has enabled me to get a decent wage, medical, dental and optical insurance and retirement. Sure we have problems, but those of us that go to meetings are trying to change them for the better.

In your preamble it states workers and bosses have nothing in common. If this is true we have less in common with sons and daughters of the downpresser class with an associates degree in liberal arts that tell workers how to act. Messages like Bruce's are identical to propaganda put out by antiunion/openshop firms.

Berkeley Recycling Center Job Shop (I.U. 670)—M. Carlstrom, 2515 Piedmont #8, 94607.

New Earth Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1640 Addison, Berkeley, 94702. Delegate: Dave Karoly (510) 549-0575.

Typesetting Etc. Job Shop (I.U. 450) — 1095 Market St. #210, SF CA 94103 (415) 626-2160.
Santa Barbara Area IWW—S. Menard, (805) 968-8456.

COLORADO

Denver/Boulder GMB—2412 E. Colfax, Denver 80206, (303) 388-1065. Office open Saturdays 9-12. Meetings, second Sunday each month; phone for time. Delegates: Cliff Sundstrom, 910 E. 8th Ave. #202, Denver 80218 (303) 832-7602. Dave Frazer, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474, (303) 258-3732.
P&L Printing Job Shop (I.U. 450), 2298 Clay, Denver 80211, (303) 433-1852.

FLORIDA

Miami Area IWW Group, P.O. Box 1856, Miami Beach, 33119, (305) 534-7175. Delegate: J. Lewis.

GEORGIA

Atlanta IWW Group—340 Elmira Place, 30307. (404) 524-1243.

HAWAII

Honolulu Area IWW Group (808) 732-7027
Delegate: D. Goldsmith

IDAHO

Boise IWW Group—Delegate: W. Cohan, 2701 N. 29th St., 83703, (208) 343-1699.

ILLINOIS

Chicago GMB—(New World Resource Center) 1476 W. Irving Park, 60613 (312) 549-5045. Meetings, first Friday 7:30 pm, Labor Video Forums, third Friday 7:30 pm.
Champaign/Urbana IWW Group—Box 2824, 61820.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans Area IWW Group—R. McCarthy, P.O. Box 15734, 70175-5734, (504) 899-0014.

MAINE

Lewiston IWW Group—Contact: M. Lunt (207) 786-6273.

MARYLAND

Baltimore Area GMB—R. Bey, Black Shield, Box 1681, Glen Burnie 21060, (301) 367-3024.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston GMB—Box 454, Cambridge 02139, (617) 629-2922. Meetings, second Sunday, 2 pm. Delegates: Nora Smith, Dani Mavronicles.

MICHIGAN

Southeast Michigan GMB—400 W. Washington, #2B, Ann Arbor 48103, (313) 995-1422. Delegates: Geoff Kroepel (313) 769-8629; Michael Kozura (313) 973-9102.
Ann Arbor Tenants' Union Job Shop (I.U. 670)—4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor 48109, (313) 763-6876. Delegate: Jeff Gearhart (313) 994-5477.
People's Warehouse Branch (I.U. 660)—727 W. Ellsworth, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 769-8629. Delegates: Carol Landry, Mark Kaufmann (313) 483-3478.

N. Michigan—John Patterson P.O. Box 245, Conway 49722-0245.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis / St. Paul IWW Group—Box 2391, Loop Stn., 55402, (612) 339-5002. Delegate: Chris Shillock.
Duluth Area IWW Group—1514 N. 8th Ave. E., Duluth 55805. Delegate: Jack Rosenquist.

MISSISSIPPI

Gulfport IWW Group—Contact: C.G. Streuly (601) 896-3515.

MISSOURI

St. Louis Area IWW Group—P.O. Box 189, Pacific 63069. Contact: Orin Langel, (314) 257-2437.

MONTANA

IWW Delegate—George J. Evankovich, 214 Roosevelt Dr., Butte 59701, (406) 494-2523.

NEVADA

Tahoe Area IWW—Larry Steinberg, P.O. Box 1114, Dayton 89403, (702) 246-3120.

NEW YORK

New York GMB—P.O. Box 1147 M, Bayshore 11706. Delegates: Brian Mahoney (516) 586-2103. Jackie Panish, Box 372, Rego Park 11374, (212) 868-1121. Rochelle Semel, RD 1, Box 158-B, Hartwick, 13348 (607) 293-6489. Bob Young, Box 920, Wingdale 12594.
Socialist Party USA National Office Job Shop (I.U. 670)—516 W. 25th St. #404, NYC 10001. (212) 691-0776.

OHIO

SW Ohio IWW Group—D.E. Slaton, Box 26416, Trotwood, 45426, (513) 854-0051.

PENNSYLVANIA

Lehigh Valley GMB—P.O. Box 4133, Bethlehem 18018, Delegates: Lenny Flank Jr. (215) 759-7982, Mike D'Amore (215) 434-0218, Dennis Good (215) 921-2459.
Philadelphia IWW Group—Tom Hill, P.O. Box 41928, 19101.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Harbinger Publications Job Shop (I.U. 450)—Merl Truesdale, 18 Bluff Rd., Columbia 29201, (803) 254-9398.

TEXAS

Austin IWW Group—P.O. Box 49523, 78765 (512) 416-9619.

UTAH

Salt Lake IWW Group—Tony Roehrig, 2607 S. 500 East, 84106, (801) 485-1969.

WASHINGTON

Tacoma/Olympia GMB & GDC Local 4—2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma 98405, (206) 272-8119.
Seattle IWW Group—P.O. Box 95686, 98145-2686, (206) 525-1336. Delegate: Wayne Taylor.
Street of Crocodiles Letter Press Job Shop — P.O. Box 20610, Seattle 98102, (206) 726-5924

WISCONSIN

Madison GMB—Box 2605, 53701, (608) 255-1800. Delegates: Tim Wong, Jerry Chernow.
Lakeside Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1334 Williamson, Madison 53703. (608) 255-1800. Delegate: Jerry Chernow.

Canadian Public Workers' Strike

—X334218

Monday 12:01 a.m. September 9, 1991 the biggest strike in the history of Canada began. The Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) representing 150,000 federal government workers went on a legal strike. 40,000 members were designated as essential to the health and safety of the Canadian people (they must work) which left 110,000 to walk.

In Winnipeg, Manitoba as in the rest of Canada pickets went up at 12:01. Approximately a dozen picketers were outside the Post Office Towers in Winnipeg (it stopped raining 45 minutes prior to the official strike day and the weather has been about 15 degrees Celsius (59 degrees F.) since that time).

A major issue is the fact that the government has introduced via the federal budget a wage package of no raises the first year, the 3% wage increases each of the next two years with no job security protection or protection from contracting out—this while theoretically attempting to negotiate a contract. The PSAC had no choice but to strike.

The PSAC is not a militant union and its last major strike was in 1980, when the Clerical and Regulatory Bargaining Unit went on strike. This is the first time the PSAC has had 35 bargaining units out at the same time. There were scabs the first day—the lines were very loose and PSAC members were intimidated by the Winnipeg police (according to Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Winnipeg police had the worst record in Canada).

By Wednesday, Day 3, the lines were holding strong, grain shipments were not moving, there were delays of five hours at the Canadian-U.S. border and airline schedules were in disarray. Designated workers are conducting inside strikes—working strictly to their job descriptions and working to rule. Many are donating pay checks to their local strike fund and drawing strike pay (\$125 per week). Locals have formed Scab Watches and Scab of the Day Clubs as well as posting names, address, and phone numbers of scabs on main streets in many rural communities. *Scabs are coming out.*

The Canadian House of Parliament resumes sitting Monday, September 16 and the PSAC expects back-to-work legislation. PSAC President Daryl Bean stated today in Halifax he will defy back-to-work legislation if necessary.

Editors' note: Most of the workers have now gone back to work. Striking transit workers in Toronto have voted for their new contract, while postal workers and public service workers have returned to work under an agreement that the government would continue to negotiate. To many Wobblies in Canada, things seem pretty dismal, though there were some examples of solidarity by nonstriking unions. Provincial public service workers gave a \$1 million line of credit to the strike fund. And Brian Mulroney now enjoys the lowest approval rating in history for a Canadian prime minister.

New National Anthem

Oh Canada, we've lost our home and land
Brian and his gang seem to think that
it's just grand!!
With heavy hearts we see the fall of
true democracy
As you know, without the dough
We can't even bribe a Tory!!

God give us all job security
If you can't do that, we ask just this of
thee...

Give us back some hope and make our
land *Tory Free*.

We've got spirit yes we do
0% just will not do
Equal pay for equal work
Brian Mulroney's such a jerk!

We deserve a fair contract
0-3-3 is not where it's at
Pay equity's what we deserve
If we call out we will be heard.

No contracting out is what we say
Job security every day
0% just will not do,
We deserve a contract too!

Government spending is way too high
Why should employees pay the price
Job security is what we ask
We deserve a fair contract

Letters continued from page 2

the loggers to use the prison grounds as a "back door" to dodge the logging protesters, part of whose protest was an effort to block the trucks. It is possible that other trucks came and went when prisoners could not see. It is also possible that this was an unrelated cut: the prison is building a lake as a water source to replace the contaminated source from which water is currently supplied to the prison. If that is the case, it would be interesting to know if the sale of the lumber was listed as an asset to be deducted from the price of the lake. In any event, I/we thought this info would be useful to EF! and/or IWW people on the scene.

The future holds promise!
(Name withheld)

Sisters and Brothers,

I am pleased to see writings in the IW that reveal the connectedness of various social issues. We've seen numerous articles in the IW on the relationship between labor and ecology and a few more that have discussed the correlation between the oppression of prisoners and the oppression of workers on the outside. What the writer from Marion prison has brought to light is that all three issues—labor, ecology and prison—are interrelated. Workers are, of course, exploited by the timber companies bent on destroying the Shawnee National Forest, and by the Bureau of Prisons, which is bent on destroying human will in Marion prison. And the federal government aids both in their oppressive policies, while incarcerating those of us who fight against this oppression.

Marion prison, opened in 1963 to replace Alcatraz, is one of the largest and most notorious gulags in North America. Here prisoners have been subjected a 23-hour-a-day lockdown for years, beaten systematically (often while handcuffed), tortured psychologically and locked in "boxcars," which are tiny sensory deprivation boxes. Marion prison, condemned by Amnesty International for its inhumane and brutal treatment of prisoners, is a control unit, with the goal of breaking prisoners mentally or physically, particularly those whose ideas oppose the goals and policies of the U.S. government. Inmates include members of the Puerto Rican, Native American, African American and New Afrika struggles, as well as anti-imperialists and class war prisoners.

The connection between Marion prison, ecology and labor is thus much broader than just the struggle to preserve the Shawnee Forest. As activists and members of radical organizations we all face the possibility of incarceration in general, or in this hell hole in particular. We all oppose the policies of the U.S. government (if not the government itself) with respect to its callous disregard for working people (inside and outside of the prison system), the environment and human and civil rights. Finally, significant gains have been made as a result of the coalition between EF! and the IWW. Here is a golden opportunity to build an even broader coalition by working with prison groups such as Freedom Now (c/o Movement-Support Network, 666 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10012) and Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (345 South Dearborn, Suite 1607, Chicago, IL 60604, phone (312) 663-5046), not just to



At
HUCK-KONOPACKI UE HUCK

Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its possessors on the same principle that a sword or pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner.

—Thomas Skidmore, 1829

At the moment, the Soviets have an advantage over us. They know their economy is screwed up. As yet, we do not, because we have faith that the next cycle of growth, apparently getting under way, will save us. But don't count on it this time. America may have to face up to economic restructuring too.

—William Neikirk

THE EDGE OF NIGHT / EDMUND S. KIHN



ONLY IN AMERICA. So let's count our blessings. Right to assemble, as long as too many people don't show up. Right to vote, but only the wrong guys get elected. Right to bear arms as long as we make certain to shoot only our neighbors and selected animals. You've got protection against illegal search and seizure, unless you're riding a bus. Right to strike? Sorry, but hardly anyone knows what that means anymore. Of course, you've still got your right to free speech—as long as nobody listens.

save the Shawnee Forest but also to help in the struggle of the timber workers in the area, to bring safe and clean water to the prisoners, to end the horrendous treatment to which they are subjected, and to fight for the immediate release of all political prisoners!

Yours in solidarity and struggle,
Michael Dunn

Dear I.W.:

A few comments about the paper. I think the S.F. comrades have done a pretty good job in putting out the paper although I wish it were 12 or 16 pages.

I miss "Sound of a Distant Drum" and "Left Side" and the graphics that came with those columns.

Whatever happened to the sustaining fund box? I see in the G.O.B. that contributions have come in but aren't listed in the I.W.

I hope you revive the tradition of asking for individual and group greetings for the May issue and using the old old masthead for the November issue.

I like the article on EWIU 620 in the September issue. I'm a member of Public Service Workers I.U. 670. I'd like to see that it's reactivated as well. When the paper expands to 12 pages perhaps some space could be reserved for I.U. news.

Finally, I vote for keeping the current name of the paper. Some of the suggested names weren't bad. Maybe as more I.U.s get reactivated they could use these suggested names for I.U. newsletters.

In Solidarity,
X337664

Dear I.W.:

I am organizing a combination symposium/concert in remembrance of Alexander Berkman on the centenary of his *attendant* on Henry Clay Frick during the Homestead Strike, and I am currently searching for organizations and individuals to be sponsors and/or participants in this event. I am looking for Berkman scholars and historians, musicians, poets, and films, slide shows, plays, or other audiovisuals about Berkman. At this point I envision a one-day event with speakers and perhaps audio-visual presentations about any aspect of the life of Alexander Berkman followed by an evening concert. This is strictly a not-for-profit event, and there is no outside funding, so speakers and entertainers are solicited on a volunteer basis. I am hoping that admission to the event can be kept low. Any monies collected will go to cover the costs of production; any extra will be donated to a prisoners' rights group such as Amnesty International or Freedom Now. Sponsorship can take many forms: lending your organization's name to our publicity and publicizing the event within your newsletter or direct mailings to your members; donating money or covering the travelling expenses of a speaker or musician; or helping in some tangible way. There will be other activities commemorating the centenary of the Homestead Strike, but this is the only event that will be devoted exclusively to celebrating the life of Alexander Berkman. If you or your organization is interested, or you would like to stay on a mailing list for this event, please contact me as soon as possible.

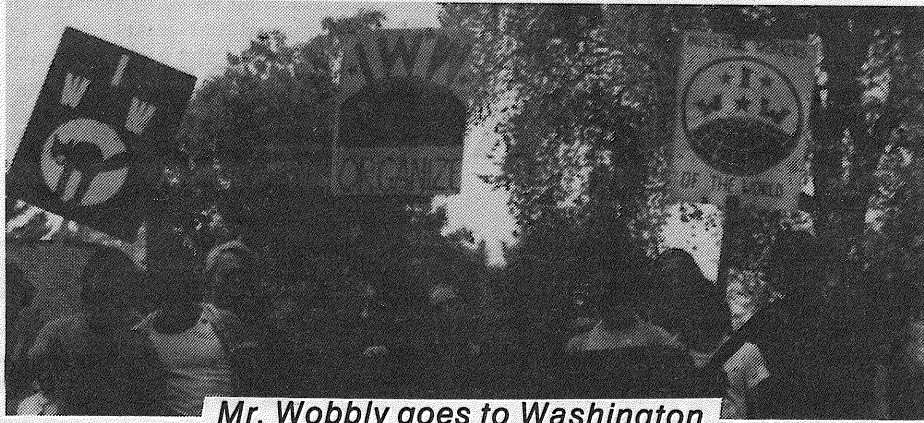
Gary L. Doebler
P.O. Box 22412
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

continued from page 1

rectly behind us. Their numbers stretched from curb to curb and was several blocks in length. It was an awe-inspiring sight, so much so that we dropped our signs and banners, clapped our hands and yelled our approval. These folks were a motivated bunch with the hard work of the mines etched in their faces. They chanted union slogans and showed the rest of the parade that there really is power in a union.

Not to be outdone, our small bloc chanted things like, "What Time Is It? TIME TO ORGANIZE!" and "One Big Union! One General Strike!" The march moved toward the Capitol building. Once there, the union bureaucrats gave speeches. The hilarious thing was that once they started up most of the 250,000 workers began leaving.

As I mentioned, we in the Northeast realized the parade would not solve our problems. It was an empowering experi-



Mr. Wobbly goes to Washington

ence but tinged with disappointment. Our discussions of the event centered around questions of why, with all these workers showing solidarity, we couldn't use these numbers in practical ways. At the very least, a weekday march that shut down the country for a day would have

been more effective. Also it reaffirmed our belief that the IWW has many answers to the problem of present day unionism. Our knowledge and energy is still needed and we should take a more active role.

We did sign up many new members.

Looking at our new people, a humorous but truthful remark was made, "There they are. There they go!" The point being that we had better try to give new members a reason to stay with us for the long run. If we don't, then the effort was wasted and the only thing to come of it will be a one-month increase in dues money for the national office. It was agreed that the Harrisburg connection was a good development. The Lehigh Valley branch will be discussing ways of getting them information about what they can do as an IWW group. Working with us to start, they may eventually be able to form their own branch.

All in all, our participation was a good thing. Given our limited resources we can still make a difference. If we want the IWW to live on we have to keep it going by doing the hard work that goes with organization building. The next time around the IWW should be the 10,000-strong bloc that turns the corner.

International Notes

South African Unionists Debate Independence

Debate is raging within the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South Africa's largest union federation, over whether union officers should be able to hold dual office in political organizations. In June the Chemical Workers Industrial Union narrowly approved a resolution barring full-time union officials from holding political office. The South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) also approved a "no two hats" resolution, arguing that dual office-holding compromised the unions' independence and unity. SACTWU also barred its officers from speaking on political platforms without a mandate from the union.

The Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union, however, has called on union leaders to take leadership positions in the African National Congress. The food and mine workers unions have taken similar positions.

Since the ANC was legalized, several COSATU officials have publicly joined it, spoken on ANC platforms, and accepted office in the ANC and other political organizations. Many members fear that such overlapping positions endanger the unions' autonomy, should the ANC take the reins of government in the near future. Rank-and-file struggles for greater union democracy have developed in several unions, with members demanding greater local autonomy, rotation of officers to the shop floor, and other reforms.

Although the government has repealed 1988 legislation that automatically defined most strikes as Unfair Labor Practices, particular strikes can still be outlawed. Unions are also demanding reform of the Occupational Disease Law, which provides benefits for white workers thirteen times those paid black workers. Asbestosis and Black Lung victims, for example, are eligible for a maximum of 43,834 rands for whites, R 25,328 for coloreds, and R 3,842 for blacks. Black workers are barred from medical examinations, their compensation assessments made by doctors who have not examined them. Although white and colored workers can return for additional compensation if their condition worsens, black workers are allowed to file only a single claim.

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union has also been battling sex discrimination in the workplace, arguing that men and women should be employed in equal numbers. An article in the South African Labour Bulletin reports that sub-contracting is a growing problem as employers seek to escape union wages and conditions. Many retailers are also increasing casual, part-time and temporary work, and trying to exclude these workers from union coverage.

China Releases Independent Union Leader

Han Dong-fang, one of the organizers of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation, was released a few months ago after nearly two years in jail without trial. More than 2,000 workers were arrested for their participation in the democracy movement or for having joined one of the autonomous unions. Several members of the Beijing, Hangzhou, Shandong and Inner Mongolia Workers Autonomous Federations are still imprisoned.

Columbian Unionist Assassinated

Dario de Jesus Vega Rodriguez was shot dead while taking his son to school March 4th. He was a board member of the Workers Union of Antioquia department, and one of several Union members to receive death threats after the union demanded a new contract.

Soviet General Strike Topples Regime

In the months immediately preceding the coup attempt in the Soviet Union, several independent union and political organizations were subjected to repressive measures. The Coordinating Council of the Union of Socialist Trade Unions of the Ukraine (Sotsprof) reports that local authorities closed the union's bank accounts and were attempting to expel the union from its offices.

Two members of the Moscow Union of Anarchists, A. Rodinov and A. Kuznetsov, were charged with "bandit armed action" after resisting two men in civilian clothes who began beating them during a March 12th demonstration. The men turned out to be KGB agents. If convicted, Rodinov and Kuznetsov face seven years in prison. The Moscow Union of Anarchists has called for protests to Soviet embassies and consulates to demand that charges be dropped.

Strike leaders in Byelorussia have been charged with a variety of common crimes and "activities to discourage production" as a result of strikes earlier this year demanding fulfillment of agreements reached in 1989 and the resignation of President Gorbachev. Among the strike committee members threatened by KGB action are Ignatovitch, Rudick, Babayov and Siniak of the Minsk strike committee and Stanko, Ankervich, Krivski and Andreyev of the Orcha strike committee.

In August, miners were joined by tens of thousands of workers in Moscow and Leningrad in striking against Stalinist coup leaders. In the aftermath of the coup, however, it appears that the government is stepping up its privatization and austerity policies. Soviet workers may soon find themselves striking again, but this time in their own interests.

The effort to organize an anarcho-syndicalist union, Resistance, has failed, and Soviet syndicalists are now active in the independent Confederation of Labor. The Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) publishes the Confederation's weekly news-bulletin. Strangely, several Trotskyist organizations are presently trying to recruit East Bloc anarchist and syndicalist groups. The lavishly-financed Liaison Committee for a Workers' International reports that Soviet and Polish anarcho-syndicalists have joined its front group, the European Workers' Alliance. The Trotskyist (Fourth) International Viewpoint, meanwhile, is trying to recruit KAS members who oppose the Confederation's cooperation with other opposition organizations and its program calling for worker-owned cooperatives to compete within a market economy.

Kronstadt Commemoration Resolution

An international conference was held in Moscow March 16-18, organized by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation (KAS) to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Kronstadt rebellion. The following resolution was approved:

"We, participants of the International Syndicalist Conference in Moscow... state that the corpse of Stalin's system of state socialism against which Kronstadt's sailors had fought opens new perspectives for the independent workers' movement in the USSR.

"We warmly support the aspirations of the workers of the USSR to be independent of Party and State structures. We are certain that to simply substitute state exploitation for national and international

capital will not give us freedom, social justice, private or collective security.

"Today the Party and State bureaucracy, by using slogans about 'denationalization' of our economy, usurp our means of production with foreign companies, setting up dirty and resource rapacious factories within the USSR. The interests of our old bureaucracy and of our new capitalists coincide with each other.

"Only the determined struggle of the USSR workers fighting for their interests by forming strong militant unions, and fighting for the reconstruction of our society on the principles of self-government can be an alternative to this."

Indonesian Workers Form Independent Union

The Setia Kawan (solidarity) Free Trade Union was organized last September in Jakarta, "free from the influence of the owners of industry, employers and government." The new union was organized in response to the timidity of the government-controlled All Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI).

The Indonesian government promptly outlawed the Free Union, proclaiming that "its existence cannot be tolerated." However, the union's founding congress and some 60 delegates representing nearly 10,000 members in the textile, electronics, pharmaceutical and transport industries was not interfered with.

Freedom in Kuwait

Although there is a legal union federation in Kuwait, it is hardly free. Non-Kuwaitis have to wait five years before they can join. Potential members must be certified as being of good reputation and conduct before they can join. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates outlaw unions altogether. (Direct Action)

—The International Committee may be reached at 1476 W. Irving Park Chicago, IL 60613 attn: Jeff Ditz



Karikatur: Klaus Stuttmann



CONVENTION '91

★ Travel

★ Business

★ Pleasure

SPECIAL 4-PAGE PULLOUT SECTION

Inside the 1991 General Assembly

by Mike Ballard

It began, more or less officially, on the last Friday in August at the San Francisco office of the Industrial Workers of the World. The open house at 1095 Market Street was abuzz with dialogue, trialogue, monologue; conversation about work in the office, offices in general, wage slavery, and organizing, all sandwiched between layer upon layer of questions. Wobs were flying, driving, busing in from various parts of the planet; jumping off at the "cool, grey city by the bay," finding themselves somehow home again, if somewhat cold at being there. A 19th century wag was reputed to have said that the coldest winter s/he had ever spent was the summer s/he spent in San Francisco. Mark Twain denied that it was he; nevertheless, many an out-of-town Wob may have shared these self-same sentiments as they peered out of the windows of that second story office into the chilly city streets and out toward the sterile dome of City Hall dominating the recently decreed homeless-free Civic Center.

That Friday night, as the fog swirled around an old Victorian home perched on a windswept hill overlooking the Bay Bridge side of the Mission District, one could hear the chatter of excited voices, laughter, music and general good cheer emanating from its warmly lit interior. The party was on. Friends, both old and new, once scattered, now brought together, were story telling and generally enjoying collective company while casting inquisitive glances as they partook of various potluck libations spread before them. The ice, gradually breaking at first, began to flow as the conversation got smoother and the party's atmosphere started to percolate through the dining room, into the kitchen and out to the porch. We knew by evening's end that we were ready.

The next day the Assembly began at New College, a small school in the Mission District, which is also the site of an ongoing organizing drive by I.U. 620



Photo: Catherine Mittleman

workers employed within its hallowed halls. The room where deliberations were to be conducted was about the size of a basketball court. Chairs were arranged around the walled periphery of its high ceilings. A long table was placed at one end and an eye-catching, red on black IWW banner at the other. A table outside an adjoining hall was piled high with literature, T-shirts, caps, and even a selection of earrings being sold for union fund raising.

As individual workers entered the hall, a packet of material in a file folder was handed to each containing a locator map of points of interest in the neighborhood in which the Assembly was held, a complete set of proposed resolutions, Constitutional amendments, and a G.D.C. fund request. It also contained reports from the old and new IW collectives, solidarity greetings from the U.S. section of the IWA, the G.A.'s financial report, a letter of nomination to the G.E.B. from an Australian worker, a letter from the New York Regional General Membership Branch proposing a land purchase, a proposal on wording for I.U. 690, a letter from a worker critical of IWW "saviours," a concert announcement and a tentative agenda. Later, an account concerning the work of the International Committee was added.

Once in the room, people either milled about or spoke with each other in nervous anticipation of what the deliberations might bring—good or ill—while others perused their newly acquired folders for hints of how the day might unfold. Veterans spoke warily of witnessing a few nasty personal outbreaks at past gather-

ings. Nobody, it seemed, wished to experience that sort of rancorous bickering in 1991, but all seemed just as determined to stand up for their principles, if push came to shove. An undeniably anxious cloud hung over the meeting just before G.S.T. Grant banged the gavel and the proceedings began.

But, as it happened, the jitters were all for nought. The personal chemistry needed for an explosion of ad hominem attacks never reached the mixture necessary for combustion. Principles were not assaulted, although debate aplenty occurred over substantive issues. It was especially hot over the proposed Constitutional Amendment to restructure dues and over questions of how most effectively to proceed with the need to fund a revived General Defense Committee, not to mention basic questions surrounding the mechanics of funding organizing drives. The real meat of these Assembly discussions should be published soon for those Wobblies who wish to examine more than this skeletal account. In addition, it should be noted that a worker videotaped the proceedings and other Assembly-related events. Inquiries about obtaining these tapes should be addressed to the national office.

The session began semi-promptly at 10 a.m. that Saturday. Co-chairs were nominated as well as credentials committee members and bouncers. All were unanimously elected, with few complaints and those coming only from the nominated. With recording secretaries in place, the tentative agenda found in each Wob's file folder was approved with one exception—that the song portion should be moved to the first order of business. Utah Phillips

obliged with an a capella version of "Dump the Bosses Off Your Backs," a song which met with the hearty approval of the assembled who joined the song en masse by the time the last stanza was being sung.

It was in this give and take atmosphere of mutual respect, laced with a good deal of humor, that Wobs conducted themselves during the rest of the Assembly. In between discussion on resolutions, amending resolutions and Constitutional Amendments, fellow workers brainstormed a lot about organizing: organizing branch by branch, organizing the homeless, organizing by oppressed vs. oppressor issues, e.g., feminism, toxics, free trade and so forth. There was discussion of horizontal linking of members, branches, and delegates. Improvements in the *Industrial Worker* were also discussed, e.g., more pages per issue, more phoning, different production schedules and developing electronic means of decentralizing production such as modems and computer networks. In addition, a handsome piece of literature describing the events concerning the deportations at Bisbee was distributed gratis by F.W. Robert E. Hanson. Free reprints of fellow worker Bari's articles in the *Anderson Valley Advertiser* were also made available.

And then there were the evenings. Saturday was free for people to do what they wished. Some of the exhausted just slept; others caroused and then slept. On Sunday a dynamite concert took place at the Noe Valley Ministry. More will be written on this event in another article, but in this writer's opinion, it was awesome. The haunting refrain sung by brother Cherney as his partner played her violin, "Who bombed Judi Bari? I know you're out there still," sent a wave of goose bumps through the crowd, as the injury of one was musically transformed into an injury to all.

By the time 2 p.m. rolled around on Monday, we were all ready to "stop making sense" and adjourn. But not before we gathered with our arms on each others' shoulders in one big circle, and sang "Halleluja, I'm a Bum" to revive us again. It was after this that most Wobs started on their way home. A few lingered on, sauntering over a couple of blocks away to Dolores Park to catch the final performance of the San Francisco Mime Troupe's production of "Back to Normal." The promised heat of a strong California sun materialized in the park that afternoon. Indeed though, as evening drew nigh and the foggy shrouds began to blow over the City once more, we all realized our "feast of friends" had come to an end. With the last beers and hugs shared, we parted amidst a renewed sense of what we were about, certain that when we returned to our own respective "normals," we would sound no quarter for the system of wage slavery, its ruling class or for the assorted philistines who defend them both.



Photo: Catherine Mittleman

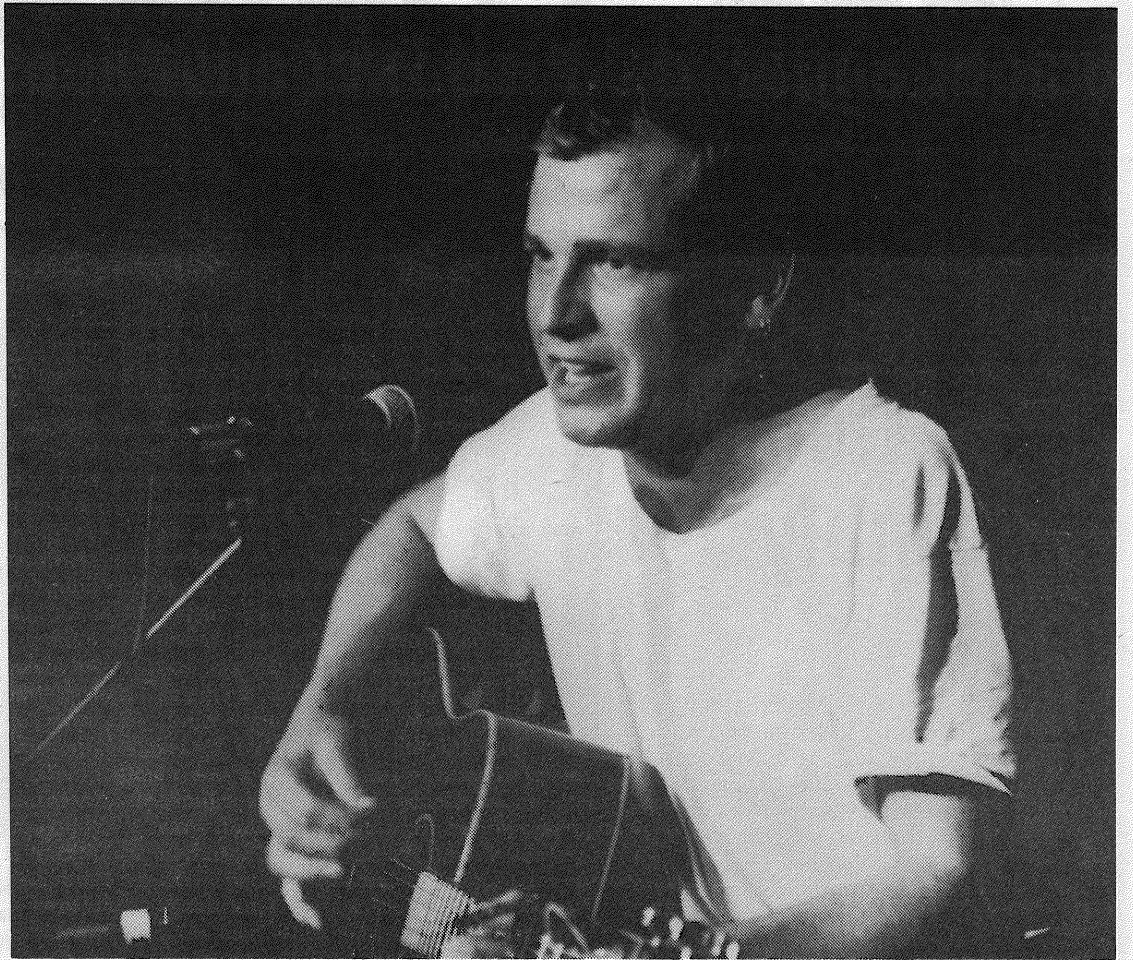
Convention delegates from Rochester, N.Y. (with Gertrude the Goose), Nevada City, CA, Sydney, Australia, and San Francisco.

When did it happen that voices started snapping
and the promises began to sound hollow
The eldest son watches his father age and in a fit
of rage
tears the picture of Jesus from the wall
Watching the man he admires fall into a
self-hating, pitiful mire,
now knowing he too has a lifetime to crawl.

CHORUS

The sun don't shine it burns
and the Spring rain tastes like dirt...
Lifetime to Crawl

by Tommy Strange



Fellow Worker Tommy Strange swears *Something's Rotten in Eden*.

Northeast Regional Gathering

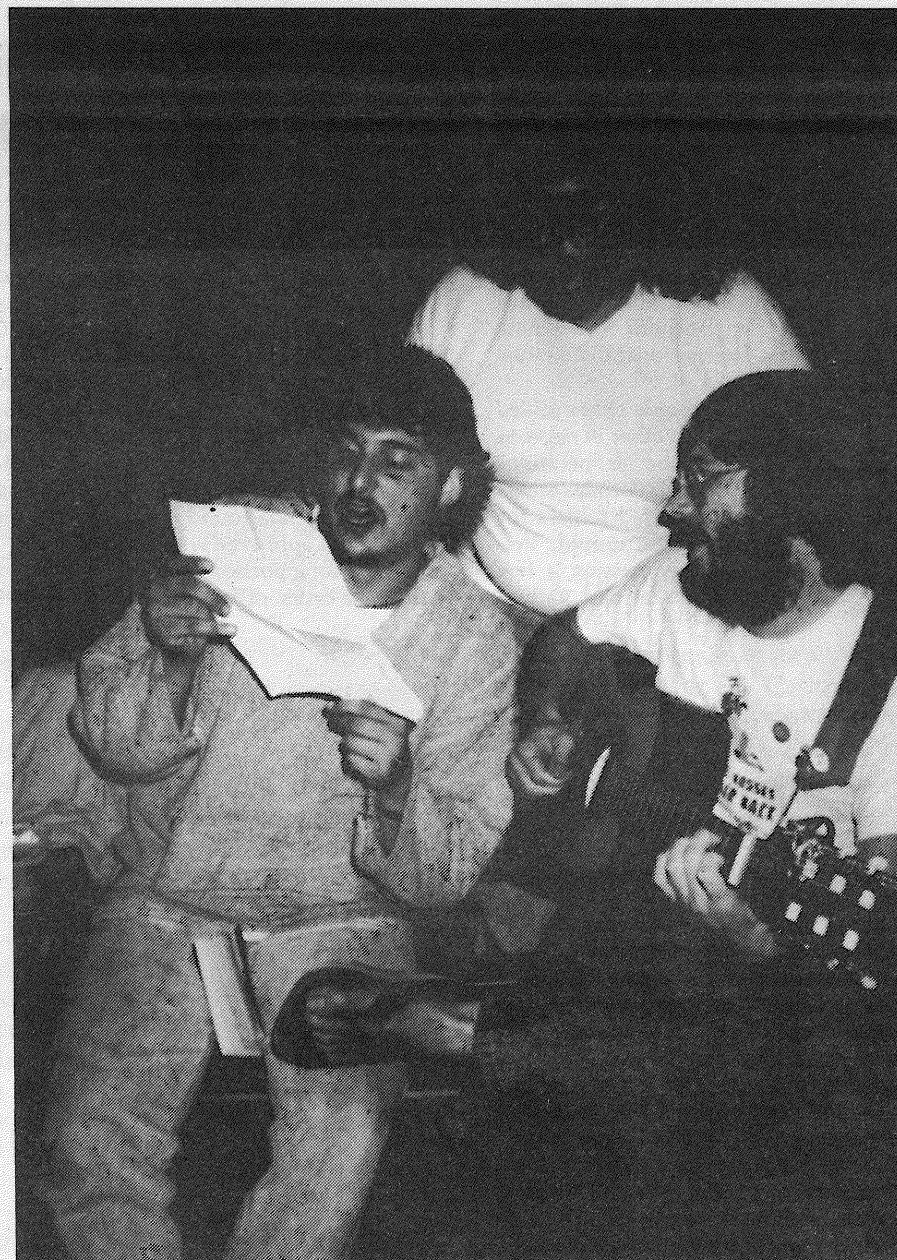
by David H. Griggs

Blue Chicory, white Queen Anne's Lace, and yellow Lance-leaved Goldenrod line the quiet dirt road leading out of Fly Creek into the mountain. Just after a fork in the road, a driveway heads up to the right. At the top stands a street sign post which reads "Labor Creates All" one way and "All Wealth Belongs to Labor" the other. Welcome to the 7th Annual Northeast Regional IWW Outing sponsored by the New York Regional General Membership Branch.

The Annual Northeast Regional IWW Outing is held each August on the 70 acre wooded upstate New York retreat belonging to Paul Poulos and Rochelle Semel. A weekend here is worth recharging a Wobbly's batteries for at least another year.

Music was perhaps the highlight of this year's annual gathering. Led by Toby Griggs and Lenny Flank Jr. on guitars, the Wobble-Inn Glee Club performed virtually non-stop. Fueled by a series of kegs and some excellent Canadian beer brought by the Toronto contingent, the music became even more enthusiastic as the nights wore on. Resounding choruses of "Solidarity Forever," "Joe Hill," "Mr. Block," and "Union Maid" echoed through the trees as the group worked their way numerous times through the IWW Songbook, the Canadian Wobbly Song Book, anti-war songs, and the rich tradition of folk music in general. By the time they got to "Strawberry Fields Forever," in the wee hours of Sunday morning, they were rather ragged, but we didn't want to discourage them.

Connecting with other Wobblies is one of the joys of this annual gathering. Over 50 Wobblies from a wide age and geographic range attended over the course of the three day weekend. Coming the furthest was Janet Miller of Chicago. Other areas represented were Boston, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Toronto. There were also a number of local non-Wobblies who stopped in.



Warbling at The Wobble-In

One lively crowd was from the dynamic new Lehigh Valley/Eastern Pennsylvania group. They just hit 20 members and are applying for a Branch Charter. In addition to being the fastest growing section on the East Coast, they have been very active in local labor issues and are building strong links to other unions and disaffected individuals in the eastern Pennsylvania region. On Sunday one participant was heard to

remark, "I never ate so much in a forty-eight hour period in my whole life!" Breakfast blended into brunch and then lunch, followed by snacks and later supper, culminated by general munchies throughout the evening. A second turkey appeared around 9 p.m., and was a mere skeleton after a few hours.

In this convivial social atmosphere, ideas and brainstormings flowed as freely as

the gallons of beer, soda, coffee and tea. At any given time under the blue-tarpaulined roof, one could encounter conversations involving computers, physical therapy, union organizing at the local hospital, women's rights, legal education, national health insurance, automobile repair, handicapped access, free trade issues, the history of unions in the U.S., the Gulf War, and much more. Scattered around the weekend were Calvin & Hobbes, the *Industrial Worker*, and marathon games of backgammon, chess, poker, and hearts.

Some comments on the 7th Annual Northeast Regional IWW Outing from various participants:

"Please—No more Beatles!" That Allentown group was really enthusiastic. They tried to sing every song they ever knew, every song they'd ever heard, in every key known to man, as well as the Martin key of 'Z,' even if they didn't know the melody or the words.

"This bird was smoked so long that it requires a warning from the Surgeon General!" and "Lou was so pleased with this quick cooked bird that next year he's going to begin smoking the fowl on May Day so that by the outing it will have a smoke surface so hard and thick that it'll have to be removed with a woodsplitter's maul." Lou's secret formula for fast food—a thirteen hour smoked turkey having a succulent surface with the texture of 60 grit sandpaper—but it was surprisingly delicate in flavor.

Perhaps the best way to end is with this final comment: There was a lot of outreach...interaction among people...and a teaching tool for the children among us. And networking—don't forget to mention the networking. Hope to see you at next year's 8th Annual Northeast Regional IWW Outing at the Wobble-inn. In 1992 this event will be held from Friday, August 7th to Sunday, August 9th.

Wobs Whoop It Up With Songs of Solidarity

by David Collins and Jess Grant

On Sunday night over Labor Day Weekend, the IWW reaffirmed its reputation as "the Singing Union." For about two and a half hours the Noe Valley Ministry was transformed, through music, into an organizing hall.

Several hundred people crowded into the Ministry that night, and the standing-room-only crowd spilled out into the lobby and down the stairs. True to their history, the Wobblies took a religious institution (in this case a church) and adapted it to their own revolutionary ends. The audience was an interesting mix of Wob sympathizers, well meaning liberals, political activists, and folk music aficionados, with some punks thrown in for good measure.

Faith Petric led off with some classics, including *Union Maid*, Woodie Guthrie's *Talkin' Union Blues* ("Take it easy, but take it"), and *You Ain't Done Nothin' If You Ain't Been Called a Red*. She sang with a vitality and slice of wry that warmed the audience and got them singing along right from the get-go.

Tommy Strange followed her, and offered up his haunting, Dylanesque *Youngstown Ghost Town* and *Something's Rotten in Eden*. Graphically poignant, and at times flavored with cynicism, Strange's performance evoked much feeling and thought. Tommy leaves it to others to transform our pain into laughter—without sentimentality, he explores the anger and despair that come from being a working stiff in a society that chews us up like so many replaceable parts.

Grace Cox and Harry Levine of Olympia, Washington's Citizen's Band came on to close out the first set, and relaxed everyone with their *Industrial Strength Tranquilizer*. They got lots of laughs with their cynical look at *Bourgeois Law*, then drove the point home a bit further with

I Just Come to Work Here, I Didn't Come to Die. They were referring, of course, to people's dangerous jobs, and not to the convention itself, which Harry and Grace enthusiastically participated in.

The short intermission was passed in a frenzied blur of T-Shirt and cassette tape merchandizing, as people milled about in the foyer downstairs. Blinking lights brought everyone back upstairs for the evening's second set.

Tom Savage, an Irish carpenter based in San Francisco, opened up with a song of Mark Levy's about the irony of being jailed for serving free food, which went "Now I'm serving time instead of serving soup." He followed with *Joe Hill's Last Will*, set to a mournful Irish melody, and complemented by his plucky banjo. He closed with a rendition of his own song *Redwood Summer* (see IW, p. 8, last issue), which acted as the perfect introduction to the evening's next set of performers.

As soon as Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney hit the stage, the banter began. They have an endearing way of quarreling on stage that Darryl compared to "The Smothers Brothers." "Smothers Sisters," Judi corrected him. "Mother Earth always liked you best," he concluded. Ta-boom!

They sang a song about the mill closures in Mendocino County called *Potter Valley Mill*, the very tune that catapulted them to Number One on their local country music station. Like the auto workers before them, Northern California timber workers are facing massive layoffs as big corporations close up shop and move offshore. Darryl and Judi documented this tragedy in another song of theirs which goes "Where are we going to work when the trees are gone? Will the big boss have us wash his car, or maybe mow his lawn?"

Utah Phillips closed out the night with a medley of well-known songs, including

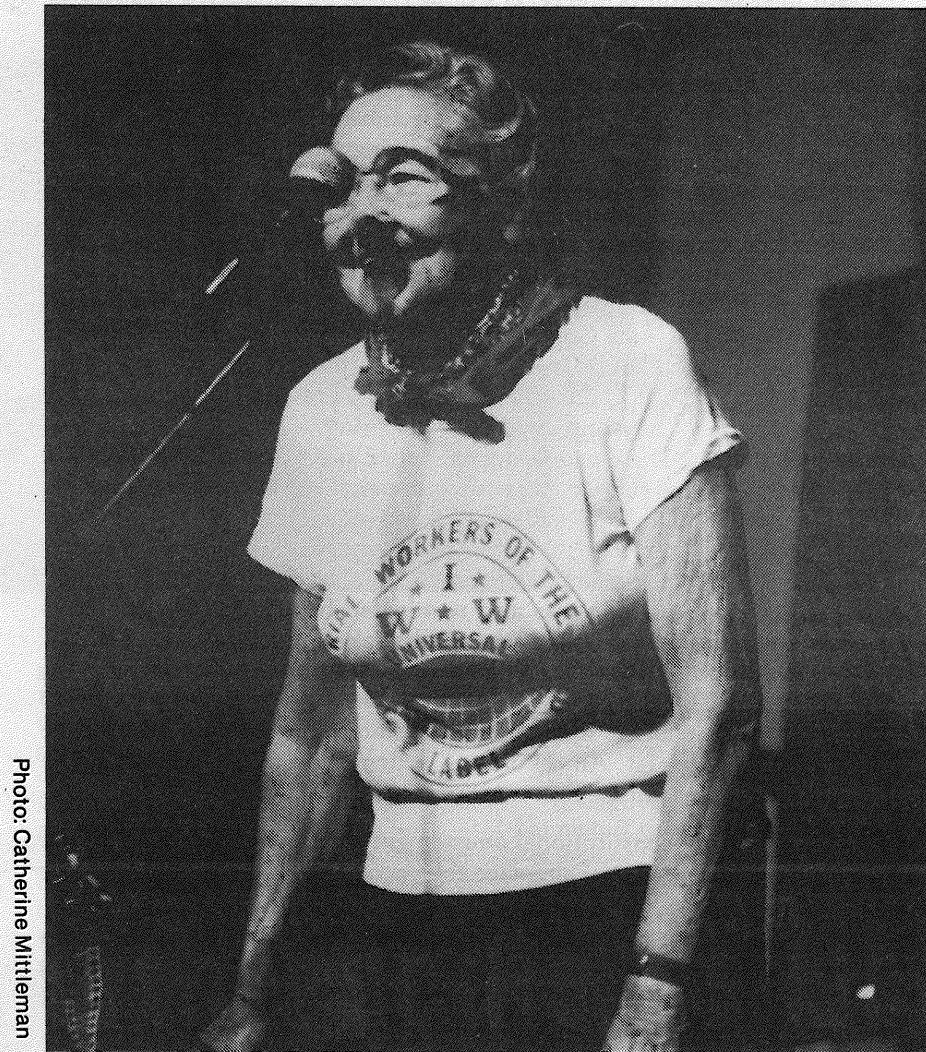


Photo: Catherine Mittleman

Faith Petric takes a bow at the Noe Valley Ministry.

We Have Fed You All for a Thousand Years, an indictment of the injustices perpetrated by the bosses and corporate leeches. Always more the storyteller than singer, Utah has a way of interrupting himself between verses that can stretch a simple song into a twenty minute comedy routine.

He finally brought out all his fellow performers (FPs?) including the MC and stage manager, for a final round of sing-

along with the crowd. If you weren't listening carefully, you might have thought there was a revival meeting going on if you'd walked by the Ministry. The finale was *Power in the Union*, hokey on paper perhaps, but spine-tingling when hundreds of voices, deep and high, belted it out in the cool night air. As we went back to our homes and cities, near and far, we carried that moment of power and solidarity with us.

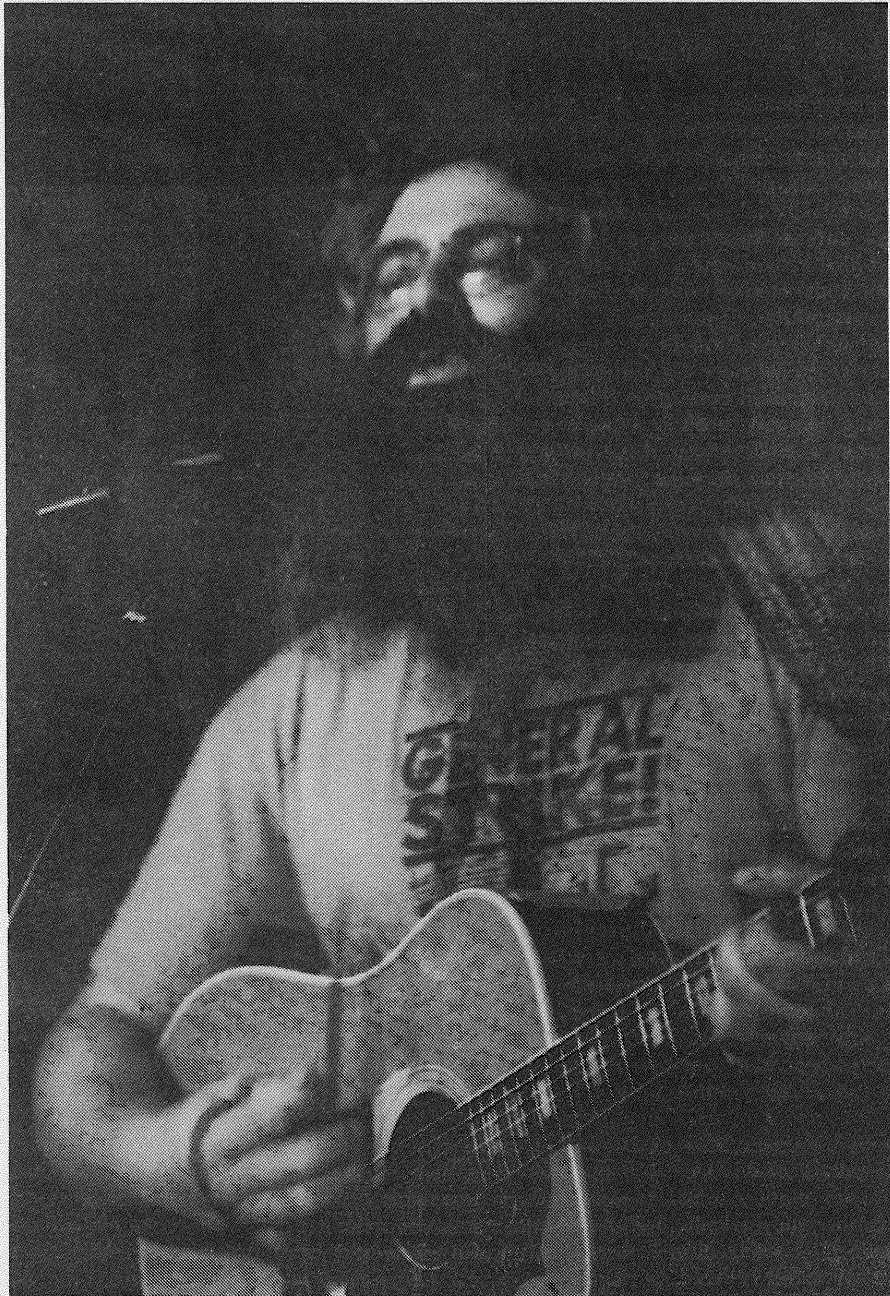


Photo: Catherine Mittleman

The Citizens Band's Harry Levine models a General Strike t-shirt.



Tom Savage sings Joe Hill's Last Will

Summary of Convention Business

Summary of Business Transacted by 1991 IWW General Assembly

An internal audit of the IWW's books shall be conducted this Fall by the following duly elected Audit Committee: Miles Mendenhall (Chicago), Bill Myers (San Francisco), Pete Swearingen (San Francisco).

The following members were nominated for 1992 General Secretary Treasurer: Jess Grant (San Francisco, incumbent), Alan Graham (Albion, CA). They have been notified by the Clearinghouse that their acceptance letter and candidate's statement are due by October 1st.

The following members were nominated for the 1992 General Executive Board. According to the records at the Clearinghouse, these people were found to meet the eligibility requirements of Article III, Section 3(a): Jon Bekken (Conway, AR), Franklin Devore (San Francisco), Jerzy Dymny (Toronto), Julia Goode (Chicago), Marc Janowitz (San Francisco), Dave Karoly (Oakland), Ingrid Kock (Dearborn, MI), Geoff Kroepel (Ann Arbor), Carol Landry (Ypsilanti, MI), Fred Lee (Leicester, UK), Brian Mahoney (Bayshore, NY), Lowell May (Denver), Paul Poulos (Hartwick, NY). These people appear to not meet the eligibility requirements, but have a chance to prove otherwise by submitting their dues books or xeroxes of relevant pages from same: Joe Chang (Toronto), Dexter Herda (Denver), Mike Kolhoff (San Francisco), Carlos Murray (Ottawa), Larry Steinberg (Dayton, NV), Cliff Sundstrom (Denver). Pat Mackie of Australia was also nominated for 1992 GEB, but based on evidence submitted by him, the Credentials Committee (Utah Phillips, Franklin Devore, Mike Kolhoff) ruled that he was ineligible to run.

The above GEB candidates have been notified by the clearinghouse that their acceptance letters and candidates' statements are due back in the office by October 1st. All candidates' statements will be included in the ballot which goes out the first week of October.

The following constitutional amendment shall be sent to referendum: Article VIII, Section 2(e)—replace the current wording (p. 30) with the following:

"To join the IWW, members shall pay an initiation fee equivalent to one month's dues. Recommended monthly dues shall equal 1% of a member's net monthly income, rounded to the nearest dollar. Minimum dues shall be \$3.00 in North America, or the equivalent in foreign currency."

Part 2 of the "Dues Structure" amendment, also to be sent to referendum: Article VIII, Section 2(a)—strike only the sentence:

"Accordingly, initiations shall not exceed \$12.00 nor monthly dues exceed \$12.00."

Part 3 of the "Dues Structure" amendment, also to be sent to referendum: Article IV, Section 1(e)—change the second sentence (p. 20) to read as follows:

"Secretaries of chartered branches shall remit one-half of same to the general office and retain the other half in the branch treasury."

The Assembly also unanimously sends the following amendment of the Preamble to referendum: Shall the second paragraph of our Preamble be changed to read as follows:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the earth."

The following resolutions were passed by the 1991 General Assembly:

1. The GST may authorize the expenditure of organizing funds necessary to translate and reproduce IWW literature for organizing purposes, into any language requested by a GMB, Job Shop, IWW Group, or Delegate.
2. "Standing Policy—Funding for Organizing"
 - I. Obtaining Funds for Organizing
 - A. Any IWW Branch, Job Shop, Group, or Delegate may request funds for organizing by submitting a clearly written proposal to the Clearinghouse. This proposal shall include, but will not necessarily be limited to the following information;
 1. Person or Group requesting funds.
 2. Budget request (including stipends, phone costs, supplies, travel, etc.). This budget request shall also include a proposed monthly disbursement schedule.
 3. Description of organizing drive.
 4. Timetable for organizing drive.
 - B. The Clearinghouse, upon receipt of the proposal, will send copies of the proposal to General Executive Board members immediately.
 - C. The GEB shall have a maximum of 45 days (from the postmark on the proposal) to vote on the proposal. If the person(s) submitting the proposal requests a phone vote for expediency, the GEB must vote by phone (per 1991 GEB Working Rule #14). A proposal can only be accepted by a majority vote of the GEB.
 - II. Distribution of Funds
 - A. Immediately after a proposal is approved, funds will be distributed on a monthly basis to the delegate, group, job shop, or branch requesting the funds.
 - B. Monthly reports shall be sent to the Clearinghouse explaining the progress of the organizing drive. These reports shall include a financial report and appropriate receipts. Funds will not be disbursed without monthly reports.
 - C. Funds can be suspended at any time by a majority vote of the GEB. If this occurs, the balance of funds not yet spent must be returned to the Clearinghouse promptly.
 - III. Appeals

Any GEB decision can be appealed to the general membership via a referendum (see Article IX of the Constitution).

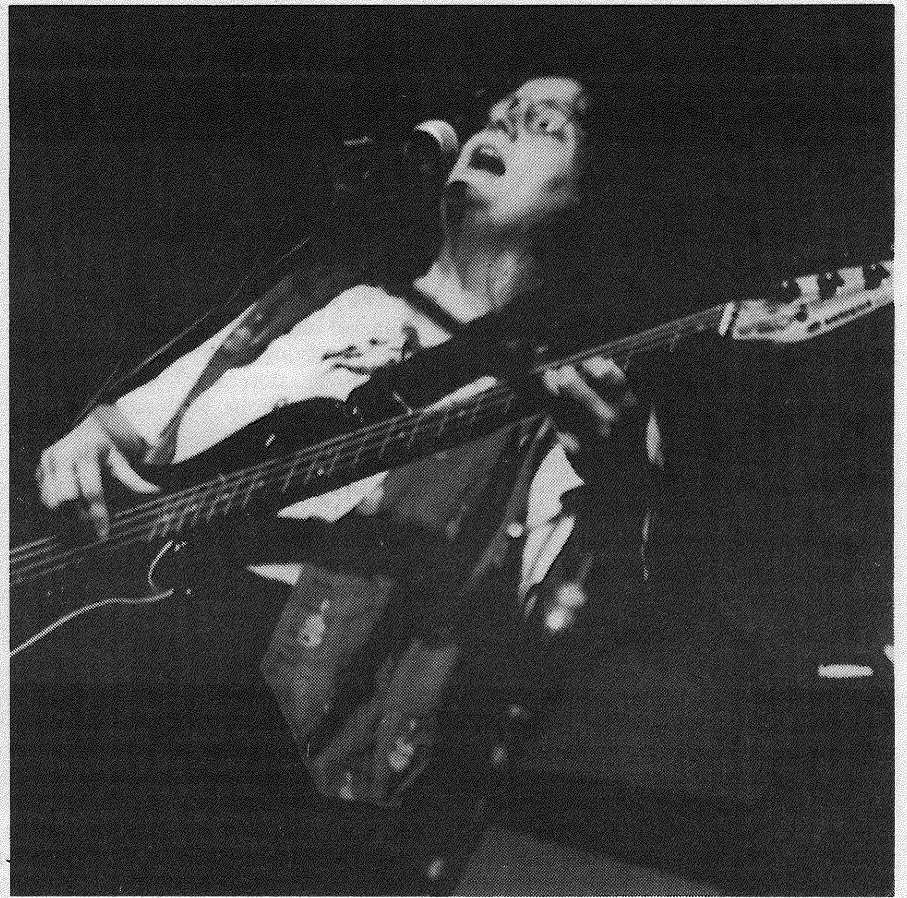


Photo: Catherine Mittleman

Grace Cox of Olympia's Citizens Band boogies down.

3. What to do with the Anderson money? After much discussion, it was agreed to let GEB motion #53 (MK 19) stand as policy.

4. Allocate \$25,000 for a reactivated General Defense Committee to pursue a lawsuit hereafter referred to as "Bari vs. Held." (This allocation is going to referendum for ratification of the membership.)

Disbursement procedure as follows: \$5,000 to attorney William Simpich, balance of \$20,000 to reactivated Northern California GDC Local. Simpich shall send monthly financial and activities reports to both the GDC Local and the GEB, to be published in the GOB. GDC Local shall be authorized to replenish the attorney's account upon receiving monthly reports and appropriate receipts.

5. Rescind the 1986 "Kaufmann Report." This report was a document which enumerated various allegations against Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA), the U.S. affiliate of the International Workers Association (IWA). The rescinded report is available from the Clearinghouse upon request, and was included in all convention packets. The intent and result of this year's resolution is to free the IWW from an officially "hostile" position towards the WSA, leaving individual members and groups free to love or hate WSA as they see fit.

6. The GEB shall be responsible for International Relations. This has the effect of putting our international relations, including the pursuit of possible affiliation with the IWA, into the hands of an elected and accountable body, rather than the current ad hoc, volunteer "International Committee."

7. The 1992 General Assembly shall take place in Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA over the Labor Day Weekend.

8. The union shall pay the travel expenses to and from the '92 General Assembly for FW Carlos Cortez and his partner, in appreciation of his many years of service to the union.

9. "The 1991 IWW General Assembly reaffirms the IWW's opposition to all forms of human oppression, including but not necessarily limited to, those based on race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, creed, age, physical ability, or sexual orientation. Furthermore, we resolve to publish the above statement in the *Industrial Worker* every month."

10. "While the IWW gives its full support to international cooperation between workers, the IWW declares its opposition to the Free Trade Agreements between the governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico. These agreements have highlighted the inequalities that exist among workers internationally, and therefore we find that our best response is to organize workers internationally. We support direct action taken by workers in opposition to these agreements."

11. "On the occasion of the Columbus Day Quincentennial, we endorse the sovereignty of all indigenous peoples and are in solidarity with groups opposing 500 years of Euro-centric colonialism."

12. "In addition to the exploitation of labor, industrial society creates wealth by exploiting the earth and non-human species. Just as the capitalists value the working class only for their labor, so they value the earth and non-human species only for their economic usefulness to humans. This has created such an imbalance that the life support systems of the earth are on the verge of collapse. The working class bears the brunt of this degradation by being forced to produce, consume, and live in the toxic environment created by this abuse. Human society must recognize that all beings have a right to exist for their own sake, and that humans must learn to live in balance with the rest of nature. This will only be accomplished when the working class takes control of human production and redirects it to the long-term benefit of all rather than the short-term profit of a few."

Briefs, Shorts & Other Dirty Linen

US Anti-Labor Law Hits Again

On July 19, a presidential emergency board ruled against rail unions on all the issues that led them to halt freight traffic with a strike in April. Under the law, the US unions have to live with the emergency board's settlement and cannot wage another strike.

"They've taken us to the cleaners," said Larry McFather, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. "We just feel like the things we were asking for were not out of line. They just turned a dead ear to it."

The special board was established under legislation Congress rushed to enact after 235,000 workers walked out April 18. The strike capped a three-year battle between 11 unions and the nation's big freight carriers.

General Strike Held in Madagascar

On August 13, a general strike called by a coalition of anti-government groups brought Madagascar's capital city of Antananarivo to a halt. The strike call came two days after the police fired on 400,000 demonstrators trying to march to President Didier Ratsiraka's palace. Francis Rasoanaharo, the Red Cross director in Antananarivo, said that up to 51 people died in the weekend protests, another 50 were missing, and about 300 were injured. Among the 51 reported fatalities were 20 deaths in the northeastern port town of Mahajanga.

The six-party Active Forces coalition has been staging peaceful strikes and protests since June trying to persuade Ratsiraka, who took office in 1975 at the head of a military junta, to resign. The Ratsiraka government offered a number of political concessions but refused to step down.

US Becomes Top Third World Arms Supplier

US based arms dealers more than doubled their weapons sales to the Third World in 1990, making the US the world's top arms supplier. Some growth in US arms sales from nearly \$8 billion in 1989 to \$18.5 billion in 1990 came from the US buildup in the Persian Gulf. The rest came as military contractors, fearful of cutbacks in US war spending, turned to the export markets.

US sales accounted for 44.8% of all weapons sales, up from 23.6% in 1989. In 1990, Soviet sales dropped from \$13 billion to \$12.1 billion and their share of the world arms sales' market declined from 38.5% in 1989 to 29.2% in 1990. The four major West European arms suppliers—France, Britain, Germany and Italy—all experienced sharp drops in their Third World sales. They fell from a 22.4% share of Third World sales in 1989 to 10.3% in 1990.

Number of Poor Rural Women Rising

A United Nations report in late July found that the number of rural women living in poverty in developing countries around the world has increased 50% over the last two decades, and they far outnumber men in such traits. Of the 930 million people living in poverty in the developing world, 550 million are women. Of these 363 million live in Asia, 130 million in Africa; 43 million in Latin America and the Caribbean; and 18 million in the Near East and North Africa.

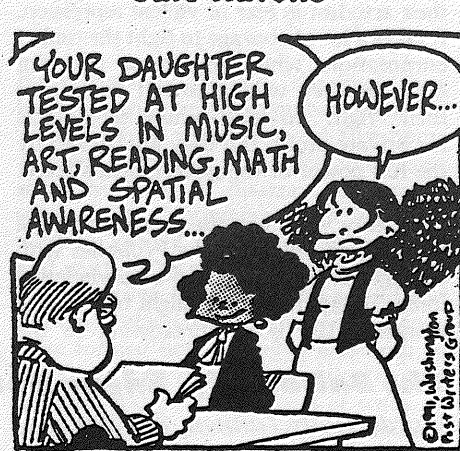
These women form the backbone of agricultural labor in the developing world and need better access to credits and technical assistance. In Africa, rural women work a 14 to 17 hour day to provide 70% of their family's food supply. On other continents women farm workers provide at least half their family's food.

Women Workers Harder Hit in Current Recession

For US women workers the current slowdown is not a recession. It's a depression. Women workers are hit harder than men workers in any recession because their wages are lower than men's. This means they are less likely to have savings and less likely to be eligible for unemployment insurance.

The current economic downturn has hit the service sector the hardest, the sector where women make up 53% of all workers. Thus, while in 1990 it took un-

Safe Havens



...WE'RE HAVING SOME PROBLEMS WITH HER LEADERSHIP SKILLS.

YES, WHEN WE PUT HER IN WITH A GROUP OF OUR STUDENTS...

WHAT?



Bill Holbrook

employed men five to seven months to find a new job, it took unemployed women seven to nine months.

Ironically, many of today's unemployed women come from the ranks of the 2 million women who entered the workforce between 1980 and 1983, the last major recession. These women got sales and service jobs after their husbands lost their jobs in manufacturing.

In 1990, women overall earned \$18,096 annually, men \$25,220. Women in retail earned \$15,184 annually, men \$26,260. In service jobs, women made \$11,960, men \$16,640.

These overall figures, however, mask a number of differences between different groups of women. While married men make more than unmarried men, married women make less than unmarried women.

In 1988, 75% of all married white women worked for a mean annual earning of \$10,375, up from \$4,682 in 1968 when 50% worked outside the home. In 1988 78.8% of all married black women worked for an average income of \$11,644, up from \$5,179 in 1958 when 66.9% worked. Earnings for Latina married women changed less between 1978 and 1988, the years for which data exists, rising from \$5,387 to \$7,071.

Alaskan Fishing Strike

In June and July strikes protesting the low prices that canneries offered for sockeye salmon spread over about a dozen Alaskan regional fisheries. The fishing crews objected to being paid 47¢ a pound for salmon when it was selling in Alaskan stores for \$3.75 a pound.

Many of the Bristol Bay fishers settled for 70¢ a pound, provoking bitterness between them and holdout strikers. The hostility led to slashed nets, holes chopped in the wings of a private airplane and slashed auto tires. All of the town of Naknek's businesses shut down June 25 in support of the strikers. On July 8th Alaska's attorney general opened an investigation into possible price fixing in the salmon industry.

Seafood is Alaska's largest industry, with 70,000 seasonal jobs. Prices for sockeye salmon vary widely, but tend downward as farm-raised salmon from Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Scotland, Chile, New Zealand and Canada have captured over 30% of the world market in the last 10 years.

Fun and Games in DC

Politicians don't have to lie about their opponents. It's quite enough if they just tell the truth about each other. The President calls congressional legislation to extend unemployment benefits beyond 26 weeks Election Eve posturing, and he's right: what do Democrats care about workers? Democrats claim the President is more concerned about grandstanding abroad than dealing with domestic problems, and they're right: what do Republicans care about workers?

In June US unemployment officially hit 7%. In June, the rate was down to 6.8%, sparking Bush's claim that the "recession is ending and the recovery is underway." In July however, 2,500 US workers were laid off each day. The July total of lost jobs was more than in the whole third quarter for 1990.

Jobs are still being lost in the airline, trucking and communications industries which were hit by the deregulation and the financial crazes of the 1980s. Other jobs are being lost from companies like Goodyear Tire, which became saddled with heavy debts as they fought off takeover efforts.

A garden type economic recovery will not end many of these companies' woes because many of their problems are independent of the recession. During the downturn of the early 1980s, companies laid off workers and then called them back. Today companies are more likely to permanently shed workers.

Even Japanese firms in the US are shedding workers in tough times. In early August Toyota Machinery USA closed its Howell, MI, plant, laying off 120 workers, then cut 40 more at their Arlington Heights plant in IL. Besides Toyota there have been job cutbacks by Subaru of America and Bridgestone Tire Co., which bought Firestone in 1988, forming Bridgestone/Firestone.

One result of these changes is that people who have been laid off are likely to be out of work longer until they find another job. In the late '60s, people out of work for six months or more accounted for about a quarter of all the unemployed. Now they account for about half. In the '70s most unemployed workers got some unemployment benefits. Today two out of three jobless workers get nothing.

US Infant-Death Rate Worst in DC

The District of Columbia, with 23.3 infant deaths for each 1,000 live births, has the highest infant-mortality rate in the nation, the Children's Defense Fund reported August 12th. The report was based on 1988 statistics, the latest available. Black infants were twice as likely as white infants to die within their first year. Among cities with populations of 500,000 or more, Detroit ranked next highest, with a mortality rate of 21 per 1,000. The national rate was 10 per 1,000 and Illinois' rate was 11.3.

Life Expectancy for Afro-Americans Falls Again

Life expectancy among Afro-Americans dropped for the third successive year—fueled by higher rates of heart disease, homicides and AIDS—the national Centers for Disease Control reported in late July. Afro-American life expectancy was 69.2 years in 1988, the latest year for which figures are available. Death from heart disease—the US's Number 1 killer—is 40% higher among people of African descent than among people of European descent. Overall, the US life expectancy is 74.9% and the Euro-American expectancy is 75.6 years.

Town Feigns Bankruptcy in Union Busting Ploy

Bridgeport, Conn., took a leaf from US corporations and filed for bankruptcy this summer. The town, 60 miles north of NYC, was once a bustling manufacturing center but the companies that put it on the map in the 19th and early 20th centuries are long gone. The judge hearing the town's petition denied it bankruptcy protection, pointing out that the city was paying its bills on time and had \$25 million in the bank. At that point Bridgeport mayor, Mary Moran, said the city faced a budget shortfall next year and wished to file for bankruptcy so as to better break its contracts with city unions.

It's a good thing cities aren't allowed to follow the airline industry's example of using bankruptcy to break union contracts, or Chicago, determined to solve its own money woes at the expense of the teachers' union, probably would have

been next. The embattled city's teachers' union, that has struck three times since '84, has so far resisted pressure to renegotiate its scheduled pay raise.

More Cars Than Buyers

The Big Three's 56 North American auto plants have the capacity to turn out an estimated 11.5 million cars and trucks annually. This year, because of the recession, only about 60% to 65% of that capacity will be used, down from 70% last year and 85% in 1985. This US overcapacity/under-utilization stems from rising worldwide competition. Part of this is from the Japanese, who went from a worldwide capacity of 10 million vehicles in 1979 to nearly 17 million in 1990, including 1.7 million in plants operated in the US.

Another part of the low utilization of US plants is competition from Western Europe's 101 auto plants, some of which are owned by Ford and General Motors. In 1989, European assembly plants, with a potential annual output of 15 million cars and trucks, operated at 96% of capacity. In 1990, European auto capacity rose by almost 1 million units, but sales slowed and utilization dropped to 87%.

Worldwide capacity is 57 million cars and trucks, which usually would exceed demand by about 8 million, but is currently even more out of line than usual.

Besides shutting and consolidating some car factories with unused capacity, the Detroit auto makers are trying to squeeze more output from "fully utilized" plants by expanding to three work shifts or three work crews from the normal two.

Full capacity utilization traditionally has been defined as a plant's output for five working days, Monday through Friday, from two eight-hour shifts, with the line running at full speed. Near round-the-clock assembly was once unthinkable. Technical experts claimed machinery needed more maintenance than would be possible in the few hours of downtime. Furthermore, the United Auto Workers didn't want to institutionalize round-the-clock production.

But the technical puzzles were overcome and corporate executives browbeat the union into agreement by holding up the threat of job cuts in the face of Japanese competition. The Japanese automakers have higher capacity utilization rates in their plants in Japan and lower labor expenses in their plants in the US, where they spend less than Detroit on health care and pensions because their workforce is younger and often non-union.

In mid-July, workers at GM's huge assembly complex in Lordstown, Ohio approved a "three-crew, two-shift" production schedule for subcompact cars starting in 1992. Under this system, Lordstown will have two 10-hour production shifts on weekdays and one Saturday and Sunday, with three crews each working four days a week. Workers will get extra pay for the longer shifts and weekend assignments. GM operates two plants in Europe under a similar system.

Earlier this year, Chrysler workers in St. Louis approved a pact to build mini-vans on three seven-hour shifts, including some weekend shifts, starting as early as January 1992. This will mean a 35-hour week, instead of 40. The workers will continue to be paid at the rate of 40 hours in exchange for agreeing to late-night and weekend work. By running the plants nearly full-time, companies can increase output by about 20%. Chrysler thinks it can add 500,000 mini-vans to the annual total of 225,000 built in St. Louis, saving the \$500 million it might cost to retool another plant for mini-van assembly.

continued from back page

And when the bomb exploded in my car, wounding Darryl and nearly killing me, things only got worse. The FBI showed up at the scene right away and, while I was near death in the hospital, arrested me and Darryl for carrying the bomb. They said the bomb was in the back seat where we could see it, so we must have known it was there. Actually the bomb was hidden way under the seat and we couldn't see it. But the FBI blowtorched out my whole seat and floorboard and sent them to their "crime lab in D.C.," thereby destroying my car as evidence and covering up their lie. They also lied about finding nails in my car that matched the nails in the bomb, and when they raided my house they actually pulled finishing nails out of my window trim in a vain attempt to back up that lie. Not only did they say we were suspects, they said we were the only suspects, and refused to even investigate the death threats or other leads. And when someone calling himself "The Lord's Avenger" sent a letter to the press describing the bomb in exact detail and taking credit for it, the FBI's "investigation" consisted of raiding my house once again to try and find a typewriter that matched The Lord's Avenger letter. Of course they didn't.

Throughout this whole thing the Oakland police and the FBI kept putting out selected releases so the highly cooperative press could make me look like a bomber. They were aided by the Ukiah police, who released to the national press a photo of me holding an Uzi. They said the photo was given to them by an informant several years ago, along with a letter offering to set me up for a drug bust. It was a gag photo that we had taken way before things got this heavy, and I'm pretty sure I know who sent it to the police. A man named Irv Sutley owns the Uzi and set me up for the photo, and the letter that was sent to the police with it is entirely composed of information that can be traced back to Irv. This man's political work consists mostly of disruptive activities in the Communist Party and the Peace and Freedom Party, and I believe he must be working for the FBI. This is particularly important because we discovered that the typing on the Uzi letter exactly matches the typing on one of the death threats I received before the bombing. If followed through, this could directly implicate the FBI in the death threat campaign. And although the FBI has been publicly shown the matching letters, they have of course refused to investigate them.

So what we have here is a series of very blatant violations of Darryl's and my civil rights. False arrest, presumption of guilt, spoliation of evidence, failure to conduct an adequate investigation, etc., etc. We were never prosecuted for the bombing, but we are still considered suspects, and

the charges could be reinstated any time. For this reason, our lawsuit is actually defensive, since one of the things we are seeking is a declaration of our innocence.

One of the reasons we didn't end up in prison, I believe, is the support we got from the movement, including 50 environmental, labor and women's groups who denounced the FBI and called for a congressional investigation into their handling of the case. Another reason is white skin privilege, because Leonard Peltier and Geronimo Pratt are certainly as innocent as we are. But another reason is because of the information we already know about Richard Held and COINTELPRO, which has helped us recognize this attack for what it really is. Much of this info was ferreted out after years of lawsuits and legal work by Peltier's and Pratt's defense committees. And that is another reason for suing the FBI. Any more info we can find out about Richard Held and the continued existence of COINTELPRO will help the whole movement defend itself against similar attacks.

Do we expect to win this lawsuit? Not necessarily, considering that the courts are part of the same government that keeps Richard Held in power. But it's not hopeless either, especially here in California where activists have won some surprising decisions from the civil courts after getting screwed by the criminal courts. United Farm Workers vice-president Dolores Huerta won \$900,000 after being beaten nearly to death by police in San Francisco. Peace activist Brian Willson won \$2,000,000 after the Navy ran him over with its death train in Concord and cut off his legs. Four Redwood Summer activists won \$100,000 after police forcibly shaved their heads in jail in Humboldt County. And EFler Mem Hill won \$26,000 in civil court for the same assault and broken nose that we were unable to get the D.A. to prosecute in the criminal courts in 1989.

But whether we win or not, this lawsuit gives us methods to pursue the bombing case that we cannot get through Freedom of Information Act or other means. We can examine the physical evidence, including the car and bomb parts, and depose witnesses including Irv Sutley and Richard Held. And right now this is the only way we have to conduct an investigation and try to find the bomber, who is still on the loose and probably in my community.

This lawsuit is also an educational and coalition-building tool. When we announced that we were suing, we held a demo on the steps of the FBI building where Richard Held works, and all of his victims—AIM, the Black Panthers, the Puerto Rican Independentistas, Earth First! and Wobblies—stood together in powerful defiance and denounced the FBI.

But the most important reason for fighting back is that COINTELPRO is still in

operation in our area and in the movement. Continued surveillance, threats, false documents, police complicity with the timber companies, etc., make activism here a frightening occupation and a tremendous personal risk. Good people have been scared away or toned down their activism in fear of violent repression. It takes a lot of courage to fight the timber corporations when you know that not only are they willing to kill to enforce their "right" to level whole ecosystems for private profit, but they are backed by the full power of the government's secret police.

Seventy years ago the precursor of the FBI tried to obliterate the Wobblies with outrageous repression and overwhelming force. Today the mere thought of a radical working class is so threatening to the

powers that be that they want to crush us again before we even get started. There is good reason for the capitalists to fear a worker-based environmental movement. Environmentalists have to pressure lawmakers to pass laws to stop the overcut in the forest. Radical workers could just stop cutting. The AFL company unions try to pressure management to give the workers better protective clothing when they handle toxics. Radical workers could just refuse to make the stuff.

When we innocently started organizing here a few years ago, we never thought we would be up against such tremendous forces. But the stakes are too high to quit. The life support systems of the earth are collapsing under the weight of capitalist greed. And we're scared and we're tired. But we're not backing down.

The Ballad of J. Edgar Hoover

Words: Holly Tannen, © 1990.

Tune: "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night"

by Earl Robinson, © 1938.

For Judi Bari

I dreamed I saw J. Edgar Hoover

'Live as you or me

"But J.," I said, "You're ten years dead."

"I never died," said he.

"I never died," said he.

"For forty years, by fear and greed

You ruled the FBI

But now we've taken back our rights!"

Says he, "I did not die."

Says he, "I did not die."

Where phones are tapped and lists are kept

And documents are shred

Where statesmen and reporters lie

It's there you'll find J. Ed.

It's there you'll find J. Ed.

Where poor folks fear to speak their minds

And live apart in dread

Where crimes are blamed on innocents

It's there you'll find J. Ed.

It's there you'll find J. Ed.

And standing there as fat as life

With beady little eyes

"So if you think I'm dead," says he

"Just try to organize

Just try to organize."

I dreamed I saw J. Edgar Hoover

'Live as you or me

"But J.," I said, "You're ten years dead."

"I never died," said he.

"I never died," said he.

Confronting Environmental Racism

by Dave Collins

When Latinos, African-Americans and Native Americans began taking on pollution issues in their communities, they went up against the predictable roadblocks of government and industry. At the same time, they also went up against another target, one which had previously been an ally—the Environmental Movement.

Minority communities, organized to combat lead poisoning, gypsum fumes, toxic waste sites, etc., say that many of the well-established environmental groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Sierra Club have repeatedly ignored their concerns.

According to neighborhood leaders, groups offering assistance were often condescending and downright offensive, to the point where successful lobbying efforts by "influential" environmentalists affected minority communities but did not include them in consultation. Ethnicity is rapidly

becoming part of the ecologic struggle as more minorities demand greater representation in environmental issues. They say that the Green Movement (largely white middle-class) must share its power with people of color. Although minority and environmental groups are coming together on issues across the country, people from both factions acknowledge that they have a long way to go.

Richard Moore, a Latino who heads the South West Organizing Project based in New Mexico, supports this viewpoint: "The environmental movement has been an... exclusive movement," he said recently. "We have seen our involvement in environmental issues as a matter of survival. Now we are ready to take our place at the policymaking and agenda-setting table."

Rich Hayes, Volunteer Development Director for the national Sierra Club headquarters in San Francisco, agrees.

"The Sierra Club is predominantly Caucasian, and we have not done what we would do to work with people of color and take their concerns seriously." He further stressed that, "the mainstream groups have to realize that if they don't diversify and address diversity issues, they will not be able to succeed. The world has become too small for groups like ours to be isolated."

Twenty years ago, minority and environmental groups often worked together on issues of common concern. But, as interests on both sides shifted, these ties disintegrated.

Dana Alston, of the Panos Institute, an international development policy organization in Washington, put it in a nutshell: "When Reagan came into office, the environmental leadership became more conservative. There was no institutional memory in place. People-of-color issues went by the wayside," she said. Alston, a Black woman who heads the Environment, Development and Race Project for the Institute, says that for minorities, as well as others, environmental issues are local as well as international.

"For us, environmentalism is where people live, work, and play. It's not just endangered ancient forests and whales. Our communities are endangered too."

This is crucial to minority groups, who argue that environmentalists need to shift their focus from global concerns to more localized issues such as low-income children being poisoned by lead-based paint or toxic dump sites being located on Native American reservations.

About sixty percent of Blacks and Latinos live in communities with toxic waste sites, while about 50 percent of Asian Americans and Native Americans live near toxic sites.

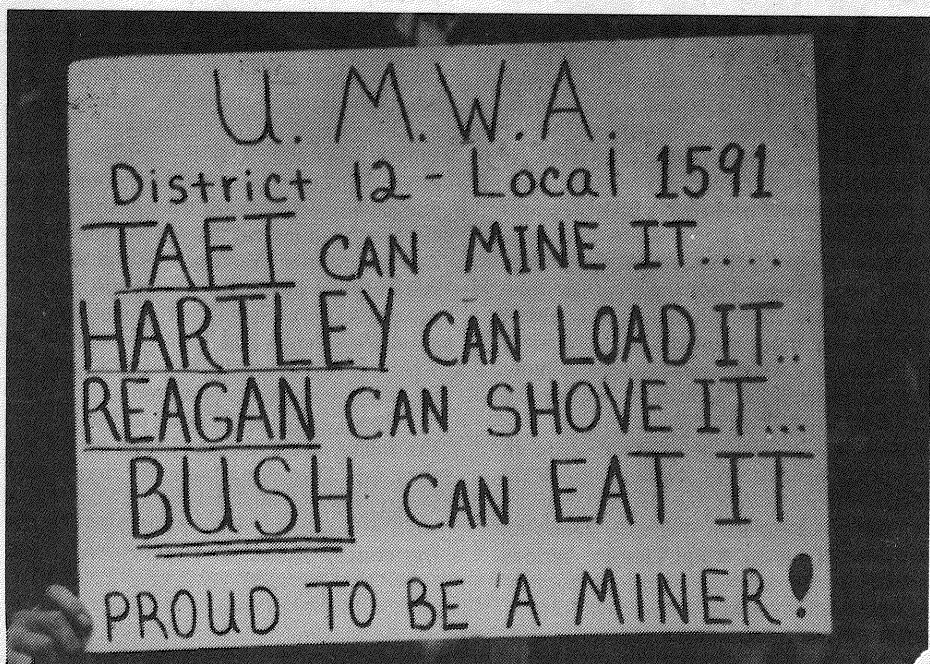
One reason minority and environmental advocates have had trouble working together is that they've cast similar issues in different terms. Often, what environmentalists view as ecological problems, minorities view as public health, labor, racial and/or tenants' rights problems.

Sometimes it has been a matter of crossing the differing lines of communication. Pat Bryant, leader of the Gulf Coast Tenants Association, explains: "If we had not raised the issue of our people being poisoned, I don't know that the environmentalists would have known it. In our struggle to save ourselves, we have made them aware." The Gulf Coast Tenants Organization and the South West Organizing Project are two examples of well-organized minority environmental action groups which initially joined to fight for better housing and improved economic opportunities, then took on ecological struggles when toxic substances in the environment threatened their members' health.

As a result of these and other initiatives, minority and white environmentalists are attempting to join forces. Advocates for both factions say their partnerships, whether formal or loosely connected around special projects, will enable those involved to pursue their agendas. It is, as Pat Bryant stated, "Common ground for us to work. It is fertile ground."



Guerrilla billboard in SE spots the Thomas nomination



Placard at Washington D.C. Labor Day '91 demonstration.

IWW Literature Available from Chicago

Music

LITTLE RED SONGBOOK: Songs of the Workers to Fan the Flames of Discontent

The IWW "little red songbook" has been at picket lines, shop floor actions, and demos for eight decades. Songs that tell a truer and clearer story of who the working class is and where we come from than any history book. 40 classic and new labor songs including "Pie in the Sky," "Amazing Boss," "There is Power in the Union," and "The Nine to Five Song." Contributors include Phil Ochs, Utah Phillips and Joe Hill. The most dangerous song book in America fits in your back pocket. Available with special Joe Hill cover for the 75th anniversary of Hill's assassination by the bosses. \$5 each; \$3 each for 10-39; \$2.50 each for 40 or more.

REBEL VOICES: The Record Album

This live recording catches the excitement of Wobbly singers working together before an IWW audience. Good politics & good music. Performers include Utah Phillips, Faith Petric, Eric Glatz, Marion Wade, Bob Bovee, Kathy Taylor, Mark Ross, Fred Holstein and more. Songs include "There is Power in the Union," "Praise Boss," "The Popular Wobbly," "Put it in the Ground" and many others. Cassette or LP \$10 each.

GREENFIRE!, by Dakota Sid & Travers Clifford. Cassette or CD. Wobbly & Earth Firster Clifford sings about the "Greenfire" in a wolf's eyes. Includes the funny "Legendary Folk Rumor," and the insurrectionary "We Want the Whole Thing Back." Cassette or CD \$10 each

ALL USED UP, by Utah Phillips. LP. Utah doing Utah. Songs from "the old guy" about getting by, skid row, and being a real anarchist. \$10.00

WE HAVE FED YOU ALL FOR A THOUSAND YEARS, BY Utah Phillips. LP. The grey eminence of Wobbly bards takes on the IWW classics. A must for all fans of labor music. LP \$10

BOOKS

THEM!, by Gary Huck & Mike Konopacki. Best labor cartoonists in America. These wildly funny fellow workers use cartoons as class struggle weapons. \$9

CRYSTAL GAZING THE AMBER FLUID, by Carlos Cortez. Wobbly poet and artist Cortez' poems of work and rebellion and life in late-20th century America. \$6

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Sam Dolgoff. Anarchist, Wobbly and house painter Sam Dolgoff's observations on a new beginning for a fighting union movement. \$5

REBEL VOICES ANTHOLOGY, by Joyce Kornbluh, ed. IWW history told through the cartoons, articles, poems, songs, photographs of the early years. Large size 1988 reissue adds updated bibliography and essay on Wobbly cartoonists. \$20

GENERAL STRIKE, by Ralph Chaplin. Direct action, members' democracy and revolutionary unionism. By "Solidarity Forever" author Ralph Chaplin. \$3

THE IWW: Its First Seventy Years, by Fred Thompson & Patrick Murfin. Candid (yet official) IWW history. Learn from both successes and mistakes of the greatest working class movement in U.S. history. A long memory being the most dangerous thing in America—this is a dangerous book. \$15 hardcover, \$8 paperback.

ONE BIG UNION. Introduction to the IWW. The purpose, structure and practical principles of revolutionary unionism. \$2

WAR AT HOME: Covert Action against U.S. Activists and What We can Do about it, by Brian Glick. The political police disrupt, jail and kill U.S. citizens for political activity. Useful advice on how to defend our movements. Also a short history. \$5

SOLIDARITY FOREVER, by Bird, Georgakas & Shaffer. Oral histories of organizing told by Wobbly elders who were members sixty years ago. Frank Cedervall, Sophie Cohen, Phil Melman, Fred Thompson, Art Nurse and two dozen more. \$10

LABOR LAW FOR THE RANK AND FILER, by Staughton Lynd. Back-pocket guide to U.S. labor laws. Concise, accurate and written by an activist attorney who trusts the rank and file more than the legal system. \$2.50

YALE STRIKE OF 1984-5, by Gilpin, Isaac, Letwin & McKivigan. Rank and file struggle unionized Yale clerical workers. The story of that struggle as told by rank and file organizers. A democratic committee of several hundred organized their co-workers one on one and won. Inspiring. \$6

MEMOIRS OF A WOBBLY, by Henry McGuckin. McGuckin went on the road for the revolution in the 1920s. Street meetings, beatings and jailings, strikes, riding the rails and building the IWW. \$6

WORKING THE WATERFRONT, Gilbert Mers. Longshoreman and Wobbly Gilbert Mers story of 42 years on the Texas waterfront as a rank and file radical. Worker history as it should be told. \$17

HAND-MADE BLOCK PRINT POSTERS BY CARLOS CORTEZ

Joe Hill, Lucy Parsons, Ben Williams, Fat Cat, General Strike, Nothing to Lose But Your Generals—\$15 each

LITERATURE ORDER FORM

name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

quantity	item	price
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

return to: IWW Ltr 1476 W. Irving Park Chicago, IL 60613

total of above _____
 add 10% shipping _____
 TOTAL INCLUDED _____

IWW Literature Available from Branches

NEW CANADIAN LABOUR SONGS



For use in rallies, pickets, and organizing. *The Little Red Songbook* is now totally Canadian.

The Canadian Wobbly Songbook includes: Arlene Mantle, Rick Fielding, Faith Nolan, Len Wallace, songs from St. John's Newfoundland (Jim Payne) to Campbell River, BC (Dave Bostock, Harris Taylor). 40 great songs with music and chords for \$5.

Order yours from: Jerzy Dymny Canadian IWW Songbook 11 Andrews Avenue Toronto, Ontario M6J 1S2 Canada

Available from Denver/Boulder GMB

2412 E. Colfax, Denver, CO 80206
IWW T-Shirts (black & red, M, L, XL, 50/50) \$14.00.
Out of the Depths (Ludlow Massacre). \$10.00.
Columbine Memorial Video (scattering of Joe Hill's ashes). \$20.00.
"Workers' Solidarity" suspenders (red, Reg., XL-XXL). \$12.00.

Prices are postpaid. Make checks to: Denver-Boulder IWW

Available from S.E. Michigan GMB

Domino's Pizza Boycott Info Packet. \$10.00. Make checks to "Domino's Coalition—LASC," and mail to AATU Job Branch, 4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Available from New York GMB

Wobble-Inn, RD 1, Box 158-B, Hartwick, NY 13348
A Workers Guide to Direct Action. 75c.
Collective Bargaining Manual. \$2.50.
 Postpaid. Make checks to IWW, NY GMB

1992 I.W.W. Labor History Calendar

"Solidarity Forever" calendar, with 12 photos, and more than 300 dates commemorating American and world labor history.

\$7.00 each
 \$4.20, 5 or more; post-paid
 Every wage slave needs one...

Industrial Workers of the World
 P.O. Box 204; Oak Park, IL 60303-0204

IWW Preamble

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

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

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

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

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday 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.

Join the IWW

No Bureaucrats—Aside from the modestly paid General Secretary-Treasurer and the office worker who staff our General Administration, the IWW has no paid officers. The General Executive Board is elected annually by the entire membership, and its job is to oversee the running of union affairs, not to set policy. All officers may be recalled at any time by referendum.

Real Democracy—All policy decisions are made by the members themselves by referendum. All branches maintain full autonomy on matters within their jurisdiction. Job branches (IWW groups composed of workers at a single job-site) set their own demands and strategies in negotiations, free of meddling internationals or sell-out business agents.

Low Dues—Our dues are structured on a sliding scale basis. Unemployed and low-income workers pay \$3 a month; those making between \$800 and \$1,700 per month pay \$9; and members making more than \$1,700 per month pay \$12 monthly dues. Initiation fees equal one month's dues, so a low-income worker can join for as little as \$6.

To Join—Fill out the questions below and mail this form with your check or money order to **IWW, 1095 Market Street Suite 204, San Francisco, CA 94103.**

- I affirm that I am a common worker without direct power to hire and fire.
- I agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization.
- I will study its principles and make myself acquainted with its purposes.

Name _____ Occupation _____

Address _____ City _____

State/Prov. _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Total amount enclosed: \$ _____ Initiation \$ _____ Dues \$ _____

* Membership includes a subscription to the Industrial Worker.



Photo: Catherine Mittleman

Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney on fiddle and guitar at the Convention Concert.

continued from page 1

vigilante group called GOONS, or Guardians of the Oglala Nation. These local thugs were armed by the FBI and guaranteed that they would not be prosecuted for crimes against AIM members. They attacked over 300 AIM people and killed 70 of them. The Pine Ridge campaign ended with a military sweep of the reservation by 200 SWAT agents, and with the framing and jailing of Leonard Peltier.

Another of Richard Held's accomplishments was in San Diego, where he was instrumental in organizing an FBI-funded right-wing paramilitary group called the Secret Army Organization (SAO). The SAO kept tabs on leftists, burned down a community theater, and tried to assassinate a radical professor at San Diego State University.

In 1978 Richard Held was transferred to Puerto Rico where he oversaw the execution of two Independista leaders who were made to kneel, then shot in the head. Held stayed on until 1985, when he stage managed an island-wide SWAT assault by 300 agents who busted in doors and rounded up activists.

For all his good work, Richard Held was then promoted to be in charge of the San Francisco FBI, where he still works today. And I don't know if the FBI put that bomb in my car, but I know for certain that they tried to frame me for it and made sure the real bomber wasn't found. Looking back on the bizarre events that took place around the bombing, it is now clear that the techniques of COINTELPRO were being used against us. What is *not* clear, based on the way this story has played in the mainstream press, is what we were doing to merit the wrath of such a notorious assassin as Richard Held. You can be sure that it was more than just trying to save some pretty trees.

First of all, you should know that, although Darryl happened to be in my car when the bomb exploded, he was not expected to be there and was not the intended target of the bombing. That bomb had my name on it. And since Darryl was better known than me in Earth First!, I don't think it was just my Earth First! work that made them single me out for assassination.

To start with, I'm not your typical environmentalist. The environmental movement in this country, including Earth First!, is mostly based in the more privileged sectors of society—those with the

leisure to even think about wilderness. I am a single mother of two young children, and have been a blue-collar worker my entire adult life, working in grocery stores, factories, wineries, and the construction industry. I spent seven years as a rank and file union organizer and led two strikes—one of 17,000 grocery clerks in the Maryland-Virginia-D.C. area (unsuccessful, smashed by the bureaucrats) and one (successful) wildcat against the U.S. government at the Washington Bulk Mail Center.

It is this background that, when added to the spirit, radicalism and timeliness of the Earth First! movement, made me enough of a threat that they would try to kill me. From the start, my contribution to Earth First! was to add a working class consciousness to their program of No Compromise direct action in defense of the forest. I was working full time then as a carpenter, building yuppie houses out of old-growth redwood. It was easy to see that the timber workers were no more responsible for corporate logging practices than I was. And the end result of cut-and-run logging is not only ecological destruction, it is also economic destruction for the timber workers.

So, in an area where big timber has maintained control for years by pitting loggers and environmentalists against each other, we began to work for both. We organized Earth First! and IWW Local #1 side by side. While Earth First!ers were sitting in trees, blocking log roads, and bringing national attention to the slaughter of the redwoods, Wobblies were signing timber workers into the IWW for the first time in half a century. Soon we had members working at each of the three big timber companies in our area. We helped Pacific Lumber millworkers publish a rank-and-file newsletter in a company that had been non-union for 130 years. When a worker was killed in a mill accident at Louisiana Pacific we successfully demanded that the county file criminal charges against L-P. Darryl Cherney wrote popular songs like "Where Are We Gonna Work When the Trees Are Gone?" that helped us reach across cultural barriers and spread our message far and wide. One of Darryl's songs, "Potter Valley Mill," became the most requested song on the local country music station, as millworkers called in asking for it.

IWW Local #1 reached its greatest strength when Anna Marie Stenberg joined and started signing up workers at Georgia Pacific. A group of millworkers had

been poisoned by a PCB spill, and G-P tried to cover it up by pretending it was just mineral oil. The AFL-CIO company union sided with G-P, and the workers turned to the IWW for help. It must have sent a chill through Georgia Pacific when they received a notice signed by five of their employees stating that they have no faith in their AFL union rep, and they authorize only Anna Marie Stenberg and Judi Bari of IWW Local #1 to represent them in their OSHA complaint. A few millworkers began wearing Wobbly buttons to work, and when the AFL union tried to get their members to vote for a dues increase their leaflet said "A vote against the dues increase is a vote for the IWW." The dues increase lost.

With Earth First! actions going on in the woods and Wobbly actions going on in the mills, tensions were certainly on the rise. And, as with the early Wobblies who stood up to King Timber, serious repression began with local thugs who operated with immunity from law enforcement. During the summer of '89 there were three such incidents. First, EF! organizer Greg King was decked at a demonstration by a chainsaw-wielding modern-day Mr. Block. Next, EF!er Mem Hill was knocked cold and had her nose broken by a cranked-up gyppo logger, whose brother then shot his rifle and shouted "You fucking commie hippies I'll kill you all" to disperse the rest of us. A few days later my car was rear-ended Karen Silkwood style by a log truck that we had blockaded less than 24 hours earlier. The car was totaled and Darryl and I, another organizer, and four of our children all ended up in the hospital. In each case the police and district attorney refused to arrest, prosecute, or even investigate the violence against us.

But we didn't back down. Instead we put out a call for people from all over the country to join us in nonviolent actions next logging season. And I have no doubt that calling for Redwood Summer was one of the reasons they wanted to stop me. But I'm equally certain that it wasn't enough of a reason to make them want to kill me. Radical ideas in the hands of students and professionals can be disruptive to the powers that be. But radical ideas in the hands of the workers can challenge that power.

Looking back, I know exactly when I crossed their line and they began to set me up like a bowling pin for assassination. It was April 1990 and the call for Redwood Summer had already attracted national attention. L-P, the largest landholder and employer in Mendocino County, announced that it was laying off 200 more workers. In response we went to the county Board of Supervisors with a crowd of IWW, Earth First!, and timber workers together in public for the first time. Only a few actual workers had the nerve to show up, but our demand was so radical that that was enough. We demanded that the county use its power of eminent domain to seize all of Louisiana Pacific's corporate holdings and operate them in the public interest, as the only way to save both the trees and the jobs.

A few days after that meeting a lot of weird things started happening. I began to receive a barrage of death threats, the scariest of which was a photo of me with a rifle scope and cross hairs drawn over my face. The photo was from a newspaper story about the eminent domain meeting, and I got the message loud and clear. I was pretty scared, but I would have been even more scared if I had known then that the rifle scope and cross hairs was the assassination symbol of the Secret Army Organization formed by Richard Held in the 1970s.

Meanwhile fake press releases, supposedly from Earth First!, calling for violence against loggers and millworkers, were distributed to newspapers and left around in sawmills. An anti-environmentalist hate group called the Sahara Club published a diagram of how to make a bomb, claiming it was from an Earth First! terrorism manual. Strange men started hanging around the Environmental Center, walking up to me on the street and calling me by name. Darryl was arrested while making a phone call from a phone booth at an EF! action and his car was impounded and taken to Oakland, where it was searched without a warrant and his belongings confiscated.

When I asked the sheriff to investigate the many death threats I was receiving, they said "We don't have the manpower to investigate. If you turn up dead then we'll investigate." When I complained to the county Board of Supervisors I was told "You brought it on yourself, Judi." Meanwhile they smiled and nodded as gyppo loggers openly called for violence against us.

continued on page 10

Why Sue the FBI

by Brian Glick

IWW support of Judi Bari's lawsuit raises once more the long-standing question of whether, and when, it is politically useful to sue the FBI. This is a question I've confronted as a movement lawyer and in writing an activist's handbook on FBI COINTELPRO and its current incarnations (*War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*, South End Press, 1989). The answer depends on the kind of lawsuit and the perspective of the people bringing it.

The main objective of Judi's suit is to get further hard proof of continuing covert action against domestic dissidents and to expose that reality to a broader audience. The suit is only one component of the political strategy of a progressive, grassroots movement. The suit does not buy into the pretense that we can change the FBI (or any other part of the government) through legal action alone. In this context, I think it can be helpful and deserves support.

Much of what we know and can document about COINTELPRO came through lawsuits by activist targets of government attack, mainly African American or Native American leaders, or their families and survivors. Even during the heyday of the federal Freedom of Information Act (in the mid-late 1970s), most of our FBI documents came from "discovery" procedures in lawsuits. Now that the Freedom of Information Act has been "narrowed" into little more than an illusion, lawsuit discovery is just about our only realistic way to get documents. Additionally, an ex-agent or informer (or even current officials) may be trapped into useful, damaging revelations.

The key to getting useful admissions and documents is persistent, detailed work by a politically sophisticated political/legal team. With hard work, creativity and some luck, such a team may also be able to get some of its product into the media. We should not underestimate the enormous amount of time and energy required.

The potential gains are substantial, and the risks do not seem all that great. If the money is available, a suit like this is worth the effort.

Contribute to the Industrial Worker

The *Industrial Worker* is a collective effort. That means not only the collective members in San Francisco, but *you* too. We need your contributions—photos, articles, opinion pieces, cartoons, illustrations and other graphics.

Send your contributions to: Industrial Worker Collective, 1095 Market Street Suite 204, San Francisco, CA 94103. If you have any questions, give us a call at (415) 863-WOBS.



Subscribe to the Industrial Worker

Our incredibly low subscription rate is only \$10 per year. Don't delay! Send cash, check, or money order *today* to:

Industrial Worker
1095 Market St. Suite 204
San Francisco, CA 94103

- \$10 Subscription
 \$ _____ donation to IW Sustaining Fund

Print Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Prov. _____

Zip _____ Country _____