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If Voting Could Change Things . . . The Labor Party Illusion

—Jon Bekken

Growing numbers of our fellow workers have understandably concluded that the Democratic and Republican parties both serve the same interests—that there's not a dime's worth of difference between them.

The evidence for this is overwhelming. Democrats have controlled the Congress (and most of the states) for decades, during which living standards have been eroded, our unions busted, our health undermined, our taxes raised, and our rights curtailed. The Democrats share the Republicans' bloodthirsty foreign policy. And it was the Democratic Congress that outlawed the railroad workers' strike a few months ago.

So it's long past time to give up on the Democrats—they have nothing to offer but blood, sweat and tears (for us), and tax breaks and subsidies for the bosses.

New political parties are springing up like weeds. Many unionists have signed up with Tony Mazzochi's Labor Party Advocates, which hopes to build a labor party based on local and national union piecards. (Trotskyists are trying to form labor parties as well.) The National Organization For Women has announced that it is organizing a women's party.

And environmentalists are diverting their energies from educational and direct action campaigns to organizing a Green Party.

So why should we care? The Industrial Workers of the World, after all, has always refrained from supporting political parties and candidates. Individual members are free to join whatever party (or none) they choose, so long as they keep their political affiliations out of the union. But the solution to unemployment, war, hunger and other social problems does not lie in politics; direct action offers a more effective, simpler, more empowering way to build a better world.

U.S. workers have been afflicted by dozens of labor parties in the last century—none of which have done us any good. The American Socialist Party elected two congressmen, dozens of state legislators and several city administrations earlier in the century. This presented the edifying spectacle of socialist constables throwing striking workers in jail.

After the first world war, the Chicago Federation of Labor threw its substantial resources into organizing a local and



"If I'm elected, I promise to create a government of the people, by the people and for the people, in the people, over, around and through the people, behind, under, after the people, with and without the people."

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national labor party. Several union members got their start in politics as a result, but the working class gained nothing.

And a great many politicians (including former union members such as Ronald Reagan) have been elected as "friends of labor" to this day, only to reward their union supporters with betrayals—as during the recent Hormel and Phelps-Dodge strikes.

In 1935 the AFL Convention nearly voted to establish a Labor Party. In the debate AFL Vice-President Matthew Wohl, himself a first-rate conniver, argued: "I have watched these politicians in our movement . . . Regardless of how they talk of their trade union loyalty, my experience has been that when they enter

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. . . They'd Make It Illegal The Green Party Illusion

by Jess Grant

In California, attempts to achieve ballot status for the Green Party is a reinvention of the wheel. Most Greens would have a hard time disagreeing with the platform of the Peace & Freedom Party, a group which has enjoyed ballot status for twenty years. After all, ecology and social justice are at the heart of what P&FP stands for. So why the Green aversion to working with an established, alternative ballot-status party?

My own experience as a member and candidate of the P&FP has been a fascinating and generally fruitful experiment in coalition building. I ran for San Francisco Sheriff in 1987, gaining nearly 10,000 votes and 6% of the tally. As a tenant activist, I ran an essentially single-issue

campaign, promising to halt all evictions as a way of fighting homelessness. The campaign also afforded me the opportunity to address other issues including victimless crime (all three Sheriff's candidates were pot smokers!), police repression, and the racist, classist nature of our criminal "justice" system.

In '87 and '88 there were three disparate tendencies within P&FP, and we fought like cats and dogs. So much for consensus building! The New Alliance Party is a cult-like group out of New York led by a former associate of Lyndon LaRouche, and their disruptive tactics were matched only by those of a reformist tendency which included the Communist Party (USA). The remaining majority was a loose coalition of radical greens like myself, trotskyists, and independent social-

ists who ran under the collective label of the "Socialist Slate."

If by forming their own Green Party today's California Greens hope to avoid the sort of contentious infighting we experienced three years ago in P&FP, they are naively mistaken. If the Green Party achieves ballot status or any success in the polls, they can expect to be overrun by the same political opportunists who infiltrated P&FP. The New Alliance Party, which currently refers to itself as "Pro-Gay and Pro-Socialist," will waste no time in calling itself "Pro-Green." They and the CP will flock to whatever party seems to be the best vehicle for their own questionable ambitions.

Besides the avoidance of inevitable conflict, I believe there's another reason that California Greens have avoided the P&FP. This can best be described as an internalized form of red-baiting. Greens like to think of themselves as the purveyors of a new, holistic philosophy, one which owes more to indigenous cultures than any "Old- or New Left" tradition. Yet this is a

sad denial of our own history, and an unconscious acceptance of fifty years of Cold War propaganda.

To be sure, state socialism is dead, and good riddance. But there are libertarian and decentralist traditions within the socialist movement which we can be proud to claim as our own. We would be foolish to disavow a radical legacy that dates back at least as far as the Haymarket martyrs, and perhaps as far back as England's 17th-century Diggers. For these links with the past can lend our movement an historical continuity that will see us through our inevitable bouts of futility and despair.

Ultimately, third-party electoral politics will always be an exercise in futility until we "level the playing field." Proportional representation, along with equal access to media and campaign funds, are a prerequisite to becoming more than just a "protest vote." As long as our candidates are systematically precluded from mean-

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The following resolutions were adopted by the 1991 IWW General Assembly:

1. "The 1991 IWW General Assembly reaffirms the IWW's opposition to all forms of human oppression, including by 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."

2. "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."

3. "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."

4. "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

Dear Friends,

It is becoming very apparent to me, and I'm sure others, that the Bush administration has declared war on the working people of this country. It even appears to me that this war is being prosecuted with a greater vigor than was the war against Iraq. While for the time being, many within the Democratic party are trying to stem this draconian tide, I no longer believe that the Democratic party is the viable option for the working people. Rather than voting down party lines, I believe that the working people must look at the individual's record. If neither party is giving the working people a viable option, then there's the continued Viable Option for the working people to register a protest by voting for "third party" candidates. I hope that the *Industrial Worker* will publish future articles exploring this idea.

In Solidarity,
Jacob Feuerwerker

FW's:

I was quite disappointed to see, in the October 1991 issue of the *IW*, an article (apparently solicited) by author Brian Glick

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."

Letters to the Editors . . .

on "Why Sue the FBI", and a long (almost 2 full pages) article by Judi Bari explaining the reasons for her lawsuit against the FBI.

I am not going to debate here the merits of the lawsuit action. I am absolutely opposed to using ten percent of our total budget on such a project, and have set out my reasons for this in the GOB.

My point is that the *Industrial Worker* seems to have taken its position on this issue, and seems determined to play an active role in influencing others to this position. No articles were solicited on "Why Not to Sue the FBI", nor were there any 2-page articles explaining why spending our money on such a project would not be in the short-term or long-term interests of the IWW.

It is my firm belief that the place for such policy debates is in the GOB, not the *IW*. The role of the *IW* is, or should be, to inform members and non-members alike about the actions and organizing campaigns being carried out by the IWW, and to keep our readers informed about revolutionary labor activities in the US and across the world. It is not the role of the *IW* to take a stand on a policy debate and then propagandize in favor of their position. That is how *Pravda* operates. It shouldn't be how the *Industrial Worker* operates.

For Democratic Unionism,
x341341

Editors' Response:

The decision to sue the FBI, Richard Held, and the Oakland Police Department was made many months ago, long before the

Wobblies held their convention, and long before FW Anderson left the union his estate. The lawsuit is in no way contingent upon IWW support, financial or otherwise, nor is the union a plaintiff to the action.

On the other hand, the decision currently before the IWW's membership about whether to lend seed money to this lawsuit is a hotly contested issue, and rightly so. As FW 341341 has pointed out, the sums under discussion are high, and the political issues are potent. Members should carefully study both sides of this argument and be sure to cast their ballots when the time comes.

By running the article, the IW collective was publicizing the activities of several of its members, activities which have profound ramifications for all of us.

It is our policy to run all stories submitted by members and branches, space allowing, especially those showing the IWW involved in active struggles in their workplace and communities. It is not our place to judge the strategies adopted by local IWW groups, but rather to publicize the broad variety of activities our union is engaged in.

The *Industrial Worker* is looking for people fluent in non-English languages who can peruse our foreign language subscriptions for relevant labor news that we can excerpt in the *Industrial Worker*. Please contact the *IW* if you have some free time and fluency in French, Spanish, Farsi, Italian, Swedish or Russian.

North America's
Only Radical Labor
Newsmagazine

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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,

CANADA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver GMB—110-511 Gatensbury 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, K7L 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.

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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.

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

New Earth Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1640 Addison, Berkeley, 94702. Delegate: Dave Karoly (510) 658-5377

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 Videc 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—c/o Geoff Kroepel 1409 Traver, Ann Arbor, 48105 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.

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MISSOURI

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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

Bellingham GMB—P.O. Box 1580, 98227

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 Strike Update:

Direct Action Almost Gets Prime Minister

OTTAWA SEPT. 27 1991—Hundreds of angry public service workers stormed police barricades on Parliament Hill in a bid to gain entrance to the House of Commons, as the national public service strike resumed Friday. About 2,500 strikers toppled the crowd-control barriers in front of the parliament buildings, chanting "We want in! We want in!" Many strikers wrestled with RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) officers, who were trying desperately to hold the protestors back. As the strikers climbed to the top of the stairs of the main entrance, the doors were slammed shut in their faces. Enraged demonstrators vented their frustrations by pounding on the doors of the Peace Tower with their hands, signs and sticks, and shouted "We want Brian" (Prime Minister Mulroney) and "Bring the Weasel out!" The RCMP did not attempt to use an outnumbered special riot control unit that was standing nearby for fear of further provoking the strikers who were locked outside the building. The show of militancy resulted in an early adjournment of the Commons, and a quick, tail-between-his-legs exit for Prime Minister Mulroney, who was taken down a freight elevator at the back of the building, and out a side door to his limousine.

Strikers were pushed beyond the edge of tolerance by reports that executives and middle managers were receiving wage increases and bonuses of up to 25%, while workers' wages have been frozen at 0% increase this year, and 3% increase the next year. Picket lines were at least as strong on Friday as they were during the strike's first round 12 days ago, when over 75,000 people took to the picket lines at their work places, in the largest strike in Canadian history. Several Ottawa area Wobblies showed their support for the strikers by joining them on picket lines and in the rallies on Parliament Hill. A coalition of many activist groups, including Ottawa Wobs, has formed to plan and take part in actions during the strike.

On October 2, three high rise Federal government buildings in downtown

Winnipeg were ringed by strikers and completely shut down. The police and management, fearing violent confrontations, chose to have the buildings locked to everyone. This activity continued on the morning of October 3, with workers guarding the door at one government building, chanting "No one in, No one in!"

Recent actions in Winnipeg and Ottawa came in the aftermath of attempted negotiations in late September. Public Service Alliance members had returned to work on September 18 after the government had agreed to negotiate in good faith. It quickly became evident to the bargaining teams, however, that the employer had no intention to bargain in good faith, and PSAC returned to the picket line on September 27.

Much to the surprise of the employer, not only were the lines stronger than before, but many who scabbed the first week opted to stay home this second time out. Across Canada many so-called "essential" workers chose to honor the picket lines. When it became evident that the government was going to legislate workers back to work, workers took direct action to close down the buildings.

The employer, who is often the best organizer, made the PSAC one of the most militant unions in Canada. The employer took what was previously considered a docile, cooperative, middle class workforce, and created Scab Busters who wandered downtown freely, unafraid of confronting the police and exercising their rights. The boss has now forced these militant workers back to the workplace, as of October 3, but the struggle continues. The strike is not over.

Locals have become stronger, replacing officers who sat on the fence during the strike. Workers are wearing black arm bands, working to rule, and filing many grievances. Even their return to work was an act of defiance. The government expected them back at their normal starting times, but workers returned on their own time, at 11:00 a.m., after holding mass rallies across Canada.

—Dan Roy, x340287

Nuke Dump Update

"This is a done-deal, a *fait accompli*!", stated California State Assemblyman Tom Hayden on October 8th at the Sacramento hearing on the low-level nuclear waste dump plan for Ward Valley in the Mojave Desert. Federal Law 99-240 of 1985 mandated states or their compacts to license dumps by 1993 or face stiff fines. States now became responsible for 50 years of federal nuclear energy policy, leaky dumps, and nuclear "industry" roaches coming out of the woodwork. New York, Michigan and Nebraska were not intimidated and have stopped their dump licensing process, while California alone has forged ahead to sign its own death warrant.

A sampling of the "industry" types

included Don Womeldorf, who avoided nuclear liability questions with: "There have been no injuries from 50 years of transporting low level waste." The audience then learned of (the contractor's) U.S. Ecology's attempt to gut the watchdog power of the State Lands Commission which, in turn, refused the "gift" of federal land for this dump. Alan Pasternak of California Radioactive Forum had the audience booing with his claim: "I represent the consumer! Without this dump, nuclear medicine won't be able to find cures for AIDS and Alzheimers because there's no place to bury waste."

Legislator Terry Friedman got down to basics: "Even the Department of Energy

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SF Wobs march for Pro-Choice

Wobs Crash Boulder Environmental Conference

Spreading the word, showing the flag, and the usual grandiose appearance of the IWW turned a few heads at this year's SEAC (Student Environmental Action Coalition) conference. Held at the University of Colorado at Boulder in early October, it brought together students, environmentalists, and other activists from all over the world. This was the third annual conference for "environmental and social justice" organized by the student coalition, and an array of speakers, tables, and workshops was the menu for the weekend.

A few members from the Denver/Boulder Branch held down a literature table inside the Coors event center, a sad irony, for the company has been hit with fines of over one million dollars for polluting the environment recently. Not to be outdone, we had boycott Coors stickers on hand as well as an assortment of IWW books, T-shirts, and pamphlets from the RIP collective in Denver. The weekend was run by volunteers with much effort, enthusiasm, sweat, and good will, with the inevitable element of chaos.

The conference got underway Friday with the arrival of participants and students, many of whom camped out on the university grounds. Saturday started with a browse through the eighty-odd stalls set up by groups as different as Earth First! and opportunistic companies peddling their Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) preparation courses. There were speakers throughout the morning,

leading up to the customary march. Unfortunately, this little black duck missed the march due to a case of miscommunication. Apparently things were running over time and the march had been rescheduled, but the people in the event center were oblivious. They missed the march and proceeded to the first round of workshops without realizing the workshops had been delayed for the marchers.

Sunday dawned and anything was possible. We arrived to find our awe-inspiring and enlightening banner torn down and our table missing. As usual we were upsetting the right people or the basketball crowd from the night before got over enthusiastic about our thoughts on the people's claim to the earth. Unperturbed we set up and had a good day making contact and spreading the gospel. The speakers all had the same general message, but what other message does an environmental conference have, other than "to organize a more environmentally conscious public, stop wholesale destruction of the world's resources by fascist corporate thugs, and to build a coalition of workers, students, and environmentalists alike against a common foe."

It all ended with old-timers going home with new ideas, new bloods going home with old ideas, and maybe there was enough fervor in the crowd to go out, educate, organize, and emancipate the current generation before it's too late!

—Ray Elbourne

DOG KNOWS WHAT TO DO WITH A BUSH" and Mr. Block saying, "I LOVE LOW PAY, BUSH, AND MY BOSS." Needless to say, our red IWW banner was with us being held high and proud.

The media interviewed us for about 15 minutes. They mentioned our labor songs while neglecting to mention our name or the statements we made. So the Press ignored us as much as the Prez did, however, our message got to the workers and that was the most important goal to us. One extremely militant old gent began to scream at the police, "Why don't you fuckers start serving the people instead of the politicians for a change?" All in all it wasn't too bad a day for the LV IWW.

Just as a footnote, it should be mentioned that one of the righties tried to provoke a fight with a FW. The Wob wasn't biting though and his union

brothers stepped in and made scissorbill look like the asshole he was without using any violence whatsoever. A friend of the troublemaker was with him and later identified by the press as one Nick Saviano. It appears old Nick had been trying to give the President a poster of an eagle flying into the American flag. When he arrived at the hotel door, a secret service agent asked if he had a ticket to the dinner. Finding out that Mr. Saviano was just another peon without a \$1,000 pass, the agent kicked him out and sent him on his way. Saviano later indicated that he didn't mind such treatment. He was one of the last people to leave the demo site and held a tape recorder playing "God Bless America" at full blast as King George left without acknowledging him. You know, I almost felt sorry for the poor rube.

—FW Rick Sattely

Wobs Boo Bush in Brunswick Babylon

The first letter of union is U, and you ain't gonna believe this, fellow workers. Even in the cold, capitalist heart of East Brunswick, N.J., Aryan Acres to us working class dogs, there is a growing discontent amongst the usually apathetic masses. This was clearly evidenced during George Bush's visit to town on the 24th of September. As part of King George's fundraising tour for Republican candidates, a \$1,000 a plate dinner was held at East Brunswick's Ramada Renaissance hotel near Rutgers University with you know who as the featured speaker. There was nowhere near the mass turnout of radicals (or the excitement for that matter) of Bush's whistle stops in Portland or Philadelphia, but, the voice of resistance was heard just the same.

Police were in riot gear and all protesters and spectators were kept across the highway behind a snow fence. Apparently, this was to prevent any "embarrassing incidents" from happening, though only about 150 people came to rally. There was an even smaller counter-demonstration of wealthy white folk to support His Highness and bitch about having to pay their already minimal share of taxes.

The LV IWW sent six of its members from Allentown, Pa. to the action. Upon arrival, we experienced severe culture shock due to the un-proletarian neighborhood and feared no one would be there other than a few trade unionists and us. Our spirits were lifted when we reached the rally site. Though 150 aren't many, when placed in context of the area the turnout was bloody amazing. Some AFL-CIO people were in attendance, but, only a few of the total number they planned on because of logistics problems. It seems that hacks in their leadership were unable to effectively organize the

demonstration. No wonder these same hacks can't organize a shop or a strike that doesn't end in defeat. Other demonstrators included wetlands advocates, a revolutionary artists group called ART/WORK, NARAL, and hemp legalization activists. NARAL had a wonderfully militant stance including chants, the wearing of gags, and leaflets identifying Adolf Hitler as father of the anti-abortion movement with symbols and quotes from the Nazi "breed babies for the Reich" propaganda machinery. Another group had constructed a "George" Bush out of branches from which hung skulls listing George's crimes against the people.

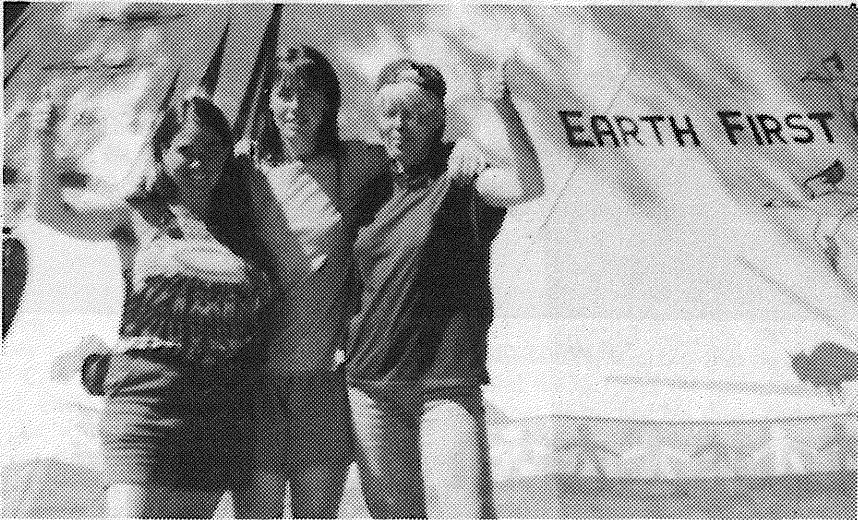
The IWW presentation featured the Wobbly Flying Column Band singing rebel anthems from the Little Red Songbook. We quickly attracted a Newark attorney who knew almost every Wob song by heart and joined in on guitar and vocals (and he doesn't even hold a red card!!!). With little effort, we and our firend had the crowd fired up with song. One FW brought what is probably the world's largest bullhorn. This was used by us to lead all the labor groups in "Solidarity Forever." Many folks, both young and old, remembered the IWW and came up to thank us as well as congratulate us for carrying the flame in the face of all our tribulations over the years. I'm sorry to report that we didn't have the numerous on-the-spot sign-ups we had in D.C., but, a few people requested sign-up info to be mailed to them while they were declaring amazement and joy at the fact that the Wobblies are still here and hanging tough. In addition to song, we carried signs such as "SCUM RISES TO THE TOP" featuring a drawing of Bush. Other signs included the slogan, "EVERY

Redwood Summer II Report

by Gary Sargent

It took a few lumps this time around, along with some of its defenders, but Headwaters Forest is still there—still uncut. Maybe by this time next year, we will have saved it for good. Meanwhile the timber-mining corporados keep trying to gouge as much of it away as they can before the deal is finalized with the public-private co-op fronted by Trust for Public Land that is trying to raise the ransom needed to protect this last island of original Redwood forest ecosystem from the saws of the profit-junkies at Pacific Lumber-Maxxam.

Those who understand how precious this tiny remainder of a once-vast heritage is, keep trying to stop them—in the words of Malcolm X, "by any means necessary." Ecotopia Summer began the last week of June 1991 with the Earth First! Northwest Regional Rendezvous in the Siskiyou Mountains of northern California. It was a typical EF! bash with



Eco-Warriors give the Thumbs Up at Redwood Summer II

continuous workshops, music and good times. Around July 1, the alarm was sounded that PL (Pacific Lumber) had started cutting right next to Headwaters Forest in the most critical wildlife corridor in the watershed, pursuant to a THP (Timber "Harvest" Plan) which quietly slipped through in February.

While a massive phone-in kept Governor Pete Wilson and Superintendent of Resources Doug Wheeler's phones tied up for days with demands to stop the cutting, on July 3 four Earth First! women locked themselves down to PL logging equipment at the site. They spent their Fourth of July holiday in the Eureka jail. This action kicked off a week of direct action called Redwood Action Week. A base camp was set up in the Honeydew location with Seeds of Peace once again providing sustenance in classic Seeds style.

Planning circles at the camp decided that large actions of 30-40 people featuring a variety of simultaneous tactics (e.g., road blockades, equipment lockdowns, cat-and-mouse games in the woods) were essential to keep loggers occupied at something other than cutting trees. Knowing that the loggers had diamond saws capable of cutting kryptonite locks, EF!ers quickly arranged to get newly invented lockboxes from Greenpeace and rushed them to the camp just in time for the next action.

Around midnight July 7, two teams of several affinity groups each were dropped off at different several miles from the logging site. They were to rendezvous at a good blockade site on the entry road before dawn. That morning trucks and a bulldozer were driven at blockaders accelerating a high speed. Blockaders stood their ground until it was clear that it was jump or die. They jumped—one with a dozer blade four or five feet from him with the hammer down. Other loggers chased people, kicking and punching. Several women were punched and thrown to the ground. Two loggers would grab someone, one by hands and one by feet, swing him/her like a sack of wheat and throw them into the ditch. PL security guards made citizen's arrests. The police cooperated with PL security goons when they arrived, but refused to arrest loggers for their many crimes of assault and battery, even with many witnesses.

The next action was a tree sit with a banner hanging across Avenue of the Giants, the scenic Redwoods along the Eel River. Again planning broke down—

no media was at the site when the banner went up, and no one even had a camera, much less a video camera. The first members of the public to see it were PL security goons. They stormed the tree-sitters, damaging some expensive climbing equipment and stealing a bunch more. They attacked people again, injuring several, and when the police arrived there were a few arrests—again all protestors.

Back at base camp, consensus was to continue actions for another week, moving down to Mendocino County where there is a stronger community of support and where progress has been made with police in meetings with activists about what is appropriate behavior for activists and police in protest situations. Base camp moved to the Willits area.

In Mendocino County, it's a bit less like a war zone. Things are less polarized. Divisions between timber industry workers and eco-freaks are less sharp. There's more neighborly interaction. Someone organized a joint stream cleanup and

enforcement was much more balanced in Mendo County than in Humboldt.

During the past year, local activists initiated face-to-face meetings with D.A.s and police officials to counter the hysterical timber-industry propaganda about "eco-terrorists." Officers from the California Highway Patrol, Mendocino Sheriff's Department, Willits, Fort Bragg and even (grudgingly) Ukiah police issued a statement that we have a right to protest and that they will protect us in the exercise of our First Amendment rights. Representatives from these agencies even took nonviolence training from Earth First! nonviolence trainers. Apparently they did just fine except for the consensus decision-making part which they couldn't quite handle.

Then there was the Skunk Train Action—again organized and carried out by locals. The Skunk Train is a local tourist attraction which features a narrow-gauge railroad winding through a lovely (and narrow) swath of virgin redwoods, surrounded on all sides by acres of clearcuts, just out of sight of the tourists. There were actions at both depots, the main action at Willits. Some Skunk Train employees helped hang nine banners along the tracks, visible from the train. At the Willits Depot the Skunk tourist brochures were replaced in the racks by Earth First! brochures that looked just like the originals. These brochures were even typeset and printed by sympathetic workers at the same print shop. Scenic photos were replaced with photos of scenic clearcuts. "Avenue of the Giants" became "Avenue of the Clearcuts."

This action was a good illustration of a growing phenomenon in the Timber Wars struggle in northern California, especially in Mendocino County: the increasing cooperation between some environmentalists (particularly EF!ers) and many workers, including timber industry workers, against what more and more people are seeing as a common enemy—the huge timber-mining corporation such as Georgia Pacific, Louisiana Pacific, Simpson, and, of course, Pacific Lumber-Maxxam. Workers are becoming increasingly aware of the extent to which these outside exploiters are destroying the economic base of northern California and leaving the workers in the lurch.

All the companies mentioned have dismal recent records in workplace safety, wage reduction schemes and outright union-busting. The AFL-CIO unions "representing" these workers have consistently sold them out. The IWA even refused to file a grievance when a worker at a GP mill in Fort Bragg had several pounds of PCBs dumped directly in his face. When their lap dog "union" did nothing for them, these workers turned to the only person they knew might help—IWW organizer Judi Bari.

She carried their grievances for them, even to the point of suing Georgia Pacific in federal court. FW Bari had been organizing workers in the mills of Mendocino and Humboldt counties and talking to loggers and other timber workers for years about the way these corporations are oppressing workers and destroying the land. The IWW is the focus for this growing worker-environmentalist solidarity. Many of the people who organized and carried out the Mendocino County Ecotopia Summer actions are IWW members. The fight for the workers and the fight for the land are one struggle and are bringing together many people who had

previously seen themselves as in either one struggle or the other.

In the Willits area of Mendocino County, the actions were literally rolling again. On August 17, the Ecotopia Bike Ride closed Highway 20 between Willits and Fort Bragg on the Mendocino coast with 200 human-powered vehicles, mostly bicycles. The cyclists started at the crest of the ridge for an easy 10-mile downhill to the state park picnic area, the midway point, where they had a spirited rally featuring free Ben & Jerry's ice cream for the riders.

The next day at 8:30 a.m. on Sherwood Road the 70 hardcore pedal-pumpers gathered with mountain bikes for the second phase of the bicycle action, a gruelling 36-mile dirt logging road "Tour of the Clearcuts," which finished in Fort Bragg. After the "tour," one of the riders, graphic artist Kalus Sievert, said: "I didn't see anything that looked like Ecotopia to me—I'd call it the Ecocide Bike Tour." Klaus has seen clearcuts before, but he was still shocked by the Sherwood Road moonscape. He was particularly impressed with the difference in climate under the forest canopy (cool, moist, green) and in the adjacent clearcuts (hot, dry, dusty). The visual image that stayed with him was a view near Fort Bragg of the brown, parched clearcut hills with a narrow ribbon of green forest in the canyon along the route of the Skunk Railroad. Local people had to fight for even that thin strip of trees a few years back when Georgia Pacific Lumber Company bought the Skunk Railway with plans to log right up to the tracks.

The last day on the Ecotopia Summer Calendar was August 27, the National Day of Outrage against Maxxam, the junk bond trading corporate raider holding company that captured Pacific Lumber in a hostile takeover in 1985. There were simultaneous actions at Maxxam's area headquarters off Route 101 in Mill Valley where protestors dressed as trees kept falling down in front of the building and in view of traffic along the local road and freeway, in front of Maxxam headquarters on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles, and at the New York Stock Exchange where protestors kept urging investors to sell Maxxam short.

So it was a mixed bag in northern California this past summer. Progress was made on several fronts—education, worker solidarity, community liaison—and lessons were learned. The headwaters Forest has still not been cut, but it is still threatened. Its defense continues in the courts, in Forest Service hearings, in the woods and on the ballot.

There is a new Forests Forever initiative being circulated to once again bring the issue to the voting public. A sellout (a so-called compromise in the state legislature called "The Sierra Accord") has been discredited and has lost the support even of the few mainstream (Sierra Club-type) environmentalists who initially supported it. There is continued strong pressure for a real sustainable forestry bill in the legislature but grassroots activists are not holding their breaths. If you want to get involved in this struggle, contact the Mendocino Environmental Center at 106 West Standley, Ukiah, CA 95842. Their phone is (707) 468-1660.

Barring a miracle over the winter, we can expect the struggle for sustainable forest practices and the saving of the last great original Redwood forest in the Americas to heat up again next summer. Look for Redwood Summer III.

Nuke Dump *cont. from page 3*

states that medical waste is only one-half of one percent. You're trying to define the 47.5% of industrial as medical-pharmaceutical waste." He blasted the industry for only increasing liability coverage from \$10 to \$25 million when the Illinois dump leak has cost at least \$97 million.

State Director of the Sierra Club, Michael Parparian succinctly opposed the dump but gave ultimatums. "Forget the mumbo jumbo. All containers must be above ground fully monitored for at least 100 years with surprise inspections and California EPA must regulate and penalize for mislabeled waste."

Dr. Laura Lake from UCLA stated: "If we license this dump we're dealing with an immortal decision. All dumps leak and unlined dumps leak sooner." She presented a video on the Illinois and

Nevada leaks to legislator Byron Sher, the Committee's chairman who in turn responded: "We can only slow down the license, not stop it."

"Not so!" said retired engineer, Charles Butler of Needles, which is only 15 miles from the proposed dump site. "Senate Bill 342 says California must take care of its waste, not that California must have its own dump site." Domingo Chance Esquerra, a game warden and Chimuvei Tribal member stated: "Why would we wish to jeopardize the desert tortoises, this fragile underground aquifer feeding sacred springs and the water table so future born are jeopardized?"

Perhaps Sarah of Seeds of Peace best stated the audience's position: "This is a state-supported scam. If a special session can't be called about legitimacy of our state government and state agencies, we must stop it with our bodies."

The IWW and Electoral Politics: An Historical Overview

*Election Day he shouted, "a Socialist
For Mayor!"*

*The "comrade" got elected, he happy
was for fair,*

*But after the election he got an awful shock
A great big socialistic bull did rap him
on the block.*

*And Comrade Block did sob,
"I helped him get his job."*

When Joe Hill wrote this verse to his famous "Mr. Block" somewhere around 1910, he was expressing a common view held by most members of the IWW that electoral political action, even in support of leftist candidates, was a futile exercise. As it turned out Hill's words proved to be prophetic since the "bull" that arrested him, the physician who treated his wounds and later notified the police of his whereabouts, and the lawyer who misrepresented him were all Socialists. On the other hand, much of Hill's support in Utah came from the Socialist Party or its supporters.

In any event the anti-electoral politics stance of the IWW is long-standing. Its roots go back to the very beginning when a wide coalition of individuals including socialists like Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon and others, formed the IWW in 1905. Between then and 1908 when the union was reorganized, tensions between the various groups in the IWW were manifest in disagreement over tactics. Some urged the new union to establish a political component which would capture power at the ballot box. Others believed in direct action and taking power "at the point of production." Those advocating the latter position pointed out that large numbers of workers, particularly blacks, women, and immigrant workers were legally disenfranchised, thus weakening the chance of the strategy's success. Moreover, since large segments of IWW support came from migratory workers who moved frequently, it would be difficult to endorse a strategy which involved permanent electoral polling booths and voters residences.

The choice, these Wobblies argued, was to emphasize areas of strength, not weakness. At the union's 1908 convention—where as Fred Thompson noted there was a "hearty disrespect for politicians"—the advocates of direct action

dominated, though some sympathy for electoral politics and even cordial fraternal relations with some groups like the Socialist Party continued at different times and in different places. Indeed, some historians have argued that the union was not so much anti-political as it was non-political in an electoral sense. At the same time, the actions of the 1908 convention unified the IWW and moved it in a more coherent and cohesive direction. As Fred Thompson has observed:

In one sense this [convention] is the launching of the IWW. It is from here on that it exists as an organization with its own distinctive character... The five thousand members it had after the 1908 convention were no longer divergent groups trying to live together but a compact organization of [workers] attached to the IWW rather than to something else, largely rebels who had been organized by the new union, but who had long experience in the struggle with the employer...

In understanding the IWW's position on electoral politics it is also important to examine the career of a founding member of the union, and its best known advocate in the years before World War I—William D. "Big Bill" Haywood. A son of the West, Haywood's roots went back to the Western Federation of Miners, of which he was an officer. Because his experiences lay in industrial unionism, not electoral politics, Haywood never really championed the educational possibilities of electoral politics like his colleagues in the Socialist Party. Though he urged workers to vote and even ran for Governor of Colorado himself, Haywood believed that the importance of electoral politics existed only in so far as election to office could translate into the ability to protect working people. In this sense, Haywood saw politics as a secondary, though important, part of the overall attempt to seize political control through direct action. Haywood's views on socialism and politics are succinctly expressed in a famous talk he gave in New York entitled "Socialism: The Hope of the Working Class."

With the success of socialism practically all of the political offices now in existence will be put out of business. I

want to say also, and with as much emphasis, that while a member of the Socialist Party and believing firmly in political action, it is decidedly better in my opinion to elect the superintendent in some branch of industry than to elect a congressman... Under socialism we will have no congresses such as exist today, no legislatures, nor parliaments nor councils of municipalities. Our councils will not be filled with aspiring lawyers or ministers, but they will be conventions of the working class, composed of men and women who will go there for purposes of education, to exchange ideas, and by their expert knowledge to improve the machinery so that we can use it for the advantage of the working class.

For a time, Haywood was an active member of the Socialist Party of America, serving on its national committee. Ultimately, he was removed from that office in 1913 by a party recall, ostensibly because he had publicly advocated violence and sabotage. At the same time, Haywood had alienated segments of the Socialist Party because he promoted dual unionism, rejected the notion of gradual reform as meaningful to his working-class constituency, and clashed with important figures on the right and center of the umbrella Socialist Party. After Haywood's dismissal, the influence of the IWW and others in the Socialist party who shared a syndicalist view was greatly diminished.

Also important in understanding the IWW's avoidance of electoral politics is a recognition that the union has always emphasized direct action, the general strike and workers control of the workplace. In this sense, the IWW view represented in part the influence of the anarcho-syndicalist ideas of later 19th century Europe and similar trends introduced into the United States. But the IWW represented an indigenous form of industrial unionism that sought to create "one big union" through which the working class would take possession "of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system." In this way society would be transformed by workers control of industry. As the preamble to the IWW puts it "it is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism" through organizing the working class

into an "army of production not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

In the 1920s and 30s, the union came into conflict with the Communist Party which emerged as a proponent of an electoral approach to bringing about a workers' government. While the Communists accepted the importance of industrial unionism, they also believed in the Leninist concept of a revolutionary "vanguard party." The IWW, committed as it was to democracy preceding from the bottom up, was out of step with the Communist notion of democratic centralism. Over the years, the IWW has continued to oppose support for electoral political action and distanced itself from political solutions as a whole, continuing to stress action at the point of production.

Today, these attitudes towards electoral politics continue to be very evident in the organizational work of the union, and among the members at large. At the same time, it should be noted that this has not kept Wobblies from working with others whose first priority, tactically speaking, may be somewhat different. A poll taken among Socialist Party members a decade or so ago, for example, demonstrated that there were a number of party members who had dual membership in the IWW, or subscribed to the *Industrial Worker*. At the same time, it should be noted that at the present, the Socialist Party national office in New York City is an IWW job shop. And indeed, there were several in attendance at the recent Socialist Party national convention in Chicago in September.

Like Fred Thompson, I think it is healthy to have a "hearty disrespect" for politicians. Perhaps the message in all of this is that there are many ways, and many strategies, to achieve common goals. November is the season of elections, and we will all be besieged with the promises and pleadings of politicians. But November is also a time when we remember Joe Hill. As he said: "Don't Mourn, Organize!"

—John Sillito

The Labor Party Illusion *cont. from page 1*

the political arena they begin to talk like politicians, and very soon thinking like politicians, to the desertion of every trade union activity they pledged themselves to become part of."

Labor parties have never governed the U.S. But their counterparts have had ample opportunity around the world to demonstrate their true colors.

New Zealanders recently voted their Labour Party out of government after years of austerity for workers, giveaways and tax breaks for the rich, and soaring unemployment. In Australia, Labour and conservative provincial governments compete to prove which has the most heartless policies towards government workers, the unemployed and the poor.

Local British Labour administrations evict unemployed workers who refused (or were unable) to pay the recently repealed Poll Tax. When the Labour Party was in power it sent troops to break strikes, froze wages, allowed nuclear weapons to be stationed in Britain, and generally toadied to the capitalists.

Spanish workers are fighting against austerity programs developed by their "Socialist" government. The "socialist" Sandinistas outlawed strikes and used thugs to take over independent unions. The French Socialists briefly flirted with pro-labor policies, but quickly capitulated when the corporations threatened to move to more congenial shores.

The political arena is a swamp. It is impossible for any political "labor" party to gain power without concessions to business and the middle class (even if the

piecards upon whom this party is to be built were not thoroughly reactionary). Political action can only serve to divide our forces, and to divert our efforts from more productive efforts.

The eight-hour day, for example, was not won by legislation. It had been established decades before it was signed into law by union organization. Unemployment insurance was established as a sop to block unions' efforts to win the six-hour day. Minimum wage rates have always lagged far behind the average wages workers have won through our own efforts.

Labor's strength lies in our economic power—in the fact that we do all the work that keeps this society operating. Electioneering diverts our energies away from militant, direct-action struggles into essentially counter-revolutionary channels. It undermines confidence in our most effective weapon, our economic power.

An unorganized working class, determined to use its power, can compel an end to the destruction of our planet and the impoverishment of our fellow workers through its own efforts, without any reliance on political action. A U.S. labor party will merely increase the numbers of parasites in our movement, and help the piecards divert attention from their bankrupt policies. So long as we remain unorganized we will continue to lose ground to the bosses. Next time someone asks you to help build the labor party, suggest they consider revolutionary industrial unionism instead. The new society can be built only through our own efforts.



The Green Party Illusion *cont. from page 1*

ingful participation in the political process, our ideas (as embodied by those candidates) will also remain marginalized.

While I have no problem with helping to elect Republicans by drawing progressive votes away from the Democratic (sic) ticket, I do fear that our perpetual marginalization within the electoral arena will ultimately alienate our potential constituency. Nobody likes a loser, especially an institutionalized one (which may be yet another reason why P&FP fails to excite the imagination of today's Greens). At least direct action politics allows us to claim the occasional small victory.

I have made a personal choice to devote my own organizing energies toward building a radical, democratic alternative to the AFL-CIO trade unions. As General Secretary Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in 1991, I hope that our union can work with (or within) the Green movement to fulfill that part of the Green program which calls for "organizing democratic unions." It's my belief that the workers within the polluting industries are in the best position to shut those industries down, provided that those of us in their communities and unions are able to provide the necessary material support to see them through the inevitably difficult economic and personal

transformation that such displacement will entail.

Ultimately, I question any electoral strategy above the municipal level. Gaining fair access to the electoral system at the State, Provincial, and National levels is a flat-out impossibility so long as the employing class maintains control of the political and legal systems. Even in a major urban center like San Francisco, leftist candidates with less than a half million dollar war chest will be uniformly ignored and trivialized by the capitalist media.

Green activists will be far more effective if they continue to build the grassroots organizing campaigns they've mounted so far. Even municipal electoral campaigns should be undertaken with the goal of spreading ideas, not winning votes. And I would hope that more Greens join the Wobblies in our efforts to empower workers at the point of production in order to redress the ecological and social ills faced by all of us. Healing the earth means eliminating certain industries altogether, and the only ones capable of that are the working people themselves.

(A different version of this article appeared in Green Letter.)



Bethlehem Wobs Fight Toxics

—x341341

The Lehigh Valley General Membership Branch has begun a drive to prevent the Keystone Cement Company in Bath, Pa., and the ESSROC Materials Company, of Nazareth, from incinerating toxic hazardous waste in their cement kilns. The Lehigh Valley Wobs are playing an active role in the Lehigh Valley Coalition for A Safe Environment (LV CASE), an umbrella organization of local environmental and social justice groups which has formed to fight the proposed incinerations.

The cement companies are taking advantage of a loophole in the Federal Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), which mandates controls over the disposal of toxic waste. These controls, however, do not apply to Boilers and Industrial Furnaces (BIFs), since the incineration of toxics as fuel in these facilities is assumed to constitute "recycling." Therefore, cement plants are, under the BIF regulations, allowed to incinerate as much toxic waste as a commercial incinerator, but are not subject to the same limits and regulations.

The motivation for the cement companies, as usual, is money. Not only can they substitute toxic wastes for coal in their cement kilns and thus save on the costs of fuel, but the companies can charge toxic waste haulers fees to incinerate their waste. In most plants that have already begun burning toxics, the company makes twice as much profit from toxic incineration as it does from selling the resulting cement.

Keystone Cement was a hair's breadth from closing its plant when it was bought by a holding company called Giant Group, Ltd. Giant is owned by a Hollywood movie producer Burt Sugarman, who, among other things, produced "The Gong Show." In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, Sugarman is said to have disliked entering the old, decrepit and obsolete cement plants that he owns, and found the dirt and the toxins so disgusting that he burned his shoes and clothing after he left the plant. Apparently he doesn't mind having his workers slave away in these same hellholes.

ESSROC Materials, which has just applied for a permit to burn toxics in its kiln, is owned by the French conglomerate Ciments Francais, the fourth largest producer of cement in the world. Several ESSROC plants across the country are already burning toxic wastes as fuel.

The ESSROC workers in Nazareth have been represented by several different unions over the past few years, with no success. ESSROC workers have not received a raise in over six years and have been working without a contract for the past eight years. The company has extracted two health care give-backs in the past two years.

On September 27, a number of Wobblies picketed the plant and leafletted the workers as they changed shifts. The leaflet pointed out that the company is going to put its workers at risk by exposing them daily to hazardous wastes, but is unwilling to provide them with a raise, improved health care bene-

fits or realistic safety training. The Wobs have established contact with several militant rank-and-file workers who are pissed off about ESSROC's decision to burn. We will be expanding our contacts among the workers to help them fight the bosses.

The Local Representative of the Paperworkers Union recently released a statement saying that the Union was in favor of incineration in cement kilns. This, in turn, provoked a storm of indignant letters and phone calls from the ESSROC rank and file. The Local Representative then issued a statement saying that he had been "misconstrued." Now, he says, he doesn't want ESSROC to burn toxic wastes, but he doesn't care if the other cement companies do. Not only does this show what he thinks of working class solidarity, but it is an impractical assertion, since if one plant gets a permit to burn there will be no realistic way to stop the others from following suit.

Three days after the leafletting, the CASE umbrella group held a car caravan that wound its way through town past the Keystone plant and past several ESSROC office buildings. The caravan ended at the Nazareth Boro Park, where a crowd of 250 people gathered to "say no to toxic waste." Local politicians addressed the demonstrators, and the Wobbly Flying Column Band played a song written for the occasion:

KEEP YOUR POISONS AWAY

TUNE: Dixie

In Nazareth Town where I was born in,
I am going to give you warning
No way, no way; keep your poisons away
The cement plants want to keep their
costs down,
Making this a toxic waste town
No way, no way, keep your poisons away

CHORUS:

We don't want incinerators, no way, no way
To come to town, turn everything brown
We'll all wear respirators

No way, now way, we don't want toxics
no way
No way, no way, we don't want toxics
no way

We won't let ESSROC poison workers
To make money for corporate shirkers
No way, no way, keep your poisons away
We won't let Keystone be a hazard
Not in Bath and not in Nazareth
No way, no way, keep your poisons away

We want to tell our legislators
We don't want incinerators
No way, no way, keep your poisons away
But if we're gonna win in this dark hour
We must show them PEOPLE POWER
No way, no way, keep your poisons away

Besides doing practical work with the rank-and-file inside the plant, the local Wobs have attempted to raise the worker issue within the CASE coalition. For the most part, CASE members are "middle class" environmentalists who know that they don't want an incinerator near them, but who don't see the larger connections. The Wobs have devoted a great deal of energy to pointing out that environmental issues are also workplace issues. Thus, ESSROC has been unable to implement the "jobs vs. environment" tactic that Keystone has used successfully in the past. CASE speakers now make it a point to talk about the worker issues in their speeches and public forums.

There are legislative actions going on that would ban the burning of toxic waste in Pennsylvania's cement kilns, but no one (least of all the Wobs) is very hopeful that these will accomplish anything. As the IWW has always said, the key to winning this fight is through organizing and mobilizing workers' power on the shop floor. Regardless of whether the politicians do anything useful, the IWW will remain in the forefront of this fight.



Making of a Radical cont. from p. 8

with that. It is, of course, an oversimplification, but basically I decided that an Anarchist society is the best goal I can conceive of socially and I see no point in working for anything less than the best, even if immediate gains are not evident.

We moved to California in 1960, primarily to provide a somewhat more healthy environment in which to raise my daughter. I continued to work with the League and also with the IWW. The problem of "burnout" was becoming apparent to me, although it didn't really impress itself on me until, in the mid-sixties, I went through a period of it myself, complicated probably by the onset of crippling rheumatoid arthritis. I just lapsed into an apathetic state for a few years, during which I did little but live from day to day. Other people talk of their "salad days"; I think of those years as my "vegetable days." The vague sense of uneasiness and—let's be honest—shame that I felt gradually grew strong enough to pull me back into activity. The only thing it taught me was that periods of brilliant and frenzied activity may be the way to go for some, but not for me. I learned to pace myself, to acknowledge my own limitations and to deal with the fact that I couldn't do everything myself. I slowly pulled myself together and began to work again, not at the same level as before, but steadily, and it has worked for me. I may never accomplish anything tremendous for our

movement but the next time I burn out will be when they cremate my remains.

Except for brief periods of unemployment I had always held full-time jobs, working at whatever was available, trying to ameliorate the boredom of wage slavery by changing not only jobs but kinds of work regularly. As a cripple—and that's what I am—I could no longer indulge in that luxury, nor could I handle a full-time job and still take part in movement work. For one thing I simply couldn't physically handle things like running a press, walking a picket line or the various other kinds of direct action tactics I believe in.

I finally settled into my current lifestyle as the best compromise available to me. I work as a freelance typesetter and book designer in a back room of our home, using an old IBM composer and my knowledge of producing the printed word economically to provide a needed service for the small press and self-publishing fraternity. I don't make great amounts of money but I like what I do and I feel it is one small answer to the increasingly monolithic nature of commercial publishing.

Even this compromise would not have been possible without the constant help and support of my companion, my love, Pat, who for 30 years has shared all of this with me. I have used "I" throughout this but it is really "we" that would be more appropriate. We are a team, a pair, a partnership, and the two of us together

equal far more than just the sum of one plus one.

I try to reserve as much of my time as my hand-to-mouth economics will permit for movement work, either donating my services (for specifically anarchist projects) or discounting heavily for related work (anti-draft, environmental causes, etc.). I started working with comrades at Newspace in Chicago and Black & Red in Detroit, providing typesetting for pamphlets like *Shays' Rebellion*, *Muniz's Unions Against the Revolution* and the previously untranslated section of Voline's *The Unknown Revolution*. I regularly help out with typesetting for the IWW and for the past few years have been cooperating with Cienfuegos/BCM Refract (*Stefano Della Chiaie, Portrait of a Black Terrorist*, the still-to-be-printed *Faceries*, Sam Dolgoff's *Fragments*), plus whatever else comes my way and seems useful (*The Strike in Gdansk* for my old comrade Andy Tymowski for instance).

The few things I've learned over the years seem right for me; they may not be right for others in the movement. With that caveat in mind:

I've learned patience and tolerance, particularly with my comrades. I try to stay clear of feuds within our movement and to temper my criticisms of others with understanding. When anarchists waste time, energy and paper slanging each other we all lose and the powers that be chortle in delight.

I've learned the value of humor. Nothing—including our own movement—should be immune to laughter. When we lose the ability to laugh at ourselves we lose everything. Black humor has great survival value in our insane society and provides a great needed outlet for rage.

That delicate balancing act we all must do between day-to-day living and our own ideals requires the development of a set of personal ethics. I continue to try and shove the needle into the State at every opportunity but at the same time I feel I must act fairly and honestly with my fellow human beings. I give my word sparingly but I always keep it. I try to stay clear of work that is obviously supportive of the system. I do not allow myself to be put into a position where I must "boss" other working people, simply because I don't think I am any less susceptible to the corruption of power than anybody else.

Slowly, over the years, I've come to realize that the ideas of anarchism now color every phase of my life and I've come to realize that I wouldn't have it any other way.

FW Ellington passed away this spring.

This piece appeared previously in Kick It Over.

W.B.I.



Wobbly Bureau of Investigation

P.O. Box 7544, Santa Rosa, CA 95407 • (415) 255-1947

Instead of sitting around waiting for the FBI to solve the case of who bombed Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, some IWW members have decided to take matters into our own hands. Last week we formed the Wobbly Bureau of Investigation (WBI) and started working on the case ourselves. Besides providing physical and material support for the lawsuit and bombing investigation being conducted by Judi, Darryl, and Wobbly lawyer Bill Simpich, the WBI is helping publicize the case and shed some light on one of the prime suspects—Richard Held, San Francisco Bureau Chief of the FBI.

Richard Held is in charge of Judi and Darryl's case. He is responsible for the police cover-up of the bombing and the attempt to frame Judi and Darryl for it. Held was also directly involved in the frame-up of Black Panther Geronimo Pratt in 1970, the assault and frame-up of AIM

leader Leonard Peltier in 1975, and the slaughter of Puerto Rican Independista leaders Carlos Soto Arrive and Arnaldo Dario Rosada in 1978. Quite a guy, that Richard Held. With a rap sheet like this, we think he is a dangerous man to be running loose in our city. So, as our first project, the WBI will be sponsoring an educational evening for activists in San Francisco. We will have speakers from each of the groups Held has attacked—Black Panthers, American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican Independistas, and IWW/EF! Watch for an announcement of the time and place.

The WBI is outraged that there has been no serious investigation of the bombing attempt on Judi Bari's life. We demand that the FBI find the bomber and fire him! We may not have the resources that the government has, but we have a knowledge of history, and We Never Forget.

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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 internationalists or sell-out business agents.

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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.

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In November We Remember

Utahns Pay Homage to Deceased Wobbler

After 75 years, Fellow Worker Roy J. Horton finally got a gravestone in Salt Lake City. Horton, a salesman and supporter of the IWW, was shot down on the streets of Salt Lake City in October, 1915, only days before the execution of Joe Hill. Horton's assailant, H.P. Myton, a local businessman and former policeman, was initially charged with murder, but was eventually acquitted on manslaughter charges.

For Utah IWW's, the case reinforced their doubts that they could get justice in the legal system of the times. The fact that Myton, who had influence with the city's establishment, received bail so quickly, proved to them that the justice system was biased in favor of capital. The action was particularly galling because Joe Hill had been held in jail and denied bail for more than a year.

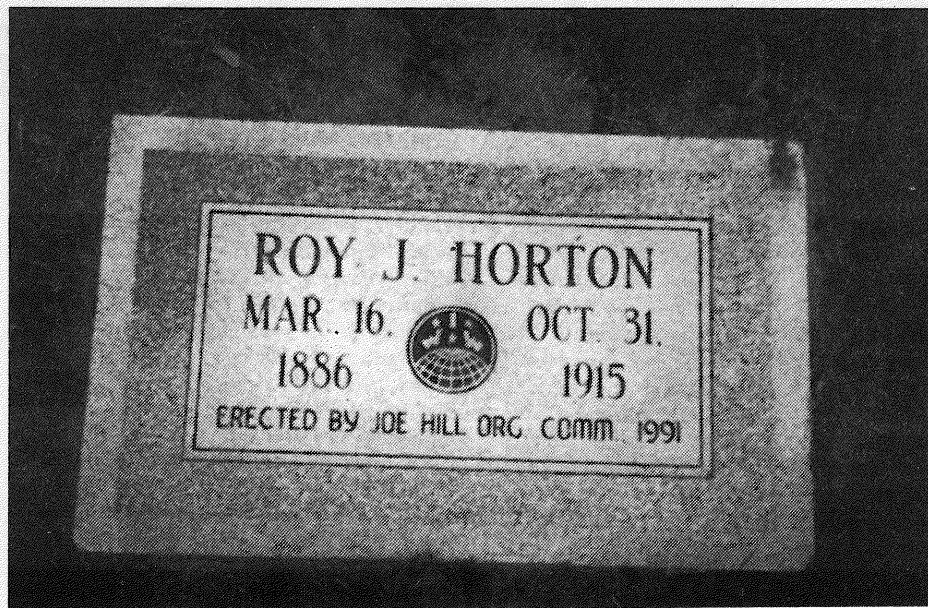
In the midst of hysteria toward Hill and the IWW created by the local press, a Wobbler funeral was held for Horton featuring a number of local members and

their supporters. Virginia Snow Stephen, an instructor at the University of Utah who would later lose her job because of championing Joe Hill's cause, called Horton's killing "murder" saying that he was an "industrial fatality" caused by the greed of the master class.

Because Horton died virtually penniless, and the defense of Joe Hill had exhausted local IWW resources, Horton was buried in a donated grave, and no funds were available for a headstone.

Over the past year, the Joe Hill Organizing Committee, a Salt Lake City group organized in 1989 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the execution of Hill, sought to remedy the situation, and at its public events the committee raised funds for a headstone.

At a ceremony held Labor Day weekend, committee members spoke of Horton's killing and the ongoing need to protect the rights of working people. Brian Barnard, a local attorney and member of the committee, told those assembled that "it is important to remember our martyrs," and never to forget that free speech and the rights of labor are not easily won, and that the



Headstone of Roy Horton

struggle for these rights often result in the loss of life.

Horton's grave was dedicated by Rev. Allan Condie Tull, a local Episcopal minister. The brief ceremony also featured musical tributes to Hill and the IWW. The event received wide press coverage in both major papers and on all

three local television stations.

The committee is planning a public meeting and vigil on November 18 to mark the 76th anniversary of Hill's execution, and to focus attention on the importance of protecting the rights of working people. Such a commemoration will be an annual event.

Farewell FW McMillen

FW Patrick McMillen died in March at Nopeming Nursing Home, near Duluth, at the age of 95. FW McMillen joined the IWW as a teenager in 1908. He sailed around the world working as a cook, passing out Wobbly literature in the ports he visited.

Pat was well known for his humor and his sharp political mind. He often referred to senior citizens as "senile citizens" because of their unwillingness, as he perceived it, to stand up to the politicians and be counted on issues that affect their lives. He referred to City Hall as the "steal mill" and had arranged to have his

ashes dumped on the lawn in front of the Duluth "steal mill."

Pat was born in Dublin, Ireland, or so he had been told by his parents, but there are no records to substantiate this. He and six brothers and sisters left the Old Country and were living in Duluth, Minnesota and all points in and around the Midwest by the time he was five. His dad was a track builder for the railroad so they moved often. Pat said that in those days boys became men quickly, and at the age of 13 he left home for good, hopping a train to Seattle, Washington, where he then shipped out to sea,

the beginning of a lifelong pursuit that ultimately brought him back to Duluth 48 years later.

Pat was a true Wob, and believed so much in the IWW that he had the IWW globe tattooed across his chest. "Conditions force me to believe," he said in an interview, "that if I live to be 130 or 230 years old, I'll still believe in the principles of the Wobblies. When they say the working class and the employing class have nothing in common—goddamn it, that is as good as they day it was wrote, and it will be as good as the day it was wrote 200 years from now..."

A memorial service for FW Patrick McMillen will be held in Duluth, Minnesota, on November 19, the anniversary of Joe Hill's execution. Local 66 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has offered to help local Wobblies and Anarchists host the memorial. The Service will probably be at AFSCME's hall at 211 W. Second St., and will feature speakers and Wobbly folksinger John Berquist.

For more information about the memorial service, call Jack Rosenquist at (218) 724-8521.

The Making of A Radical

—Dick Ellington

Most radicals seem horrified when I say that the U.S. Army made a radical out of me, but it's true—not that the army intended it that way of course. My father was a "self-made man" who clawed his way up during the Depression from grocery clerk to a high executive position with a large grocery firm. He died suddenly when I was eight and we went very quickly from comfortable middle-class to bottom-line poverty. At 17 I had never been exposed to any radical ideas and had no aim in life. An army recruiter who was charged with filling a recruiting quota for an army technical intelligence outfit found in me an ideal candidate—high school grad, high IQ, and—mainly—"clearable" for high-level security work. There was no draft on at the time but it was obvious there soon would be so I enlisted and spent four years in the outfit, including two-and-a-half years in the Far East. Along the line I was exposed to the inner workings of the murkier side of governments up close (nothing James Bondish, mind you, just all the routine paper-pushing that makes up 99 percent of the real world of intelligence gathering). I also began to see the workings of power,

both in government and on a personal level in the army itself. Off duty my natural curiosity and a certain natural empathy drew me to the peoples of the Far East countries where I was stationed and I finally began to see how the social system worked, still without any conscious knowledge of *why* it worked that way. By the time I got out I knew I was thinking differently from most of the rest of the world but I didn't know why. Among other things, the army had taught me it was best to keep your mouth shut about weird ideas so I kept my feelings to myself.

When I was discharged I drifted around aimlessly and, in 1953 in New York, I first made contact with radical ideas. I read voraciously and nosed around various radical groups, mostly Marxists, but it quickly became obvious to me that they were simply the other side of the coin from what I was beginning to label "Capitalism." Finally, with an equally discontented friend, I drifted down to one of the Friday evening forums sponsored by the newly-formed Libertarian League and it all began to click into place. If I was a freak in my thinking, at least I had company.

Here was a whole group of people who thought pretty much the same way I did and they weren't afraid to talk about it, argue about it, write about it. They introduced me to the history and philosophy of Anarchism and within a few months I was a committed Anarchist.

The two men who founded the Libertarian League had great personal value for me. Sam Dolgoff introduced me to the IWW and shared bits of personal history with me. Russell Blackwell was the first person I'd met who had a sense of humor at least as black as my own. Both of them were incredibly patient with my continual questions and problems in sorting out all the new information I was absorbing.

I was plowing through the Anarchist "classics" with varying degrees of success but my real "bible" was *Freedom*, in those days a weekly. I read and reread every issue. The thoughtful articles all moved me and, mainly, helped me relate anarchist ideas to the modern world. By this time I was a general Jimmy Higgins with the Libertarian League, working on production of our modest publication, *Views & Comments*, and also handling our literature distribution. I

corresponded quite a bit with Lillian Wolfe at *Freedom* and finally got up enough nerve to ask her who "CW" was (most of the articles in *Freedom* in those days were simply signed with initials). "His name is Colin Ward and he is an architect," was her terse reply—Lillian wasn't one for wasting words in those days, though over the years, after I had "paid my dues" for a while, she did open up a bit, and I know she was touched when I named my daughter after Marie Louise Berneri. At any rate, I really feel that Colin Ward's writings and his editorship of *Anarchy* were what most influenced my thinking, closely followed by the writings of Philip Sansome and Vern Richards.

I suppose the hardest thing then, as I'm sure it is now for the younger comrades, is to come to some kind of terms with our ideals and our daily lives in this society. I can only say that this is a deeply personal, individual thing and no two people draw the line in the same place. I slowly came to realize that our ideas might not triumph in the foreseeable future and I had to learn to deal

continued on P. 6

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