



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ Education

★ Organization

★ Emancipation

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Tour of Duty: Letter from the Persian Gulf

The following letter was received from a Wobbly seaman currently on board a ship in the Persian Gulf.

"Speed now the day when the plains, the hills, and all the wealth thereof shall be the peoples' own, and free men shall not live as tenants of men on the Earth which Thou has given to all.

"Enable us humbly and reverently, with clean hands and hearts, to prepare ourselves for the day when we shall be Thy tenants alone; and help us become faithful keepers of one another and of The Good Earth—our home."

—Ceremony of the Land,
by H.L. Mitchell

Finally my tour of the Persian Gulf and its surrounding lands, peoples, and cultures is winding down. I estimate that I have between 30 and 45 days left. After four months so far, that seems like nothing.

I said before that here, on the other side of the world from you all, one could see truly the dirty hands of capitalism at work. From the slums of Karachi (which is virtually all slums) to the palaces of the rulers of the Emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, to the Holy Land of Saudi Arabia, where we as American merchant seamen are not even allowed ashore, under threat of machine gun fire, I have seen in action how imperialism in its earliest and truest form meshes dangerously with the industrial interests of the West and the aims of the quasi-religious monarchies of the East to the benefit of an extremely select and chosen few, and the oppression of millions.

Pakistan is a place that eludes description, because it requires so many different descriptions. A people at once open and receptive, yet under a bureaucracy so unbelievably corrupt that anything from illegal export to a traffic accident can be fixed ("No problem!") for a payment of a suitable number of rupees. The streets of Karachi are full of heroin addicts, and public buildings are falling down as contracts for repair and public assistance are granted to friends and family of the ruling party, and the work is simply never done. The same is the end product of millions of dollars of American and European aid. The harbor is clogged with ships full of grain that is sold rather than given to those in Pakistan for whom it is intended. The ruling party, and other competing interests, are not at all above the use of kidnapping, murder, and torture to ensure the success of their plans. Most labor is controlled by gangs, in whose favor one must remain if one wishes to remain working—or breathing. Naturally this situation receives tacit approval from the government, as it ensures a powerless body of labor, too much in fear of their lives to even begin to challenge their racketeer leaders.

In the rural parts of the country lawlessness is a way of life. There are routine reports of peasants being kidnapped and held for ransom, of armed "dacoits" raiding villages, burning and killing all witnesses. I asked one man, who was from the northern town of Peshawar, near the Afghan border, what it was like there, and his one-word answer was "cowboy-town." Any kind



of drug, gun, mortar, hand-held rocket, may be purchased there. Again, this instability only serves to strengthen the position of those in power, and legitimize the repressive measures taken against the population.

At the same time, the government is

embarking on a major campaign to encourage foreign investment in Pakistan. One assumes that having plundered the wealth of their own people, they are seeking greener pastures from which to

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U.C. Berkeley Recyclers Organize

by Alan Friedman

Recyclers at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) work for \$5.42 an hour, receive no benefits, recently lost their Cost of Living Allowance (COLA's) and their 15% discount at the campus bookstore, and their democratic collective structure is threatened to be replaced by a more conventional worker-management arrangement. The approximately 25 part-time, mostly student workers comprising the UCB Recycling Project have

had enough; they have joined the IWW, are in the process of attaining I.U. 620 Industrial Union Branch status, and are beginning an organizing drive against their immediate employer, Associated Students (the student government at UCB).

The recyclers have gotten the ball rolling by sending a letter to Associated Students (AS) demanding recognition as an IWW shop. Tired of hearing AS whine and moan about lack of additional funding for programs such as recycling, the recyclers are confident that collective

bargaining in the IWW vein will yield better results than any previous attempt to address their grievances.

Although employed by A.S., the University of California (UC) is also involved, for they are benefitting from the recycling program every day; they contribute nominally to the cost of the program while saving thousands of dollars on landfill space as well as boasting about their "environmental responsibility." Also, the University, not A.S., determines the future of recycling at UCB, a future that does not guarantee the exist-

tence of the unionized recyclers. For these reasons, the recyclers plan to incorporate the University into their organizing efforts.

The Recycling Project workers plan to ultimately reach a contractual agreement with both A.S. and the University that will secure higher wages and benefits as well as preserving their democratic internal structure and allow them to play a primary role in all campus-wide decision-making regarding the future of UCB's recycling. Although the UC has explored a variety of options in order to begin

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Poor Get Burned When Rich Homes Burn

The Nouveaux Homeless of Oakland

by zimya' a. toms-trend

OAKLAND, CA—The devastating Loma Prieta earthquake of October 1989, which destroyed the Cypress Freeway and many parts of Oakland, led President Bush to declare it a federal disaster area. In October, 1991 the fire in the Oakland Hills, which caused 25 deaths, 2 missing and 148 injuries, again brought FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Association) in to financially manage a major disaster. Over 1900 acres of prime real estate at a value of \$1.5 billion was consumed by the blaze, 5,000 persons were evacuated, 1,000 customers were without electricity and 5,200 were without gas. Estimates ranged from 2300 to 3400 total dwelling units destroyed.

On October 24, Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris opened a "one stop shopping" service center for fire victims. City, state, federal agencies and insurance companies facilitated paperwork while the Red Cross provided temporary shelter for the *nouveaux* homeless—differentiated from the pre-fire "regular" homeless and the thousand still homeless from the 1989 earthquake. When asked why "regular" homeless could not stay in temporary Red Cross shelters, a public affairs officer explained: "Red Cross doesn't have homeless services, but only homelessness prevention services." By mid-November the Red Cross had processed 1,795 cases which included 4,200 individuals. FEMA had processed 4,031 applications. On November 1, FEMA estimated that over 90 percent of the homeowners and ¾ of

the renters were insured, double the national average. This would reduce the financial strain for most of the victims. By mid-November the picture appeared less rosy: many one-owner homes were found to be *under-insured*. They would receive no insurance premium for *loss of use* (the full cost of rebuilding their homes at today's values) and/or no *additional living expenses* until rebuilding was complete. Furthermore, some of the one-owner homes were actually rentals or mother-in-law properties—meaning they were *under-insured* for rebuilding. Since tenants were uninsured, they could not turn to insurance companies for temporary living expenses.

Approximately 75 percent of Red Cross' caseload by October 31 were tenants. According to spokesperson Beverly Butler's mid-November figures: "... of the 1,795 cases—over 55 percent or 987 cases had no content insurance. Over 51 percent of these cases were renters. Although most homeowners had content/structural insurance, the majority of the homeowners were *under-insured* and thus would not get full value from future insurance settlements." Red Cross will continue providing clothing, food, household items for *nouveaux* homeless while the need exists.

Bill Traugh, FEMA spokesman said *under-insured* homeowners and renters may qualify for low-interest Small Business Administration loans of up to \$20,000 to replace personal property. Bank loans for homeowners of up to

\$25,000 for 90 days are set at a 6 percent fixed rate with options after 90 days of a home equity loan at a preferred rate with no points nor fees. Renter's loans are limited to \$7,500 at a 9 percent fixed rate with no points or fees. Tenants without rental insurance (many students at UC/Berkeley) claimed that because of their tight budgets and since earthquakes aren't covered by insurance, they scrimped along without any insurance. A typical renter's policy costs \$325-\$340 per year and would replace up to \$30,000 worth of goods with a \$250 deductible.

As of October 31 FEMA officials issued 60 checks to *uninsured* tenants, who may be eligible for 18 month grants averaging \$750 per month. FEMA also received 573 applications for temporary housing assistance for renters without insurance and issued 1,200 applications for SBA loans of up to \$20,000 to *under-insured* owners and renters alike. The state's individual and family grant program may be the last resort for the 243 turned down for SBA \$20,000 loans. The maximum amount of this grant is \$11,500.

Another outcome of the fire was the loss of employment by cooks, maids, gardeners and service workers because of evacuation of middle class and well to do *nouveaux* homeless in the Oakland Hills. An estimated 300 of these workers have been laid-off or lost their jobs—and are without unemployment compensation; live-in workers get no benefits when their homes and jobs have disappeared; over

100 neighborhood businesses were destroyed. Keith Carson, an aide to Congressional Rep. Ron Dellums states: "The numbers of homeless are increasing with each of these catastrophes. Each time more and more people are added to the top of the heap and the lower get pushed down further."

Resentment in "the flatlands" by Oakland's earthquake victims (many still homeless since 1989 and unpaid by FEMA) over the outpouring of aid to middle class and wealthy hill dwellers shows the actual reality of the Trickle Down Theory. Passage of Proposition 13 in the late 1980s eliminated many city and school services when property taxes were cut. In turn, this decreased manpower and adequate equipment to fight the Oakland hills fire. To add insult to injury the Oakland school districts will lose \$7 million in property tax revenues over the next 12 month period.

Although Mayor Elihu Harris has threatened to impose temporary rent controls on rent gouging, this practice continues. Oakland is more broke than ever while its hotel industry is experiencing a boom with all of Oakland's 3,000 hotel rooms filled. It's business as usual for those at the bottom as they join the growing ranks of poor and homeless in soup kitchens across the nation for their Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners or ... Trickle Down Theory in its finest hour with its fiercest face and all enigma removed for "doubting Thomases" among us.

Persian Gulf Letter

continued from p. 1

siphon their fortunes. Pakistan is a leading exporter of both raw material and manufactured goods—but profits remain high only if wages and expenses such as safe working conditions remain low. It is this atmosphere that the ministers are hoping to promote in American and throughout Europe. It is no different than our own pending agreements with Mexico and other so-called "free trade" states.

The militant attitude of the Pakistani government towards India, and vice-versa, is reaching frightening levels. Pakistan is seeking further American military aid, and all signs point to war with India very soon. The U.S. government position between Pakistan and India is something that I am not fully acquainted with, but recent discoveries of oil in the northern part of Pakistan should be something of a signal as to which way the U.S. rulers would go. Pakistan and India both possess growing amounts of nuclear technology, and India is ostensibly neutral—however, cozy relations with the Soviet Union make the fence higher and increasingly difficult to straddle. A war between Pakistan and India would be a terrible thing, yet I was told by more than one young Pakistani that "we need America—to help us go and kill India!" When I told them that if they were going to fight anyone they'd have to do it on their own, and without my personal assistance, they were not so interested in the prospect.

The western side of the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf, comprise our other area of operation for these last few months, and the difference in conditions

Letters

industrial union today is that the workers lack the consciousness to create it. Rather than pretend we can have a union without members, we who advocate revolutionary industrial unionism should combine to propagate the idea, to recruit individual workers to the revolutionary union program—the work of political education which precedes the real industrial organizing which is possible only when economic-social conditions favor it.

How about it fellow workers?

—Jeff Miller
Editor, *New Unionist*
Minneapolis, MN

Dear Editors:

I got laid off yesterday, and soon begin my working class vacation—several

and culture is dramatic, although life for workers in Arabia is not much better here than in Pakistan. Our ports of call in the U.A.E. (United Arab Emirates, a confederation of rulers, families and former bedouin tribes, turned billionaires) include Fujairah, Khor-Fakkan, Dubai, Jebel Ali, Sharjah, and in Bahrain, Mina Sultan. We terminate in Ad Damman, Saudi Arabia, and return to Fujairah. The amount of wealth that these countries possess is staggering, as is the amount of construction and industrialization going on here. What the Sheiks do not advertise, however, is that none of the labor is performed by Arabs, but by imported Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Filipinos, and other people desperate for a chance to better their lot, and that of their families, usually left behind for years at a time.

It is a system of indentured servitude, where a labor broker, or supplier, hires people in their countries, for a fee, and then arranges a two-to-four year contract which allows them to stay in the U.A.E. These people, even though some have third-generation families here, are afforded none of the rights of citizenship enjoyed by their Arab "hosts." They cannot own land; it is very difficult even in the cities for a "NRI" (Non Resident Indian) to obtain a license to own his own business, although he may be employed by an absent Arab owner to wholly run the business; it may take up to three years for an Indian or Pakistani to qualify for a driver's license; they have separate and unequal health care; and, always, even through a third generation they are subject to immediate depor-

months of glorious unemployment! I will attempt to deal with the tremendous loss of self-esteem that comes with not having to perform boring tasks at the behest of Capital. I imagine I will make it.

Every week for the last three years I have done a radio piece about U.S.-held political prisoners and POWs. I've been doing political prisoner support work since 1986 when I was organized into the work by Ray Levassuer, from his prison cell.

While I've been on the Left since my return from Viet Nam in 1969, I've never considered myself a "peace activist," and am not now, nor ever have been, a member of the "peace movement."

Which is why I am writing. I've been very impressed with Judi Bari's work from afar, and I like the IWW/EF! [con-

junction] believing quite frankly that the most dangerous political alliances are the most useful. I mean, those movements that spend their time in pure symbolism and docilely line up for arrest, confusing protest with resistance do not in the least way threaten the Empire. In fact they assist it by contributing to the illusion of opposition politics, and generally support prison for militants. ("Protest is when I say: I no longer accept this or that thing. Resistance is when I see to it that that which I no longer accept no longer occurs." —Ulrike Meinhoff, who was murdered in her cell by West German pigs.) Anyway, I was thrilled to read Judi Bari's "Why I Hate the Government" and its explicit inclusion of "non-violent" political prisoners as part of her thesis.

This climate of fear makes these workers very careful about what they say and to whom they speak. Much of

what I learned came through my own observations and lengthy conversations with the family with whom I stayed and with their friends. For some, their lot is even worse. Those newly arrived, or less educated are given brutal jobs in construction, and many Asian women are imported as "housemaids" only to find that the scope of their duties runs towards the physical satisfaction of their contractors as well.

Arabia is at once a rich and fascinating culture, and an example of the power of modern industrial wealth exerting total control over those brought to their knees to serve it. One must wonder if the common and ongoing abuses of these millions of workers would be so blandly tolerated were there not an enormous supply of petroleum under the control of these, the last of the absolute monarchs.

That is about all for this report from the front. We are about there, that is, Fujairah. I hope to get this communique off in today's mail. I am glad to hear that the convention went well, and I have a small request. I am leaving here, as I said, some time in the middle or end of November. I am planning to travel for awhile through England, Wales, and Ireland, before coming home about Christmas time. Are there any contacts in London or Dublin, or any of those other places that I am liable to wander through? If there is anyone that I could say howdy to, or have a drink with, or whatever, I'd love to ring them up. Other than that, keep up the good work, keep in touch, and I'll see you in December.

—X340152

—Chuck Winant
Friends of Political Prisoners
Madison, WI

Dear IW,

I enjoyed FW Bekken's article on the labor party's illusion; however, he failed to mention the American Labor Party and its intrepid standard bearer—Vito Marcantonio who represented Spanish Harlem in the '30s and '40s. "Marc," like his mentor Fiorello La Guardia, was a card-carrying Republican (he was known as the "Pink Pachyderm") until he was forced to form his own party. He was one of the few politicians to represent people during his several terms in Congress.

Yours for the O.B.U.,
Neal Orkin, I.U. 620, x340248

International Notes

British Syndicalists Form Education Workers Network:

As in the United States, British education workers have seen their pay eroded, class sizes increased and teachers forced into early retirement, as many working-class students have been excluded from the educational system by funding cuts. Recently workers at several northwestern colleges have organized an Independent Education Network.

A Network resolution explains that "the corruption and lack of representation within the existing Trade Unions cannot be reformed from within... Our interests lie in forging links between all workers and students in educational establishments... We believe in education as a right for all members of the community, and in the provision of education that meets the needs of the community. People have the right and the ability to define those needs themselves. This is one of the principal aspects of our organization: self-management. Running things for ourselves by ourselves."

When the University of London closed an adult education center in South East London in July, staff and users occupied the premises to operate a free, democratic summer school. The occupation is demanding the reinstatement of the fired staff and a public inquiry into the closure; the University has taken legal action to repossess the building. But the occupiers have arranged to move to a new site next door. Meanwhile, the Despatch Industry Workers Union (founded by British syndicalists) is calling on couriers and messengers to resist speed-ups. Many firms have cut rates in response to the recession, forcing couriers to work harder for less money. The union suggests quicky strikes, as firms promise immediate delivery to their customers and are poorly positioned to hold out against industrial action. (from *Direct Action* #72, #74)

South African Unionist Convicted:

Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and two other COSATU leaders were recently convicted of kidnapping an undercover policeman caught spying on people visiting COSATU offices. When the policeman was discovered last year, they held him for more than five hours for questioning and presented him to a news conference denouncing the police surveillance.

In early November a COSATU-called two-day general strike, paralyzed the country in protest of a recent tax scheme which hits workers particularly hard. It was the most successful general strike in South African history, supported by more than three-fourths of the country's largely black work force.

Dutch Bosses Attack Disabled Workers:

Our Dutch comrades inform us that the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat parties (the coalition government) are cutting the number of workers eligible for benefits under the work disability law, which presently covers workers

unable to work for any reason. Most of the one million workers presently receiving disability benefits are actually unemployed. (Four million people receive social benefit payments of some sort.) The government also announced that it will reduce the minimum wage for workers under 23 years of age in order to reduce unemployment. Despite government austerity plans, the Social-Democrat union federation FNV (the country's largest) continues to demand a four-day work week.

Rotterdam dockworkers mounted several short strikes in June and July, after voting down a proposed contract that did not keep up with inflation and called for work-rule changes. Railroad workers shut down trains May 14th in Leeuwarden to protest the killing of a train guard a few days before. But these, and many other, strikes have been largely defeated because of high unemployment and the threat of moving jobs to other European Economic Community countries.

Soviet Syndicalists:

March 1991 congress called for an economy based upon self-managed, collectively-owned workplaces competing with each other in a socialist marketplace. The KAS rejects private property because it tends toward monopolization (and imposes inherently authoritarian relations upon workers), but sees economic planning as intrinsically bureaucratic. Thus, the KAS has turned to market socialism in search of an economic system where a minority cannot control society through dominating economic structures. (Those with more experience with market economies, of course, might question the soundness of this proposal.)

The KAS has more than 500 members in nearly 60 Soviet cities, and Supreme Soviet President Anatoly Lukyanov has warned that anarchists must be taken seriously. As Soviet leaders impose market-capitalism, characterized by mass unemployment and higher prices, workers are responding with a massive strike wave. Much of this activity is coordinated through the independent Confederation of Labor—uniting unions, strike committees and workers' clubs from several different political tendencies. KAS activists are quite active in the Confederation, their own "Resistance" union having floundered, and operate its national information service (including weekly bulletins and radio broadcasts). (from *Freedom*)

Two members of the Moscow Union of Anarchists, A. Radionov and A. Kuznetsov, were scheduled for trial November 19 on charges of "bandit armed action" stemming from a demonstration when they were arrested for resisting a beating by plainclothes policemen. They were released from prison in late October after more than seven months.

British Ecologists Seize Tourism Office:

Seven Earth First! activists occupied the Malaysian Tourist Board office in London October 7th in solidarity with 31 Dayak people facing prosecution for

product at each stage from the initial production to the final sale.

Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of COSATU, said more than 3.5 million South Africans had joined the strike and described it as "a devastating vote of no confidence in this government."

The COSATU issued a statement: "The success of the general strike shows decisively that this government has no legitimacy to take decisions on behalf of the people of this country on any issue."

The action put an economic squeeze on South Africa for two days and caused difficulties for white business owners. The government estimated that there was an \$800 million loss to the economy.

Although President Frederik de Klerk and police officials accused strikers of using intimidation tactics, they failed to provide specific evidence of such



participating in blockades to defend their rainforest homelands. The Dayak face possible sentences of two years imprisonment and a M\$6,000 fine.

The Malaysian government has been levelling rainforests in order to sell timber on world markets. The Tourist Board is simultaneously urging tourists to visit the surviving rainforests. A Malaysian and South Korean timber consortium, Barama, was recently licensed to log more than four million acres of rainforest in Guyana's North-West and Mazaruni districts beginning in 1993. The Malaysian partner is the major timber exporter in the province of Sarawak. Since 1987, native peoples have repeatedly built barricades across the company's roads to prevent the logging, which is undermining their forest-based livelihoods and environment. The Guyanese government is expanding logging operations in an attempt to create jobs and foreign trade. (information from PeaceNet)

Australian Unionists Call One-Day Strike:

The New South Wales Labor Council unanimously called a one-day strike October 23rd to protest the government's Industrial Relations Bill, which they say represents a dog-eat-dog mentality.

Bangladesh Garment Workers Locked Out:

800 garment workers were locked-out Oct. 21 by Comtrade Apparels Ltd., a subsidiary of Bangladesh conglomerate Beximco. Comtrade makes shirts, pants and underwear for export to the U.S., Korea, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Japan and India. Ten workers were fired in March for demanding wage increases, but got their jobs back after a two-week sit-down strike. Workers stayed home October 17th to honor a religious holiday, and then demanded reinstatement of 30 supervisors fired for not reporting to work. Factory managers assaulted women workers at the plant October 20th, and filed criminal charges against 17 workers.

Workers were locked-out the next day, and their work has been subcontracted to other companies. They are demanding an impartial investigation into the October 20th incident, withdrawal of all charges, reopening of the factory and reinstatement of the fired supervisors. They ask that letters be sent to Salmen Rahman, Director, Beximco Corporate Headquarters, 17 Dhanmondi R/A, Road No. 2, Dhaka-1205; Mirza Golam Hafiz, Minister for Law & Justice, Bangladesh Secretariat, Dhaka-1000; and Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan, Minister of Labour & Manpower, at the same address. (Committee of Asian Women, 57 Peking Rd. 4/F, Kowloon, Hong Kong)

CNT-AIT Strikes Olive Harvest:

The Spanish National Confederation of Labor (CNT-AIT) earlier this year won a strike by Andalusian agricultural "journaleros"—casual workers hired by the day. The strike, also supported by the independent union of agricultural workers (SOC) and the communist-dominated Workers Commissions (CCOO), had the support of 90 percent of the province's agricultural workers. Workers demanded a 33 percent pay hike, a 36 hour work week, and an end to employment discrimination against women workers. (*Direct Action* #74)

Protest Lands Cabbies in Jail:

Five organizers of an Oct. 1 demonstration by Chinese taxi drivers protesting the high proportion of their fares taken by Urumqi city officials have been sentenced to labor camps for one to three years. Other participants were imprisoned for 15 days. "They seriously blocked up traffic, harming social order and the people's normal lives," according to a government report.

—*International Committee*

Teachers' Union Uses New Tactics:

Striking teachers in Bethlehem, PA, are fighting the bosses with new tactics. Rather than using the traditional walkout, the Bethlehem Education Association, the bargaining unit for the district's 800 teachers, has been using the "selective strike," which has proven to be an ingenious strategy for driving the bosses crazy. In the first week of the strike, the teachers struck on Monday and Tuesday, reported for work Wednesday, struck again on Thursday, and reported for work on Friday. By using this strategy, the teachers have prevented the hiring of scab labor to take their places during the strike, and allow themselves to collect two or three days' pay each week, reducing demand on the union's strike fund. The "on-again, off-again" strike has also forced administrators and school officials who haven't done an honest day's work in years to staff the classrooms while the teachers are out.

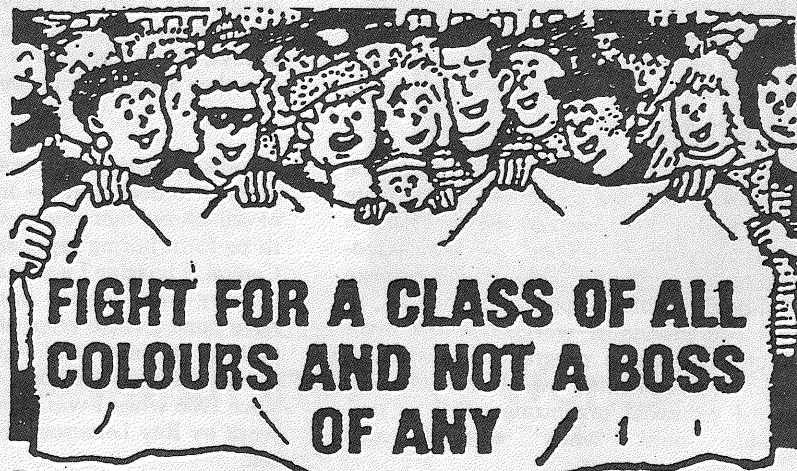
Writers Union Demands Back Pay:

The National Writers Union is seeking support in its efforts to get the "socialist" weekly *In These Times* to pay their past due obligations to writers. Although the Union granted the paper a contract allowing special concessions, such as allowing delayed payment (with notice) during "fiscal emergencies," ITT management has repeatedly promised to pay writers and then withheld money without explanation.

General Strike in South Africa

On November 4th and 5th a nationwide strike, described as the biggest in the country's history, paralyzed factories and businesses in South Africa as several million Black workers stayed home to protest the government's recent imposition of a value-added tax. The strike was called by the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions which demanded that the government consult them before making any changes in economic policy. Also joining the ANC and COSATU were the Pan-Africanist Congress, the National Congress of Trade Unions, and the Azanian People's Organization.

Strike organizers object to the present tax because it does not exempt the basics: food, medical care, utilities. The 10% value-added tax, which replaced the 13% sales tax, imposes a 10% charge on a



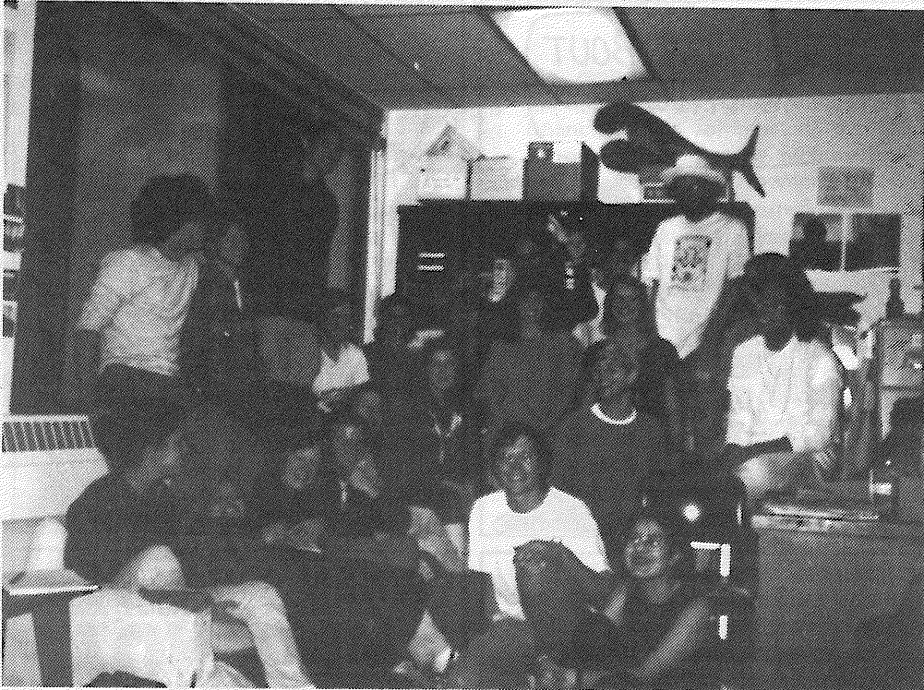
occurrences. Except for scattered incidents of violence, by and large the second day of the strike was peaceful.

One interesting aspect of the strike was that it was viewed as a test of tactics that the ANC and other Black political and labor groups may use against the government during future negotiations for ratifying a new constitution. Also, as one of

the most effective protests taken, the strike could be a major influence and exercise in solidarity for the opposition following October's agreement by Black groups to set aside differences and fight the government together.

—*Dave Collins*

From Around the Union



U.C.B. Recyclers smile for the camera

Denver, CO

Greetings fellow Wobs from this lovely "Right to work state." The month of November had two important anniversary dates in Labor history here in Colorado: the 74th anniversary of the Ludlow massacre and the 64th year since the Columbine massacre. Let us remember the miners who gave their lives in struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

The Denver GMB has begun to explore ways we may help Ancient Forest Rescue in the struggle against Stone Container's imminent logging of ancient timber at Sand Bench, in the San Juan National

Bethlehem Teachers

Striking teachers in Bethlehem, PA, are fighting the bosses with new tactics. Rather than using the traditional walk-out, the Bethlehem Education Association, the bargaining unit for the district's 800 teachers, has been using the "selective strike," which has proven to be an ingenious strategy for driving the bosses crazy. In the first week of the strike, the teachers struck on Monday and Tuesday, reported for work Wednesday, struck again on Thursday, and reported for work on Friday. By using this strategy, the teachers have prevented the hiring of scab labor to take their places during the strike, and have allowed themselves to collect two or three days' pay each week, reducing demand on the union's strike fund. The "on-again, off-again" strike has also forced administrators and school officials who haven't done an honest day's work in years to staff the classrooms while the teachers are out.

Other options which had been discussed by the BEA included calling out the teachers in only a certain grade level, only during a certain time of day, or only at certain school buildings within the district. The school administration responded to this talk with a pledge that they would consider any such selective strike as a full strike, and would close the remaining classes for the day.

The following Monday, the school management got to put its money where its mouth is. The union called for a selective strike against the two senior high school buildings in the district. The administration promptly closed classes in the entire district. The BEA responded by having its teachers report for work anyway, where they were met by administration officials and told to go home.

The teachers and the district are deadlocked over two issues. The BEA is demanding pay and benefit parity with the surrounding school district, some of which pay their teachers as much as 50% a year more than Bethlehem. Also, the teachers are objecting to a provision that teachers cannot receive a raise unless they are subjected to an evaluation and are given a "satisfactory rating." Since there is no teacher input in these evaluations, this decision will be made entirely by the school district's management. The teachers' union demanded that BEA representatives be allowed to participate

Forest near Pagosa Springs. **BOYCOTT STONE CONTAINER PRODUCTS!!!**

Denver Wobs also began to plan 1992 May Day activities. We hope to have John McCuchen give a concert. Also of note locally was the recent election at IBEW Local 2300. The incumbent president lost, so he took a job in management at the local ATT plant where the workers he used to represent are employed. Bureaucratic unionism at its best? HA HA!!

In solidarity,
Woody Hildebrandt, x340101

in this process. When the district refused, the BEA hit the bricks.

Because the union's tactics have been so effective it is not surprising that they have met with vociferous condemnation. School district officials have charged that the teachers are showing "a lack of concern for their students." One local newspaper editorial page proclaimed "Bethlehem Teachers' Ploy Abuses the Right to Strike"; another declared, "Selective Strike Hurts Everyone." A group of "concerned taxpayers" gathered near the picket line waving signs and hissing at the strikers, instead of doing something useful and fighting for tax reform and free day care centers.

Anti-labor state legislators are already looking to "reform" Pennsylvania's Act 195, which gives teachers the legal right to strike. State legislators have introduced a package of bills that would mandate binding arbitration for public employees based on management's last offer, assert that citizens have "a basic right to government services uninterrupted by labor strikes and lockouts," and require a majority vote of all employees within a bargaining unit for a strike to be authorized. Another bill would simply repeal Act 195 and make it illegal for any public employees to strike. While it is doubtful that any of these bills will pass, they are indicative of the anti-labor atmosphere in the state of Pennsylvania.

From the beginning, local Wobblies pledged to help the strikers. On the first day of the strike, one local Wob stopped by the picket line, dropped off a couple of bottles of soda, and chatted for a while. A week later, several members of the Lehigh Valley IWW group walked the picket line to show solidarity with the teachers of the Bethlehem school district. The "Flying Column Wobbly Band" performed for a while, and Wobs spent a good deal of time talking with the teachers about strike tactics and worker solidarity. The teachers were glad to hear that there were still real live Wobblies around, and the exchange of information and viewpoints benefitted both parties. More importantly, the message got out to the workers in the area that, when the chips are down, they can count on the support of the IWW.

—X341341

Berkeley, CA

continued from p. 1

recycling the legal minimum of 25% of its wastestream by 1995, as mandated by California State Assembly Bill 939, little progress has been made toward this end. The University seems more interested in adopting a campus-wide "negative sort" materials recovery program (or hauling garbage to a site where recyclable material can be picked out of the garbage and recycled) rather than expanding the already efficient Recycling Project's "positive sort" or "source separation" program (where recyclables are separated prior to becoming garbage). The negative sort system is far less desirable and efficient because it would free the consumer from any responsibility toward his/her waste and necessitate a great deal of labor to a materials recovery facility. Although a combination of these two programs may effectively meet the campus' needs, an environmentally desirable source-separation program should be expanded, not shortsightedly replaced.

Moreover, the recyclers plan to expose the University's profiteering from the Project. Although the UC annually subsidizes less than one fifth of the Recycling

Project's budget (Chancellor's contribution minus University vehicle rental costs), their aloof attitude suggests that the recyclers should feel privileged to receive any funding whatsoever. The recyclers disagree. Considering that landfill costs have nearly doubled in the last year, the Recycling Project saved the University close to \$17,000 in the 1990-91 fiscal year. If the University refuses to listen to the demands of the recyclers, perhaps they can expect the recycling barrels in the administrative offices at Sproul Hall to begin overflowing. If need be, perhaps they can expect to see the barrels' contents mysteriously spread about the building during the night. They tend to tip over so easily...it must've been the wind.

If you wish to contact the ASUC Recycling Project, please send your questions, feedback, or bits of environmental humor to:

ASUC Recycling Project
620 Eshleman Hall
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94704
telephone: (510) 540-6453

Lehigh Valley, PA

The Lehigh Valley GMB is continuing its fight against the incineration of toxic hazardous waste at Keystone Cement and ESSROC Materials. The LV Wobs have joined the Lehigh Valley Coalition for a Safe Environment (LV CASE), an umbrella organization of local environmental and community groups which opposes toxic incineration.

On October 17, Pennsylvania Governor Bob Casey was in the area, and the Wobs were waiting. At a "town meeting," Casey was grilled by several people, including a Fellow Worker, on his stand on the incineration of toxic hazardous waste in Pennsylvania's cement kilns. While Pennsylvania needs a toxic disposal capacity of 75,000 tons per year, Casey has allowed the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources (DER) to consider permits to incinerate over 375,000 tons per year, thus turning Pennsylvania into a dumping group for toxic waste from the entire East Coast. Casey had to field so many questions about haz-waste incineration that the moderator had to cut the questioners off.

Earlier that afternoon, representatives of LV CASE gave similar treatment to DER head Arthur Davis. When the DER was considering tightening up the standards under which cement plants are allowed to burn toxics, the Keystone Cement Company secretly met with the DER and complained that the new standards would cut into their profits and put them out of business. The DER obligingly declined to toughen the standards. Davis denied that the DER had cut a deal with Keystone, despite being shown copies of relevant documents.

The next day, a group of demonstrators from LV CASE, Greenpeace, Clean Water Action and the Lehigh Valley Wobs gathered in front of the building where Casey was giving a press conference. The demonstrators passed out leaflets that attacked Casey's inaction on the haz-waste issue and his willingness to protect the cement companies. Demonstrators carried signs that read, "Pennsylvania—America Burns Here," "Need Toxics? Call 1-800-CASEY," and "Keystone and ESSROC—Sham Recyclers; DER—Sham Regulators." Several protesters wore filter masks and anti-contamination suits to dramatize their point.

A Fellow Worker and several other demonstrators attempted to set up a bed outside the building to symbolize the fact that Casey's DER and the cement industries are firmly in bed together. The plan was foiled, however, when the police told us that the bed was a "barricade" and would not be tolerated. Things got touchy for a few moments, but finally the protesters decided to move the bed across the street, where it was placed atop a station wagon belonging to one of the demonstrators.

The Lehigh Valley Wobs have interested an increasing number of ESSROC workers in the fight, and are working very closely with a number of rank-and-file militants inside the plant. The workers have not gotten a contract

for nine years and have not had a raise in six. Some of the workers have been carrying on a quiet sabotage battle—breaking machinery, taking a long time to do the simplest things, etc.—but this has been on an unorganized, individual basis. It was pointed out to the workers that a coordinated, well-planned campaign might bring better results. Demonstrations outside the plant are being planned by LV CASE, and the Wobs are attempting to arrange a solidarity action inside the plant—perhaps a "quickie strike" or a "sick-in"—to build solidarity between the workers and the surrounding community.

The ESSROC workers have not gotten any support so far from their AFL-CIO Paperworkers Union bureaucrats. While they appreciate the help from the Wobs and enthusiastically support our actions, they have not yet lost complete faith in their union pie-cards. None of the ESSROC workers has yet taken the plunge and taken out a red card. But this fight is just beginning. As the AFL-CIO continues to let them twist in the wind, we are confident that the ESSROC workers will turn more and more to the alternative being offered to them by the IWW.

—X341341

Washington Square Park

by Mike Ballard

Workers, misfits, neurotics unite
in the park
to watch and be watched
while a homeless man
holding Santa-sized plastic sacks
delivers invective
to the camped, encamped, and decamping
sparing neither old nor young
of either sex
none of them rich
some darker, some white
some sunning themselves
like cold dry lizards
each in their turn
caught in the moist web
of his demented soliloquy
trying not to pay attention
to the pain
trying to enjoy
their anonymous community
as pigeons fly 'round mowed green grass
and gulls peck through trash
blowing between statues to the dead
the man's speech meets the smiling breath
of blind drunk winos
winos snoring
jobless begging
people talking
none of them rich
some of them scared
trying
trying not to show it
frightened at the prospect
of his approach
fearing themselves
about to be
contaminated by his misfortune
while others be thinking
'bout madness, 'bout violent possibility
thinking hard
'bout this 'rithmetic of misery.

Beat The Boss: Life in Messenger Hell

No one can work at every single messenger company, but you might be curious about what life is like on the other side. With this in mind, we bring you this lovingly compiled piece to illustrate what working at ProMess is like and what you may be missing out on...

When I quit ProMess, I told Larry that his sexual innuendos had made me uncomfortable to the point of not feeling like working. I repeated that I didn't like being treated unfairly. After 3 months of coming in every day early and working hard, I had seen newer and flashier male messengers being given radios and more tags. Larry looked hurt and surprised. "Me? I was just joking." For a minute I wondered, was I crazy? How could he not know what I was talking about? Then I remembered calling in—"This is '79—have you got any tags?"

"Well...what are you doing this weekend?"

"I'm busy, my friend's coming to visit."

"Call back in 20 minutes."

How frustrated and angry I was!

And I remembered one of the few times I had a radio, having it "checked" when it was already clipped to my Zo bag strap, between my breasts that is, and other humiliations I endured, and recalled hearing from other women messengers there that they were treated the same way—no, I wasn't crazy. I rode away, happy to be leaving.

One day I accidentally called ProMess' number. Unaware of my error, I asked for Wheels. "Wheels? Wheels?" asked a confused voice.

I recognized Larry's voice. "Oh, hi Larry, sorry, I called the wrong number."

"Oh yeah? You quit 'cause of me, didn't you?"

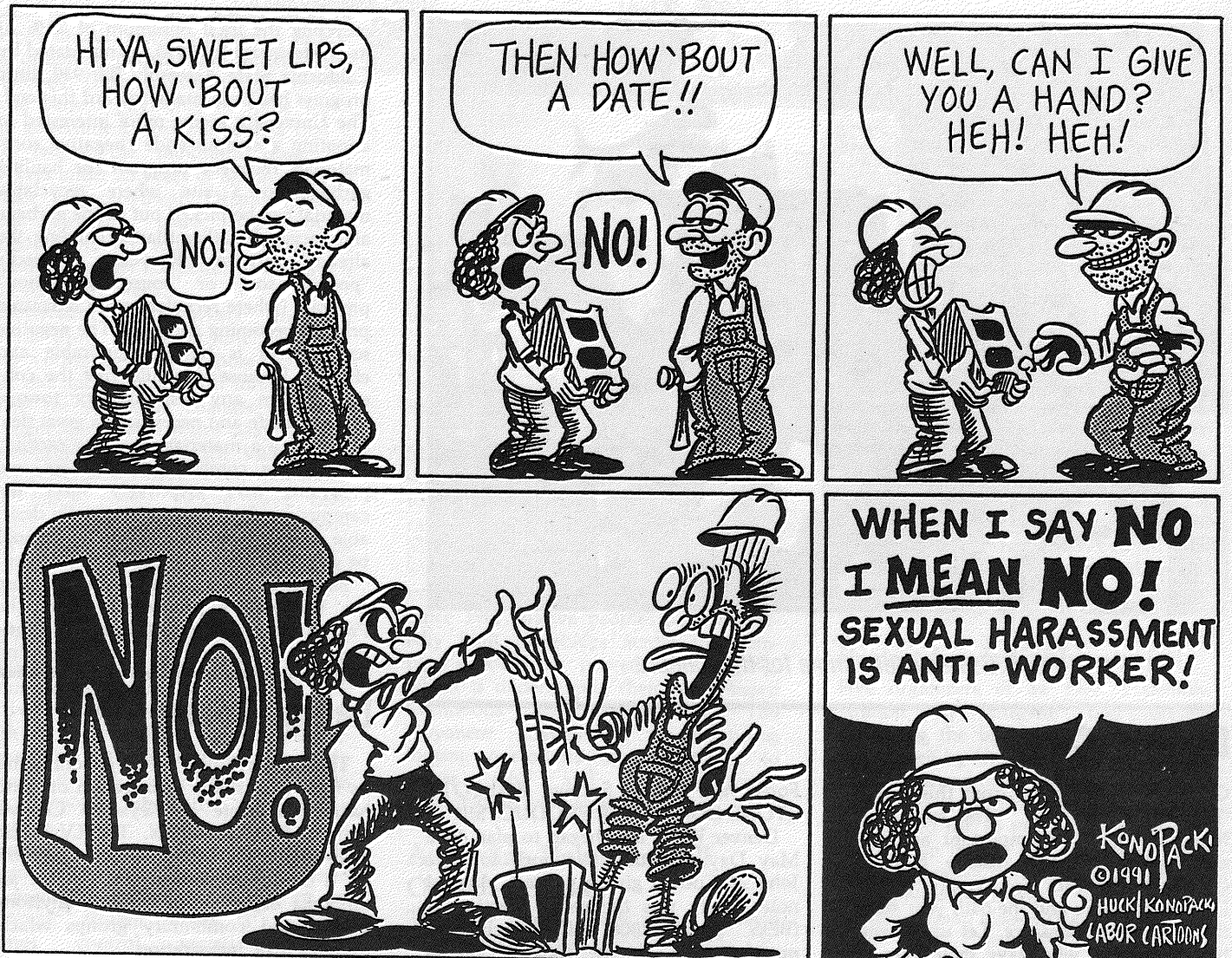
"I told you I did."

"But now that we're not working buddies anymore, we can be real good friends."

As my 13-year-old sister and her friends would say, Eegadz.

If you're a woman messenger you will be continually and persistently sexually harassed, physically, mentally and emotionally. The only positive thing to be said is that Larry does not discriminate, all female messengers are subject to this treatment on a daily basis. Complaints to the company will be denied, and you're likely to end up with Larry disregarding you and continuing the harassment.

If you're a woman messenger and you find yourself unable on a given day to come to work and face the harassment, Larry will write you up... If you're hit by a car, no-one in the office will ask if you're OK, their first concern is to get any packages off of you... Larry will continually say he's not hiring new messengers, and that he has not hired any, but you will continually see new ProMess messengers... If you complain to the company about the harassment, low pay, improper and illegal withholdings, etc., you will be terminated the first chance, the first pretext they can find... Also, remember that when you begin work at ProMess, no matter what



they tell you, you will be surrendering your integrity for the duration.

If you sign in at a security desk under a humorous alias such as Mickey Mouse or A. Hitler, you will be fired without a warning. However you need not worry for your job when you nail a pedestrian (as long as they're not a client), even if they require hospitalization.

At ProMess, the client is always right, no matter how they screw up and lie and the messenger is always wrong.

When I worked at ProMess, I actually liked it. For a week everything went fine (except for my fight with the guards at One Bush). Then, on the Wednesday after I was hired, Leery told me Joel the owner didn't like my eyebrow ring. He said I couldn't work until I took it out. I thought that was bullshit and said so many times.

I was willing to work out a compromise, like brush my bangs over the offending piece of jewelry or wear a band-aid or whatever. But I was stunned to discover Joel wouldn't talk to me. He was either too spineless to do his own dirtywork or too overwhelmed by his own ego to converse with a lowly messenger. Deb, the part-owner (the woman who put PMS in Professional Messenger Service), would only tell me, "This is between you and Leery."

The owners threw this arbitrary ultimatum at me, after all, they wouldn't let me work with an eyebrow ring but my

nose ring was just fine. I thought the owners didn't have a clue, and meant to prove that to them. So I printed up a survey and took it to a variety of ProMess's accounts. After hearing my tale of woe—that I didn't look "clean" enough to be a messenger—almost all clients I went to agreed the whole situation was thoroughly ridiculous. One person stated she disliked my eyebrow ring, but as the manager of North Star Publishing pointed out, Deb wasn't incredibly pleasant to look at herself.

Anyway, I presented my survey to Deb. She read it, then blew up. "I don't care if every single one of our clients says the same thing, company policy is company policy," she declared, in a fiery blast.

I never got fired but I can't work at ProMess as long as I sport an eyebrow ring. Leery told me I was "playing the fool" but the truth is if I wanted to accept arbitrary restrictions and kiss-up to deluded authorities, I'd go to fucking college and get some lame \$100,000 a year office job. As a messenger, I don't make enough money or have any kind of security or prestige to make me inclined to compromise myself—in the end, all I have is my integrity.

Now that you are familiar with the wonderful world of ProMess, let's continue this tour of messenger companies with Aero Special Delivery next issue. Feel free to send in your

personal accounts of being an Aerohead. The people we'd most like to hear from are those that have quit or been fired in such a way that they will never be able to work there again, since they won't be in fear of offending the company.

Rather than merely ragging on the company, the goal is to bring to light some of the less savory practices of management so that maybe, hope against hope, they will change their ways. Meanwhile, in case ProMess has some bored lawyers, all of the above is merely opinion and conjecture, of course.

Reprinted from *Mercury Rising*, a new San Francisco publication by and for bike messengers.

BIKE MESSENGERS' PRAYER

Our mother who art in the cosmos
Goddess of bike messengers be thy name
Thy package come
Thy tags be done
In SOMA as in the financial district.
Give us this day our daily hotshots
And forgive us our near misses
As we forgive those who nearly miss us
Lead us not into opening car doors
But deliver us over slippery manhole covers
For ours is the sunshine
And the parties
And the affection of our dispatchers
Forever and ever
Yippee.

U.K. Messengers Organize

Let's Get Organised!

Many people write to the union when they are having problems with the bosses, asking how they can improve pay and conditions and what the Union can do to help. The Union is always happy to oblige, but the best defence against the bosses is to be prepared in advanced—and that means getting organised. This doesn't have to be some great master plan which will take up all your spare time, but three simple steps:

1. Talk to people at your company who you can trust, to gauge their opinions. You'll probably be surprised at how many are thinking the same way as you.

2. Just set a time, date and place where you can get together. This doesn't have to be too formal; the local pub will do. By getting together you can decide on the main issues that need tackling at work.

3. To help you get started, drop a line to the union, or phone us up in advance, telling us what you're doing and we'll send someone down to your meeting.



The IWW is also working with messengers in Toronto, San Francisco, and elsewhere. See the directory on p. 2 for the nearest contact.



Despatch Industry Workers
Union
489 Kingsland Road
London E8 4AU
Tel: 071-249 6930

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 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.

In The Spirit of Crazy Horse

A Book Review

IN THE SPIRIT OF CRAZY HORSE
by Peter Matthiessen; The Viking Press;
Pub. May 21, 1991; \$25.00

Reviewed by Penny Skillman

The initial 1983 publication of Peter Matthiessen's *In The Spirit of Crazy Horse* by Viking Press initiated a lawsuit by one of the subjects of the book, former South Dakota Governor William Janklow. A libel suit by FBI agent David Price followed later. In early 1983 ex-Governor Janklow phoned Viking and several South Dakota bookstores threatening them with massive lawsuits, succeeding in intimidating some bookstores into removing the book from their shelves. Viking and Matthiessen fought the suits for over seven years and finally the South Dakota and U.S. Supreme Courts ruled in their favor, thus ending one of the most expensive, longest and, in some observers' opinion, most important libel cases in modern publishing history. Martin Garbus, attorney for Viking and Matthiessen, explains in a new afterword to this edition why the legal battles over this book are so important in the present climate of actual and potential censorship. A second addition to this new 645 page printing is an epilogue by author Peter Matthiessen in which he reports on two interviews he conducted with a man who claims to have been the actual killer of the two FBI agents, who along with an AIM activist were casualties of a shootout at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

Reading this monument, I found at times it was hard to believe it wasn't a fictional account of the 1800's Indian wars. The primary plot revolves around American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Leonard Peltier's conviction for the murder of two FBI agents during a free-for-all shootout on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on June 26, 1975. But it's rife with sub-plots involving FBI intrigue and paranoia-induced brutality.

Since this is a story that can be understood only in the light of past Indian-government relationships, Matthiessen, National Book Award winner for *The Snow Leopard* in 1978,

begins with a history of the "old" Indian wars, of government-propped goon squad politics on Pine Ridge, and of the founding of the American Indian Movement in the late 1960's. One's senses are assaulted by the gratuitous violence, racism and near colonialist conflicts with Pine Ridge inhabitants who, the author points out early on, view the FBI as merely an historical extension of Custer's Seventh Cavalry.

Thus, by the time we are served up the story of the day of the death of the two FBI agents, our sensitivities are numbed rather than shocked, for death on the early '70s Pine Ridge Reservation apparently was nearly as commonplace as Wheaties were for breakfast. Matthiessen notes, for example, that in March of 1975, three months prior to the shootout, at least seven people, two of them children, perished in AIM-goon warfare.

According to this book, the background and epilogue to the June shootout includes the following tragic endings:

- Jancita Eagle Deer is found dead on a lonely reservation road within 90 days after testifying in a Rosebud Reservation Tribal Court that William Janklow, then South Dakota's deputy attorney general and now governor, had raped her when she was 15 on an occasion when she was babysitting for him. Three days after the Tribal Court finds Janklow guilty, he is elected Attorney General. (Later extradition struggles of AIM leader Dennis Banks were probably not coincidental to the fact that he acted as prosecuting attorney in this Tribal Court case.)

- Raymond Yellow Thunder is "captured" by two white men who burn him with cigarets, force him to guzzle beer and then stomp him to death in the snow. Reservation inhabitants request the help of AIM when they can't get local law enforcement to take action. Wesley Bad Heart Bull is then knifed to death by two white men, who are later let loose to brag about the incident.

- In February of 1976, AIM activist Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, after threats to her life by the FBI—who are accused of having spread the rumor that she is an informant—and after threats to her life by Indians, who think she may be an FBI informer, is found dead beside a deserted reservation road. A pathologist on

intimate terms with the government who does the first autopsy concludes that she died from exposure. No X-rays are taken and her hands are then chopped off and sent to Washington for fingerprinting. Her body is later exhumed.

The second, politically neutral pathologist notes a hole in the back of her neck and merely by passing his hands over her temple locates a bullet obviously lodged there. The first pathologist protests somewhat like this: What's all the fuss about anyway, it's just another case of a fallen-down drunk Indian death by violence isn't it?

The Indians accuse the FBI of killing Anna Mae in retaliation for the two agents' death; they suggest her hands were chopped off to prevent identification. The FBI accused the Indians of having killed her. AIM makes the accusation that her murder is simply another example of a FBI coverup meant to destroy AIM leadership. And so on. Meanwhile, the case of Anna Mae Aquash's murder remains—as do many of those involving reservation deaths—unsolved.

On the fateful day of June 26, 1975, two FBI agents followed a vehicle onto the Pine Ridge Reservation, stopping below a ridge where AIM activists were encamped. Shooting broke out. The agents were wounded from afar, then shot again at close range, while a large group of back-up agents and reservation police were trying to pinpoint their location. The deaths inspired the biggest manhunt in history, the author says. In the agents' car were found FBI-supplied maps describing "bunkers" near the AIM camp. These "bunkers" turned out to be root cellars and horse shelters, a fact which defense attorneys afterwards argued was significant in explaining how the agents had been psyched by the FBI to shoot first and ask questions later.

Two of the men involved in the shootout were acquitted in July, 1976, in a trial in which the defense was allowed to portray the atmosphere of dread, fear and wanton violence permeating Pine Ridge in the early '70s, and the outright manipulation of witnesses by the FBI. Thus, the government, the author speculates, put its all into Leonard Peltier's later trial because they saw it as a final chance to convict someone of the

murders. He was found guilty and given two consecutive life sentences.

Matthiessen presents new evidence, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, which suggests that Leonard Peltier may well be innocent of those murders. He also suggests some real reasons for the FBI's ferocious attempts to subvert the American Indian Movement in the first place. As occurred in Custer's day, riches have been discovered "in them thar hills," in the form of uranium and other minerals. Simultaneously, Matthiessen asserts, the Indians of the Dakotas have come to see that their survival as a people is closely tied to their fight for sovereignty in their Dakota-Wyoming homelands and their need to return to a traditional culture, central to which is the inviolability of the land.

Matthiessen's account suggests that the government is dedicated to protecting corporate interests and their expansion of mining and nuclear power operations on Indian treaty lands. There is also the suggestion that the government may have been aware of the mineral wealth on these Indian treaty lands long before the general public knew about it. AIM, the author suggests, was a "target" organization if only because of its avowed support of Indian sovereignty and the struggle to protect the Black Hills area from being reopened to mining interests.

One factor stands out in Matthiessen's painstaking account: Apparently little has changed over the last century in the way the government views or deals with Native Americans—and perhaps present attitudes are convenient for similar reasons. The catechism of almost medieval social interactions between government agencies and Indians almost makes the fact that Leonard Peltier may be languishing in prison, innocent of the murders of which he was convicted, seem matter-of-course.

A bright spot is that the author succeeds in shedding some light on a violence-ridden, sordid chain of events seemingly born of social policies which have their origins in the barbaric aggressions of 19th century capital.

Das Klan

—Dave Collins

In recent months, immigrants in Germany have come under vicious attack by neo-Nazi skinheads and other fascist elements. These right wing extremists are seeking to drive out the immigrants and others they deem "socially inferior." In some cases, entire populations of immigrants have been "relocated" from towns to immigrant centers by the state for their own "protection." However, this has not deterred the assailants, who have engaged in more than 200 attacks on building in which immigrants live.

Most of the immigrants whose homes were attacked are seeking political asylum and/or economic opportunity in Germany. They come from many places: Yugoslavia, Albania, Turkey, Sri Lanka, and many African nations. Many are fleeing ethnic violence, civil war, and/or political persecution in their homelands.

The assailants in these attacks believe

that there is no more room in Germany for foreigners and the asylum-seekers should be sent back to their home countries. The bigotry has recently taken an ugly and all-too-familiar turn.

In a forest clearing near Berlin a few weeks ago, a giant cross was set afire as several dozen spectators in white robes and hoods cheered and shouted racist slogans. The demonstrators were German, but the organizer was Dennis Mahon, a prominent Ku Klux Klan leader from Oklahoma who was in Germany to build links between the Klan and neo-Nazi groups.

Harald Spiegel, a German television reporter present at the cross-burning, said that Mahon has quite a following. "These young German kids were looking to Mahon as a guru. They want his advice on how to get rid of foreigners in Germany."

While no evidence has publicly surfaced that the KKK planned any of the recent attacks, its presence has raised concern that it could play a role in future

violence.

Although Mahon's visit was the first known contact between German and foreign white supremacists since the current wave of violence began, the Klan appears to have been active there for several months.

On April 27, in a march in the town of Herford, neo-Nazis carried Klan literature in German, including leaflets calling 1991 "102JdF." The police said JdF was an abbreviation for "Jahr des Fuhrers," or Year of the Fuhrer, noting that Hitler was born 102 years ago, in 1889. Klan leaflets were also found on a 19-year-old youth who was arrested last month in Neuenrade after an attack on a center in which Bulgarian, Turkish, and Albanian refugees live. A publication read by German skinheads, *Endsieg* ("Final Victory"), recently carried an ad for a video documentary entitled, "Ku Klux Klan and Skins in the USA."

Mahon, meanwhile, is the editor of *White Beret*, a KKK hate sheet based in Oklahoma. Referring to KKK actions in

Germany, a recent issue stated that, "the Empire of the White Knights of the Ku Klux of Germany is very active in fighting...there."

Danny Welch, director of Klan Watch, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, described Mahon as a "dangerous person." Welch said that "some of [Mahon's] writings are some of the most violent rhetoric we have ever seen."

As a footnote to this story, on November 4, two eastern German cities banned neo-Nazi marches intended to mark next weekend's anniversary of "Kristallnacht," the 1938 attack on Jewish businesses and synagogues. The Free Workers Party had planned a Nazi-style torchlight parade in Leipzig for that Saturday, and the National Democratic Party had scheduled a rally in Halle. The decision to ban the marches came as a result of the recent attacks and fire-bombings against immigrants and others. The Leipzig and Halle rallies had loomed as potentially major incidents in the current epidemic of violence.

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