



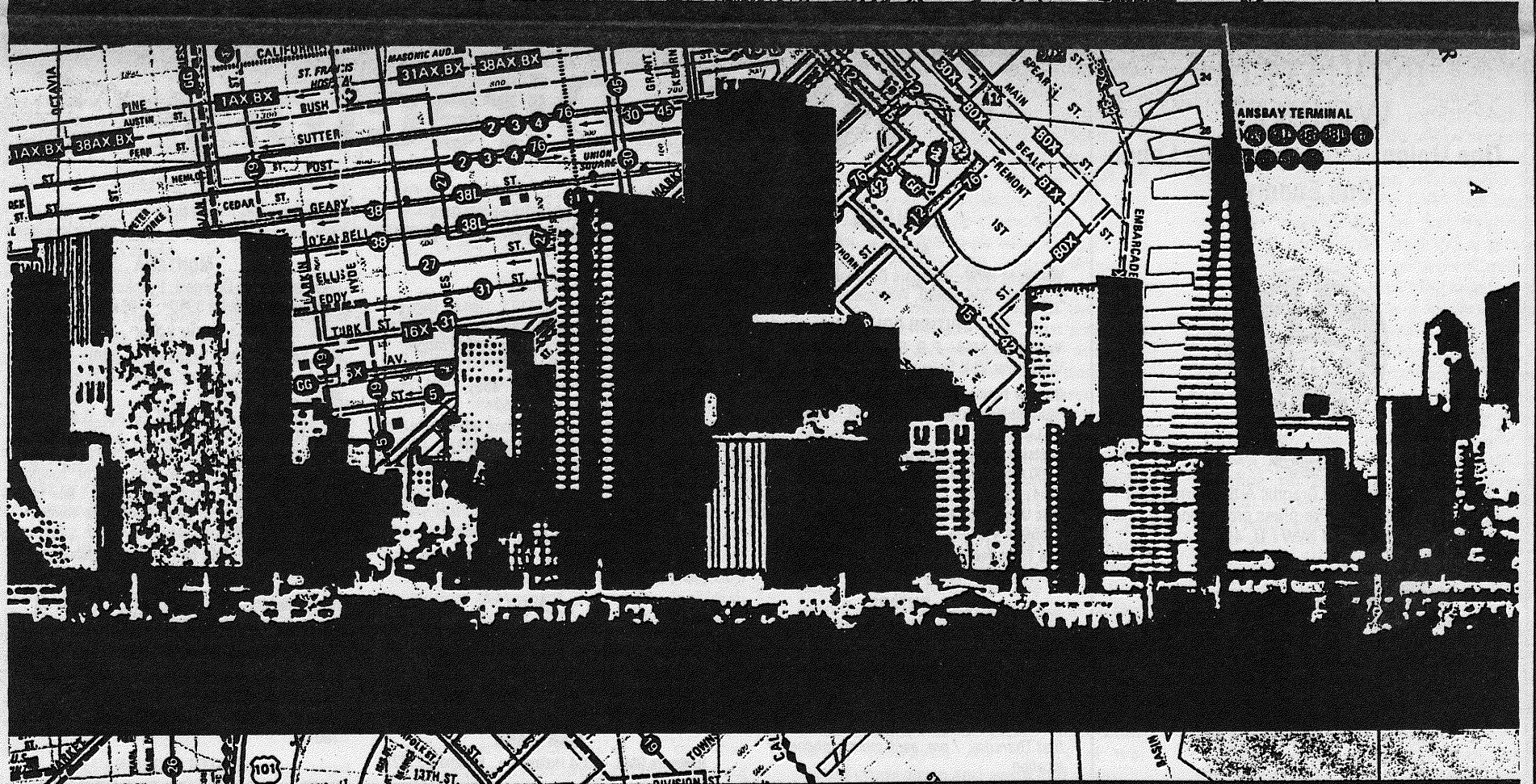
INDUSTRIAL WORKER

March 1991

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GENERAL STRIKE!



The General Strike as Anti-War Tactic

Industrial Worker
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Nuclear Testing and the Gulf War

Dealing with the FBI & Infiltrators

What's Your Opinion?

Dear Reader,

The Bay Area Editorial Collective would like to solicit the opinion of the IW's readership on a topic that is sure to be controversial. Many of us here feel that the name of our paper, *The Industrial Worker*, handicaps our ability to reach the larger audience we could potentially attract. Because of the unfortunate connotations the word "industrial" has acquired in the last thirty years, we feel that our paper's masthead may be driving away readers who would otherwise appreciate our message.

WE know that "industrial" refers to our form of organization; that "industrial unionism" is how we distinguish ourselves from the pro-business trade union movement; that a worker's industry could as easily be health care as steel. WE know that the word was never intended to indicate a fetish for factories or an endorsement of toxic manufacturing methods. But to the average reader who first sees our paper, the "Industrial Worker" may often connote smokestacks and coal smelters, or at best some sort of stodgy marxist materialism.

This is especially unfortunate considering our recent role at the cutting edge of a growing coalition between environmentalists and labor. Our work with Earth First! last year on the Redwood Summer campaign, and our strong position in the recycling industry, easily put to rest any misconception people may have about our union's position on ecological issues. But if readers can't get past the cover to find the stories inside, then we need to seriously reconsider how we present ourselves to the public. This newspaper is our primary form of outreach, and so its name is of utmost importance.

Therefore, we present for your consideration some other possible names for the paper. This list is by no means inclusive, and we welcome other suggestions. If you think that changing the name would be a

big mistake, we want to know that too. We will respect the will of our readers and abide by the results of this survey.

Check one:

- I am a member in good standing
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I like the following name(s):

- Wildcat
 Wobbly
 Strike
 Intelligent Worker
 Sitdown
 Other (specify)
 Leave it as the *Industrial Worker*

If there is a consensus to change the name, we will do so with the May issue this year. This means we need to have your feedback by the second week of April at the latest. Send all surveys to the IW Collective at 1095 Market St., Suite 204, San Francisco, CA 94103. Or give us a call at (415) 863-9627.

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Express Yourself!

Don't leave the writing of the *Industrial Worker* to just us usual editorial flacks. It's your paper. Help write for it. There must be all types of things happening in your shop, office, union or community. Our readers would like to hear about it.

Safety problems? Speedup? Firings? Layoffs? Sexist, racist or homophobic harassment? A slave-driving foreman or supe? Union contract issues? Strikes? What's happening in your union?

What are you and your fellow workers doing about all these issues? Slow-downs? Walkouts? Confronting the boss as a group? Straightening out problems of sexism, racism, of homophobia among your own work mates? How do your fellow workers feel about the Persian Gulf War? Are they involved in anti-war activities? What's happening in your community in resistance against the war?

Write reports on these issues in your own language and send them in to us.

They don't need to be in fancy "journalist." Plain talk is best.

Also, if you are in a traditional business union, send us copies of your union publications when you're through with them. Often these papers contain information we might otherwise miss.

We're a rank and file-run union. This same spirit should be reflected in the editorial contributions to the *Industrial Worker*.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

One Union One Label
 One Enemy



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IWW Directory

CANADA

ALBERTA

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

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver GMB—P.O. Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver V5N 5K5

Gleaner Publications Job Branch (I.U. 450)—Student Union, 100 W. 49th Ave., Vancouver V5Y 2Z9

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Mac Underground Pacific Job Branch (I.U. 450)—6591A Victoria, Vancouver V5P 3X8

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Ottawa IWW—P.O. Box 4773, Station E, Ottawa K1F 5H9, (613) 231-4392

Toronto GMB—26A Oxford St., 2nd Floor, Toronto M5T 1N9, (416) 972-6293. Meetings first Thursday, 7 pm, each month, phone for location

Blackbird Design Collective Job Branch (I.U. 450)—394 Euclide Ave., Rm. 301, Toronto, M6G 2F9, (416) 972-6293

AUSTRALIA

Jura Books—110 Chrystal St., Petersham, Sydney

UNITED STATES

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

CALIFORNIA

IWW Delegate—Dorice McDaniels, Los Angeles, (213) 679-2570

San Diego IWW—Box 191224, San Diego 92119

San Francisco/Bay Area GMB—1095 Market St., Room 204, San Francisco 94103, (415) 863-WOBS

East Bay IWW Delegate—Richard Ellington, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609, (415) 658-0293

Berkeley Recycling Center Job Branch (I.U. 670)—c/o Steven Rodriguez, 4156 Howe Street, Oakland 94611

IWW Local 1/Mendocino/Humboldt GMB—c/o Stenberg, 254 Wall Street, Fort Bragg 95437 (707) 961-0302

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P&L Printing Job Branch (I.U. 450), 2998 Clay, Denver 80211, (303) 433-1852

IWW Delegates—Cliff Sundstrom, 910 E. 8th Ave. #202, Denver 80218, (303) 832-7602. G. Austin Brown, 1178 Elati, Denver 80204, (303) 595-8320. Dave Frazer, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474, (303) 258-3732.

GEORGIA

Atlanta IWW—Box 54766, Atlanta 30308-0766, (404) 378-5542

ILLINOIS

Chicago GMB—3435 N. Sheffield, Rm. 202, Chicago 60657, (312) 549-5045. Meetings, first Friday, 7:30 pm, each month.

Champaign/Urbana IWW—Box 2824, Champaign 61820

MARYLAND

Baltimore GMB—1054 Hollins Ave., Baltimore 21223

MICHIGAN

Southeast Michigan GMB—400 W. Washington, Room 2B, Ann Arbor, 48103, (313) 995-1422

Ann Arbor Tenants' Union (I.U. 670)—4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor 48109, (313) 763-6876

People's Warehouse Branch (I.U. 660)—727 W. Ellsworth, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 769-8629

IWW Delegates—Geoff Kroepel, 2617 West Ellsworth, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 769-8629.

Michael Kozura, 2237 Shadowood, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 973-9102

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Minneapolis/St. Paul GMB—Box 2391, Loop Stn., Minneapolis 55402, (612) 339-5002

IWW Delegate—Chris Shillock

MISSOURI

IWW Local 2/Mississippi Valley GMB—P.O. Box 63223, St. Louis 63104

IWW Delegates—Rose Ritter, St. Louis, (314) 773-4708. Steve Taylor, St. Louis, (314) 776-3390

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NEW YORK

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New York GMB—P.O. Box 1147M, Bayshore 11706

OHIO

IWW Delegate—John Perotti #167712, Box 56, Lebanon 45036-0056

PENNSYLVANIA

IWW Delegate—David Griggs, Rd. 1, Box 96H, Bechtelsville 19505

Bethlehem IWW—P.O. Box 55, Bethlehem, PA 18012

SOUTH CAROLINA

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

TEXAS

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UTAH

IWW—2010 S. 300 East #3, Salt Lake City 84115, (801) 485-1969

VIRGINIA

IWW Delegate—Keith Preston, 1108 W. Grace #10, Richmond 23220

WASHINGTON

Bellingham GMB—Box 1386, Bellingham 98227

Tacoma/Olympia GMB & GDC Local 4—2115 Sheridan, Tacoma 98405

WISCONSIN

Madison GMB—Box 2605, Madison 53701, (608) 251-1937 or 249-4287

Lakeside Press Job Branch (I.U. 450)—1301 Williamson, Madison 53701

The General Strike:

Is It an Effective Anti-War Tactic?

The night the war began 20,000 people filled the streets of San Francisco to express their outrage and pain. Except for the arranging of a meeting place at the Powell Street cable-car turnaround, the ensuing march and the route it took were mostly spontaneous. The march zig-zagged through the poorest areas of the city, gathering participants as it went. It ended up with thousands of people blocking traffic on the Bay Bridge. It was incredibly inspiring to see the crowd rush up the ramp of the bridge. It felt like "Yes! Maybe we can stop this war!"

The mainstream media communicated no sense of this, instead saying that only 5000 people had marched, focusing its eyes and cameras on the few random acts of property damage which inevitably occur when emotions run so high.

The day after the war began business pretty much went on as it usually does (in spite of the thousands of General Strike fliers posted throughout the city calling on people to stay home). Some no doubt did stay home, and thousands more hit the streets to try and stop "business as usual." Freeways and intersections were blocked, the Federal Building was successfully blockaded for most of the day and the Pacific Stock Exchange was shut down. In order to allow "normal" life to continue, the police beat and maced people and 1600 were arrested (the largest number of people arrested in San Francisco since the General Strike of 1934). Again the media underestimated the number of participants and focused their attention on those things most likely to alienate the average person.

The huge marches on the 19th and 26th of January, which drew approximately a quarter of a million people each, and which were completely peaceful, received very little mainstream media coverage and that coverage included significantly lower crowd estimates.

It seems that with this sort of obviously biased media coverage even these massive demonstrations of anti-war sentiment can do little to stop this war. By the time they even come close to having the desired effect the U.S. could very well be finishing up a "mopping up" campaign in Baghdad. Nevertheless, the liberal anti-war organizers, labor and religious leaders encourage us to be patient and to keep marching on. By our example of peaceful and orderly demonstrations we can shift public opinion. Then, and only then, will our elected officials listen and use their legislative powers to stop the war. But...how many deaths in the meantime? How many deaths are already occurring daily in the streets of America as we beg our "leaders" to do something about unemployment, poverty, homelessness? The Equal Rights Amendment still hasn't been passed! How many more years of oppression for minorities and women and the wholesale destruction of our planet before something is done?

In desperation we turn to isolated acts of direct action and civil disobedience: blockades of traffic arteries, weapons depots, corporate headquarters and government facilities. We are promptly maced, beaten and arrested so that *business as usual* may continue uninterrupted. In San Francisco some government officials tell us that all the money going to police protection (of government facilities) will have to be taken from much-needed social services, a cynical and perverse form of blackmail. In spite of all of our efforts the Machine grinds on, oiled by the blood of soldiers, innocent civilians, workers and the poor.

As long as we allow business to continue as usual, the war and social problems will not go away. As long as the owners of this nation continue to make billions of dollars off of our labor (while we pick up the tab for the devastating side effects) little will change. But what if we refused to add to their already enormous coffers? It would be heretical and un-American for government officials to make legislation antithetical to the interests of the rich (political careers would be ruined), but if we withdrew our labor, big business would beg the government to do



something, in this case *stop the war*. To continue the war would no longer be profitable. As long as business as usual continues, the government has little interest in stopping this slick, high-tech, "clean" war, especially since most Americans supposedly support it.

The General Strike has often been used as a tool for correcting injustices in the workplace, but it is also a powerful political tool, because "whatever the political forms of economic conditions, they are built on invasive authority, on monopoly, on the exploitation of labor" (from *What Is Communist Anarchism?*, by Alexander Berkman, currently available in abbreviated form from Freedom Press as *The ABC of Anarchism*). One of the finer definitions of the General Strike as a political tool can be found in the book *Call to Action: a Handbook for Ecology Peace and Justice* (edited by Brad Erickson, San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1990):

"A general strike (is one) in which all workers are called upon to strike in order to massively non-cooperate with an unacceptable government, halt its functioning and defy its authority over the populace."

This definition obviously takes into consideration the inextricable relationship between political and economic power (there is no definition of "general strike" in Webster's Dictionary). While other forms of protest are often ignored or made to look foolish by the mainstream media or stopped by police action, economic sabotage would have more immediate effects. What if even a small percentage of the workers in this country called in sick on a given day? There were at least 250,000 people at each of the January rallies in San Francisco. What if even that many San Francisco workers called in sick on a particular day? People can be forced off the streets, but they can't be forced to go to work (or to again quote Berkman: "You can shoot people to death, but you can't shoot them to work.") Couple this mass sick day with a massive consumer boycott and withdrawal of money from bank accounts and other forms of economic sabotage. Sure, the results might not be immediate, but it would scare the hell out of the rich and will send a strong message to the government that the anti-war movement *means business*. As the idea catches on and more and more people start becoming discontent with the war and the government that got us into it, it will become ever more feasible to organize larger and more sustainable General Strikes to stop this senseless war.

The idea of a General Strike as an effective anti-war tactic is rapidly catching on among activists in the San Francisco Bay Area. Fliers calling for a general strike the day after the war began had been posted since November. It has now become a major topic of discussion among activists at demonstrations, actions, meetings and even over beers at local bars. "General Strike" appeared spray painted over walls and freeway overpasses the night the war started. A local TV station even announced the

strike, as did two radio stations, but with a disclaimer that three of the "endorsers" (the SF Central Labor Council and two city Supervisors) *did not* endorse the strike. Many saddened and angry people did not go to work the next day (and some who did couldn't get anything done anyway), but most did go.

The idea of a General Strike was becoming so popular that a week later local Wobblies and other activists arranged a meeting place, set a date and printed up announcements for a General Strike meeting. Most of the fliers were handed out at the massive January 26th mobilization and were received with at least some interest. Many more of the announcements were wheatpasted throughout the city and some were handed out at a meeting of trade unionists against the war.

The first open General Strike meeting was a success, with as many as 70 people in attendance and a number of activist groups represented. Though no specific tactics or timetable was approved by the group, there was a consensus that we should publicize the meetings, contact anti-war activists and other groups and approach them with the idea of a general strike. Work is underway to develop literature in the form of fliers and pamphlets and fundraisers are being planned to finance the printing of this literature and other group projects.

—Bill Dunham

Web Survey

The January 26th demonstration against the war was heavily attended in San Francisco. San Francisco's very wide four-laned Market Street was completely choked with demonstrators who moved in a two mile procession through the financial district to the Civic Center, taking two hours to get there.

The signs, banners and chants were a great tribute to the creativity of working people against the war. Some of the ones I like best were the wickedly humorous attacks on Bush and his minions, such as the one displaying a row of photographs taken of corporate TV's top news anchors with the identifying name "Bush" under each of them. There was a leaflet that had the word "lies" coming out of Bush's mouth. And then there was the placard which read: "Following George Bush into battle is like following Neil Bush into a bank."

Hussein didn't do too well with the marching public either. In fact, nobody I spoke with or saw had a good word for any of the cretins at the helms of any of the various states involved in the slaughter. Instead, demonstrating workers from all walks of life vented their mutual disgust for this war, and especially the combined governments' decisions to spill the blood of our brothers and sisters in the Middle East in yet another conflict to promote ruling class domination and capitalist profits.

Scattered among those demonstra-

tors were Wobblies and other activists who passed out thousands of announcements concerning a meeting to discuss the question of organizing a general strike. I was among those handing out these fliers and, at various times, sampled opinions on the subject of a general strike. It was my experience that a clear majority of the people I spoke with would be in favor of calling a general strike. What was even more interesting was the fact that almost all of them were more or less instinctively aware of their power as a member of the producing class, especially when their imaginations were stimulated with the possibility of an all-around work stoppage, in this case designed to achieve a definite political goal.

The answers below represent a fair sampling of the prevailing sentiments of those who participated in what was described to them as a "Wobbly survey for the Industrial Worker."

The Survey question: "Do you think it would be effective for people to organize a general strike as a way to demand an end to the current war?"

Ayesha, employed as a researcher: "It would depend on the size; how many people we got out. I think it's a good idea. It would take a lot of organizing to reach out broadly to get enough people to do it."

Barbara, film maker and photographer: "I do think that strikes are effective tools of civil disobedience. I would participate in something like that and encourage other people to do the same, and if I heard it was really happening, I would be behind you."

Dave, employed as a carpenter: "No!"

Daniel, Greenpeace worker: "Yeah, I think it was really effective when we had one in British Columbia. But, you really have to be careful of who you place your trust in, because we were sold out in a backroom deal. We had a really effective general strike that shut down the entire province. It was mainly over a restrained budget and axing of the Human Rights Commission, those types of things. We had massive support behind us and we were sold out, we were sold out by the union leaders who made a backroom deal with the politicians. I think (we were sold out) because it was so effective. The union leaders weren't prepared to actually take over power from the government and I think it was so effective that it freaked them out."

Toni, student and campus worker: "I do support a general strike, because I think that that's a very positive way of showing the world that things don't go as normal when significant things are happening in the world like this, we have to stop things and say, hey, we can't let this continue."

Ashleigh, hospital worker: "I think it would be an effective measure, especially if all work stopped that way, no money, nothing could get done. If we just staged it for one day, that would draw attention to what we feel about the war."

—Mike Ballard

Rivers of Blood, Oceans of Tears...

We were on the razor's edge of the ruling class war in the Persian Gulf when the January and February issues of the *Industrial Worker* were published. As you read this first issue published in San Francisco, this new crime against civilization rages in full fury. It's pure blood and gore, thinly sanitized by the Orwellian manipulation of the media which completely panders to the official pronouncements of the government and military.

Bush's order to start the bombing drew an enormous outburst of mass protest throughout the U.S. and the world. Needless to say, true to our proud anti-war heritage, Wobblies everywhere have been in the thick of these demonstrations.

Events are moving so fast that most things we say about ongoing developments become obsolete before they leave our typewriters. But the following propositions ring true, whatever the case:

1. It's a ruling class war. There are no good guys. No good over evil. It's a war

servicing the predatory interests of varying factions of the world's ruling classes, for which the workers and the poor on both sides shed their blood. Bush's condemnation of Saddam Hussein's criminal attack on Kuwait serves as a flimsy pretext for the current onslaught, the true purpose of which is to establish U.S. capitalism as the dominant force in controlling the post-Cold War economy for the profit of the rich. Hussein and the Iraqi ruling class are trying to do the same thing on a regional level.

2. The workers and the poor on both sides are paying the price of that war. It's the sons and daughters of the working class who have their lives at stake. The US military is made up of the children of the poor. Forty percent are people of color. There are few Rambo's among them. Most are there because the waning capitalist economy and its attendant racism have starved them out of making a decent living or furthering their education. So they joined to gain the dubious opportunities and "security" they thought

military life might offer them. Again, the Iraqis, predominantly agricultural workers, are being sacrificed for the military and political ambitions of their ruling clique.

3. Nationalism and religion provide the governing powers an obfuscatory cloak to disguise the basic assumptions cited above. The centuries-old emotional pull of nationalism and all its flag-waving rhetoric has a powerful hold on large segments of the masses, both within and without the military. It blinds people to their actual class and interests. Bush and Hussein and their adherents know this and manipulate it to the hilt. The English essayist Ben Johnson was never more right: "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

Both ruling powers invoke that other powerful irrational factor in the lives of millions which holds them in thrall: religion. Hussein calls his a holy war in rallying the Muslim faithful to engage in that "mother of all battles" to smite the Western Satan. Meanwhile, George Bush

who pulled the trigger that fired off Operation Desert Storm, now hypocritically calls for "National prayers for peace." Yea-saying preachers in thousands of pulpits pray for Saddam Hussein to come to his senses and quit. Never a thought of applying the same supplication to George Bush.

The role of IWW members and like-minded people in the workplace, the community and the anti-war movement is to propose that we support no state involved in this conflict and to indicate its class nature. We have no quarrel with the masses of any country, it is their capitalist ruling classes, here and elsewhere, who are the enemies of peace and humanity. We must advance a position which calls on the working classes in all affected countries to refuse to fight and to go on strike against their genocidal rulers. It's not our war.

—Harry Siitonen

Dealing with Infiltrators, the Police & FBI

1. Check out the authenticity of any disturbing letter, rumor, phone call, or other communication before acting on it. Ask the supposed source if he or she is responsible.

2. Keep records of any incidents which appear to be government inspired. Evaluate your response and report your experiences to the Movement Support Network (212-614-6422) and the National Lawyers Guild.

3. Deal openly and honestly with the differences within our movements (race, gender, class, age, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, physical limitations, etc.) before the FBI and the police can exploit them.

4. Don't try to expose a suspect agent or informer without solid proof. Purges based on mere suspicion only help the FBI and police create distrust and paranoia. It generally works better to criticize what a disruptive person says and does without speculating as to why.

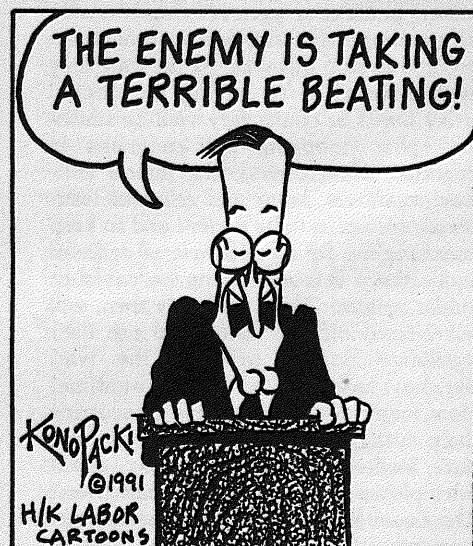
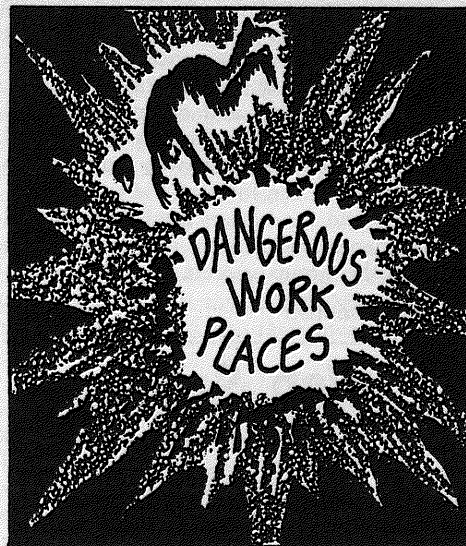
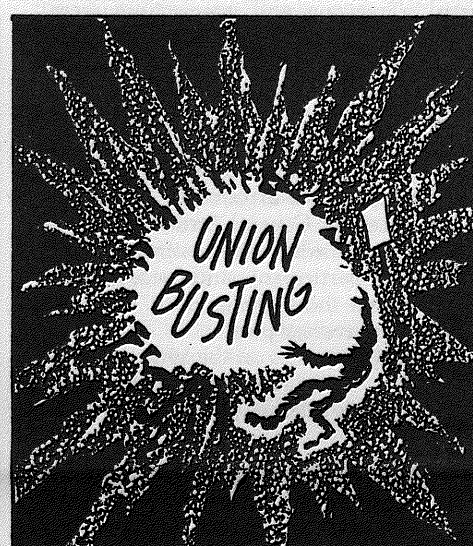
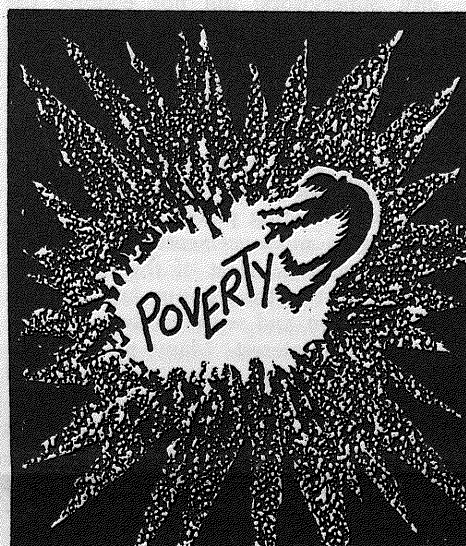
5. Support all movement activists who come under attack. Don't be put off by political slander, such as attempts to smear some militant opponents of the government as "terrorists." Organize public opposition to all FBI witchhunts, grand jury subpoenas, political trials, and other forms of government harassment.

6. Cultivate relationships with sympathetic journalists who seem willing to investigate and publicize domestic covert operations. Let them know when you are harassed. Since the FBI and police thrive on secrecy, public exposure can undermine their ability to subvert our work.

7. Don't try to tough it out alone. Don't let others become isolated. Make sure that activists who are under extreme stress get the help they need (someone to talk with, rest, therapy, etc.) It is crucial that we build support networks and take care of each other.

8. Don't carry address books, friends' phone numbers, sensitive political documents, etc., to demonstrations; especially if you are risking arrest. They may be confiscated by the police. Don't bring illegal weapons or drugs to demonstrations.

9. Above all, don't let our movements be diverted from their main political goals. Our most powerful weapon against repression is effective political organizing around issues which directly affect people's lives.



(The above is from *War at Home* by Brian Glick, South End Press, 116 Randolph St., Boston, MA 02115)

Just Say No to Police & FBI

1. You do not have to talk to FBI agents, the Police or any investigators. You do not have to talk to them on the street, at your office, if you've been arrested, or even if you're in jail. Only a judge has the legal authority to order you to answer questions.

2. You do not have to let the FBI or police into your home or office unless they have a search or arrest warrant. Demand to see the warrant. The warrant must specifically describe the place to be searched and the things to be seized.

3. If they do present a warrant, you do not have to tell them anything other than your name and address. You have a right to observe what they do. You should take written notes of what they do, their names, badge numbers, and what agency they're from. Have your friends who are present act as witnesses.

4. If the police or FBI try to question you or try to enter your home without a warrant, just say no. The police are very

skilled at getting information from people, so attempting to outwit them is very risky. You can never tell how a seemingly harmless piece of information can harm you or someone else.

5. Anything you say to an FBI agent or cop may be used against you or other people. Once you've been arrested, you cannot talk your way out of it. Don't try to engage the cops in dialogue or respond to their accusations.

6. You do not have to reveal your HIV status to the police, jail personnel or FBI. If you are charged with interfering with an officer by biting, scratching, spitting, or transferring any bodily fluids on a cop, a judge may order that you take a blood test and your HIV status may be revealed to others. If you've been arrested, you should refuse to take a blood test until you've been brought before a judge and have a lawyer.

7. You have the right to make three telephone calls if you've been arrested on state charges and booked into jail. Within three hours of your arrest, you have a right to free local calls to a lawyer, a bail bondsman, and a friend or relative. Demand your right to make these calls.

8. Lying to an FBI agent or other Federal Investigator is a crime.

9. The FBI may threaten you with a Grand Jury subpoena if you don't talk to them. They may give you a subpoena anyway, so anything you tell them may permit them to ask you more detailed questions later. You may also have legal grounds to refuse to answer questions before a grand jury. If you are given a grand jury subpoena, you should call a lawyer immediately or contact the National Lawyers Guild. You should also tell movement groups and friends about the subpoena, and discuss with them how to respond. Do not try to deal with it alone.

10. If you are nervous about simply refusing to talk, you may find it easier to tell them to contact your lawyer. Once a lawyer is involved, the FBI usually back off because they have lost the power to intimidate.

Demonstrations Committee
National Lawyers Guild
558 Capp Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 285-5066



Bethlehem Wobs rally for peace.

Around the Union . . .

Bethlehem, PA

The new Wobbly group in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, got off to a rousing start on January 12. The Lehigh Valley IWW joined with a coalition of peace, environmental and community action groups from the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton area to co-sponsor a "Parade and Rally for Peace in the Middle East." The theme for the demonstration was "No Blood for Oil" and "Money for Human Needs, Not for War." About 300 people paraded through the streets of Bethlehem, and then gathered for two hours of speeches, songs and consciousness raising.

Most Wobblies have probably heard of Allentown and Bethlehem from the song by Billy Joel, describing the unemployment lines in a city wracked by plant shutdowns and economic dislocation. The Mack Truck plant in Allentown packed up and left for the sunny "Right to Work" South, and the Bethlehem Steel plants in the area seem to be on the verge of doing the same. Believe it, this area is every bit as bad as the song says it is. Maybe worse.

The area cries out for a militant labor voice, but the Steelworkers and the Auto-workers refused to get involved. The Lehigh Valley IWW was determined to speak out on local issues. As FW Farmarz Farbod said, "I feel that we needed to be there because no other group was attempting to link working class issues with George Bush and company's war designs. It is time we clearly state who benefits and who loses." A leaflet prepared by the Wobblies stated, "Workers need jobs, schools, housing and health care, not a war to protect oil profits." The IWW believes the good fight is here in our own communities and our own workplaces."

In an address to the rally, FW Lenny Flank, Jr. noted that one of George Bush's justifications for military action in the Gulf is to "protect American jobs." "This is ironic," Flank said, "since it comes from the same people who have, over the past ten years, waged a relentless war against working people in this country and around the world." Flank concluded by saying, "Workers have only one enemy, only one opponent against whom all of our efforts must be directed. We have no interests in common with this enemy. We will not fight to protect him or his profits. To the rich bosses, the Industrial Workers of the World say, 'Hell no, we won't go; we won't die for Texaco.'"

A photo of placard-waving Wobblies appeared on the front page of a local newspaper, and some 250 leaflets were passed out. FW Jeff Kelly points out, "Many old-time activists were happy to see the Wobs active again in this neck of the woods. Younger participants were eager to learn more about us and some even asked to join on the spot."

The Wobblies are here in the Lehigh Valley to stay. FW Kelly says, "I think that the time is right for the IWW to have a presence not only here but everywhere. The issues we cared about years ago are still relevant today." FW Farbod adds,

"At this time, we have two objectives in mind: 1) to devise creative ways of pro-testing the war in the Gulf; and 2) to devise long-term plans to expand the membership and influence of the local Wobbly group." Future plans include an active effort to help the local office of a statewide canvassing network organize a union and become an IWW job branch.

No. California

Anti-war activities have taken up a lot of our local Wobblies' time and attention lately. IWW-led vigils are held daily in Fort Bragg, including a daily body-bag march through town. Wobs are also prominent as organizers and speakers in anti-war activities throughout our area. The weekend before the war began, rural, timber-dependent Mendocino County (population 80,000) had well-attended demos in the towns of Laytonville, Covelo, Willits, Ukiah, Fort Bragg, Mendocino, Comptche, Albion, Boonville, Elk, and Pt. Arena. Willits (pop. 5,000) turned out 500, and Elk (pop. 200) turned out 75. When the war started, 200 kids walked out of Willits High School for a spontaneous anti-war rally, including both logger kids and hippie kids. Smaller walkouts occurred at Ukiah, Laytonville and Mendocino High Schools. I'm telling you this because the government would have us believe that anti-war activities are minimal and limited to the crazies in San Francisco. This true grassroots uprising is not getting out. I would like to hear from other parts of the country to find out if this is happening in other places.

IWW Local #1 is still representing Georgia Pacific workers in their OSHA case over the PCB spill. This case has now gone to the highest possible appeal at the Labor Department level. At issue is the question of whether employees have the right to choose the IWW to represent them in an OSHA case instead of their sell-out AFL union. This case has already become the bureaucratic equivalent of burning a feller-buncher, as G-P and OSHA have spent gobs of money on expensive lawyers to respond to our "barefoot lawyer" briefs. It's a precedent-setting case, and when we win it will give the IWW an "in" to represent workers who are being poisoned by their bosses and sold out by their unions everywhere.

IWW Local #1 is also the prime mover in a community effort to keep the environmentally villainous Waste Management Inc. (WMI) from taking over solid waste operations in our community. Anna Marie, in her inimitable manner, has organized an incredible cross-section of the Fort Bragg working class, including loggers, truckers, backhoe drivers, etc., into a coalition to institute local, community-based recycling and pass "Bad Boy Laws" to keep out the WMI bad boys. After much effort, the County board of supes is about to pass these Bad Boy Laws, and IWW Local #1 is the sponsor of a Citizens' Initiative for an even stronger law in Fort Bragg,

Shorts . . .

American Airlines Pilots Settle

Dallas, February 9: The American Airlines pilot's union reached a tentative agreement with the nation's largest carrier to replace a contract that expired January 1, 1990. Neither side would disclose details except that the accord includes higher wages for pilots and the modifications pilots sought in the airline's two-tier pay scale.

Talks broke down when the Allied Pilots Association (APA), which represents American Airlines' 8,800 pilots, rejected a company offer. The breakdown raised the prospect of a 30-day cooling period that, under bargaining terms, would be required before a strike. A representative of the National Mediation Board pushed the two sides back into negotiations.

The rank and file members of the Allied Pilots Association do not vote to accept or reject pro-offered contracts; the contracts are ratified only by the union's board of directors. The contract left a handful of issues to be decided by an arbitrator, leaving them even farther out of the hands of the union membership.

The company accused the APA of staging an illegal "sickout" and blamed the pilots for the cancellation of approximately 1000 flights between Christmas and New Year's. The pilots denied the charge, saying the company was blaming them for weather problems and poor scheduling.

Another Brazilian Unionist Slain

Rio de Janeiro, February 4: Expedito Ribeiro de Souza, president of the Rural Workers Union of Rio Maria, was buried today. De Souza, was killed while walking home from a union meeting in the state of Para, near the mouth of the Amazon. He had received many death threats; his defense of peasant home-steaders had angered the powerful landowners. De Souza's predecessor as union president was killed in 1985 and four rank and file union members were murdered in April, 1990.

Last year de Souza had sought protection outside the Amazon. A mission from the New York based human rights group Americas Watch travelled to Rio Maria to investigate the situation. Ironically, Americas Watch published their report "Rural Violence in Brazil" the day de Souza was buried.

"Far too often," the report concluded, "violence is the quick and dirty way [for] rural elites to dispose of community and union 'troublemakers' who dispute their right to maintain thousands of acres of land uncultivated or stripped of all forest for cattle pasture, while millions of Brazilians willing to work the land remain landless." The report detailed the threats made against de Souza.

The priest at de Souza's funeral also received a death threat. Rural Workers Union officials said they suspected that the same local landowners who threat-

ened the priest also killed de Souza and arranged the April slayings. Two military police are in jail in Belem, the state capital of Para, awaiting trial for the April killings. But if anyone is actually tried for such a murder it is the exception, not the rule.

According to a Catholic monitoring group in Brazil, the Pastoral Land Commission, 1,566 people were killed in land conflicts between 1964 and 1989: unionists, peasants, Native Americans, nuns, priests.

"These killings are in the main carefully and selectively targeted murders of rural activists struggling to redress the imbalance of land tenure," Americas Watch wrote. The killings resulted in 17 trials and 8 convictions. The convictions occurred in cases where the victims had powerful outside allies.

In rural Brazil's most celebrated murder trial of recent years, two ranchers were convicted last December of killing Francisco (Chico) Mendes. A union activist from Acre, a western Amazon state, Mendes was known internationally for his defense of the rain forest.

Impunity is expected to be the outcome for most of the 64 killings that resulted from land conflicts in Brazil in 1990.

A copy of "Rural Violence in Brazil" may be obtained for \$9 from Human Rights Watch, Publications Department, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

Steelworkers, USX Reach 3-year Pact

Pittsburgh, February 3: After two days of extended bargaining, the United Steelworkers of America and USX, formerly US Steel, announced a tentative three-year contract. Presidents of 27 union locals were expected to vote on the pact soon. If they approved it, it would go to the union's international boards and its members.

The proposed contract would increase pay by \$2.50 an hour and include \$3,250 in bonuses. The negotiations covered 20,000 workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Alabama.

Hormel Documentary Wins Film Prizes

Park City, Utah, January 25: Barbara Kopple's "American Dream," a documentary about the Hormel meatpacking strike, shared the grand prize at the Sundance Film Festival with "Paris is Burning." "American Dream" became the festival's first triple winner when it was also voted the best documentary by the film makers themselves and by the festival's audience.

Kopple's "Harland County, USA," a 1976 documentary about a coal strike in West Virginia, was chosen last year by the Library of Congress as one of 25 films to be placed on its Film Registry, tantamount in film terms to being given the status of national treasure. (But will they show it in all the schools?)

(continued on page 6)

which would affect the timber corporations as well as WMI.

This project has brought many new members into our Local and offered a venue for some of our former adversaries in the timber trades to express their environmentalism and break down the barriers between us. We are also involving new communities in our IWW work through the Wobbly-sponsored Mendocino County Recycling Association, including grassroots recycling companies in Fort Bragg, Laytonville and Boonville.

IWW member Joe Valadao, who has worked at the G-P mill for 13 years, has gotten tired of G-P's harassment and applied for a job working for the City of Fort Bragg. He was accepted pending medical clearance, but the G-P company doctor said he had a heart condition. Three independent doctors tested him and said he was fine, but by that time the City had hired someone else. IWW Local #1 is representing Joe to the State Board of Labor in a complaint seeking \$250,000 for discrimination based on Joe's union activity, phony medical record, and the fact that he is Portugese and speaks English with difficulty.

In Humboldt County, IWW-EF! member Mickey Dulas has joined others to take over production of a local alternative newspaper, and is in the process of setting up a Wob Job Shop.

In timber issues, Earth First! and Redwood Summer can certainly claim partial credit for the recent Board of Forestry decision to deny logging plans in Headwaters Forest. And in Mendocino County we have succeeded in getting the Board of Supes to pass a motion calling on the Board of Forestry to implement special sustained-yield logging rules in the county. We are now working on many fronts to get this implemented. This will probably include a direct action campaign next summer, bringing in people from other areas but hopefully incorporating the lessons we learned in Redwood Summer last year. We are meeting soon to draw up plans, but the pre-eminence of the war makes it hard to plan for the future when we don't know if there will be a future to plan for.

—Judi Bari

(continued from page 5)

Worker Wins Sexual Harassment Suit

Jacksonville, Florida, January 23: A female shipyard welder in Jacksonville Shipyards won a ruling that posting pictures of nude women in a workplace is a form of sexual harassment. The judge, Howell Melton, also ordered the company to pay the legal fees of the plaintiff, Lois Robinson.

The ruling found that the company and two of its employees were directly liable for the harassment. Judge Melton said the shipyard, where Robinson has worked since 1977, maintained a boy's club atmosphere with an unrelenting "visual assault on the sensibilities of female workers," including pinup calendars and close-ups of women's genitals posted on the walls. He said the sexualized atmosphere of the workplace had tended to keep women out of the shipyards.

When Robinson told co-workers that she considered their behavior to be sexual harassment, the decision said, they took that as a new subject of ridicule, denying that they were engaging in harassment because they had not actually propositioned her for sexual favors. Two other women who worked with Robinson testified that they too were subjected to frequent sexual harassment, including remarks, pinches, and sexual teasing.

Robinson repeatedly complained to her supervisor about the pictures, according

to the testimony. At one meeting, where she made a formal complaint, a supervisor told her the company had no policy against the pictures and that the men had "constitutional rights" to post the pictures, so he would not order their removal. The shipyard had no system to record complaints about sexual harassment, and supervisors had no instructions to document such complaints.

Judge Melton ordered the shipyard to institute a comprehensive sexual harassment policy written by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, the New York-based women's advocacy group that brought the case in 1986. The courts have previously ruled that sexual harassment in the workplace is a form of illegal sex discrimination, forbidden by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The New Order

The Polish parliament voted 182-48 to deprive the hundred surviving veterans of the International Brigade Dabrowski—who fought against Franco in the defense of Madrid and on the Jarama and Guadajajara fronts—of their rights as war veterans, including the right to a pension. The Spanish daily *El Pais* reported this fact before Christmas, including the fact that the vote had been pushed by Lech Walesa's parliamentary group Solidarity. One such "Solidarity" member defined the brigade as "a bunch of reds dedicated to burning churches and killing priests."

George Armstrong Custer is alive and well! He has only moved his operations from the Dakota Badlands to the Arabian oil fields.

We are being told about the massive surrendering as well as desertions on the part of the Iraqi army. As usual the news media in Freedomland glosses over the mass demonstrations here and in other countries against the war, not to mention the growing number of Yank military personnel who are deciding that they no longer wish to have anything to do with George Bush's little adventure.

That should come as no surprise since the vast bulk of the army consists of ghetto and barrio kids who saw volunteering for military service as an economic way out. Most armies are filled with those whom in civilian life are the poor and perpetually underemployed. Despite all fervently patriotic rhetoric in the time of war, the lot of those who constitute the bulk of this world's armies shows no improvement when war is over. In fact many of these erstwhile brave heroes get shot at by their own governments, especially if they decide to carry the crusade for a lovelier world into their own back yards.

Father Peter Kolvenbach, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, was a little upset about criticism of this year's planned celebration of Christianity's arrival in the New World five hundred years ago. Along with Christianity came the genocide of the native inhabitants, enforced relocation of millions of Africans, and that greatest gift of all, the birth of capitalism.

He wanted it to be known that he and his fellow Christians were not racist. "We killed white people to make them Christians too," he said. "I do not think any good is served by lingering over the misdeeds committed by Cortez or Pizarro. Evangelization was not conducted any differently in certain European countries. My own forefathers became Christians under the sword of Charlemagne..."

Yes indeed, some of Europe's bloodiest wars were fought between Christians over which was the best way to worship the Prince of Peace. When the crusaders entered the then Christian city of Constantinople they were quite content to pillage, rape and loot in that queen of cities. Let someone else tackle the heathens down south, they said, it's much nicer up here.

If Jerusalem Slim came back he would be wearing out a lot of whips. There would be too many temples to chase money-changers out of.

Draftees of the World, Unite!

You have nothing to lose but your generals!

—C.C. Redcloud

Personal Income Down

Washington, January 28 Personal Income rose less than inflation in 1990, according to Commerce Department figures. Wages rose 6%, while consumer prices rose 6.1%. The rise in wages reflects increased numbers of overtime hours worked, particularly in industry where the recession spurred widespread layoffs.

Endgame at the Daily News

New York, February 2: On January 15 negotiators for the nine New York unions striking the Daily News conceded their long held demand that management fire all 800 scabs hired since the strike began on October 25. They stipulated, however, that rehired strikers keep their seniority, so that in any layoffs the scabs would be the first to go. The unions continued to insist that all 2300 strikers be reinstated and maintained they would not accept a "management rights" clause unless it includes language that gives them the right to file grievances and strike.

Meanwhile, the News' management continued to demand some \$70 million in labor cost reductions besides the sweeping "management rights" clause with its open-ended authority over issues like staffing and overtime that were formerly negotiated item by item. At the same time management repeated its accusations that the drivers and the other unions in the umbrella group, the Allied Printing Trades Council, engaged in featherbedding and outright corruption. Management also filed a series of lawsuits, including a federal racketeering complaint against all nine unions accusing them of conspiring to cripple the paper's circulation through a campaign of violence and intimidation.

Early in January, a federal judge ruled that the unions could have up to 51 days to file and argue motions in the bosses' main racketeering suit. At the same time the judge denied a management request to begin interviewing witnesses and gathering evidence, a process that the union's legal advisor, Theodore Kheel, said would cost the financially strapped unions "many hundreds of thousands of dollars."

On January 16 the publisher of the News, James Hoge, threatened to close down the paper soon or seek a buyer for it. Notices posted in the paper's offices (for the benefit of the scabs) said the shut down would occur between March 20 and the first week of April.

George McDonald, head of the union's council, said the statement was "another ploy and a charade," but the unions would continue to press for a good-faith settlement. Other union leaders said they thought the threat of a shutdown harked back to the Tribune Company's original strategy of breaking the unions at all costs.

News unions leaders said they had not scheduled new negotiations until the end of January because management had refused to delay the time-consuming discovery process on a lawsuit against the unions charging illegal secondary boycott (the Taft-Hartley rearing its ugly head!) and intimidation of advertisers. The unions stated their actions, like the distribution of leaflets at stores of advertisers, have been legal. Hoge stated he would not delay the discovery process because union violence and intimidation against the management and scab run paper have continued, a charge the union has denied.

The maneuvering as the bosses' deadline for shutdown approaches is heavily influenced by a determination by both sides not to be blamed if the management closes the News.

The News bosses are liable for an estimated \$100 million in lifetime job guarantees that could be nullified if the paper closes for legitimate economic reasons, but not if the closure is unnecessary or artificially spurred by the News management. Legal action would probably be needed to resolve the issue. In addition, a host of lawsuits filed by both sides remain outstanding. It is, of course, in the bosses' interests to portray the unions as unreasonable and unwilling to make a good faith effort to save the paper.

At the end of a January two hour negotiating session, McDonald presented management with a four-point plan that included a wage freeze and a 25% cut in the mailroom staff, but called for following the News' old contract on other matters, including reinstatement of the strikers. "Their answer to that was they could not accept that," McDonald said.

Social Ecology

A nationwide study by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice found that more than half of all African-Americans and Latinos in the U.S. live in communities that have at least one closed or abandoned hazardous waste dump. What's more, researchers found that communities or companies looking for sites for health-threatening chemical or waste sites most often look in low-income minority neighborhoods.

"Black Americans are afflicted by twice the rate of cancer and killed by asthma at three times the rate of whites," points out John Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation. "Yet the person who needs a job most to hold his or her family together is the least likely to complain about chemical contamination of a workplace. This is one of the conservation community's greatest challenges in the years ahead; the necessity to forge an alliance between environmental and social justice."

Autonomous Union of Chinese Workers

Independent labor unionists who escaped the Chinese government's crackdown on dissidents formed the Autonomous Union of Chinese Workers (In Exile) on January 15th in Paris. The purpose of the group is to work for the legal rights of workers inside China: the right to strike, free unions, collective bargaining, choice of type and place of work, and health protection. They hope to be able to form clandestine branches of the AUCW(E) in China, and also to create public sections of the union in other countries.

Some of their initial projects include the creation of a contact bulletin, a radio program for broadcast to China, and providing practical assistance to workers and their families inside China. Underground resistance continues inside the so-called "People's Republic" despite the continuing oppression by the government.

The AUCW(E) has announced that it will affiliate with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It can be contacted care of CGT-Force Ouvriere, 198 Avenue de maine, 75680 Paris Cedex 14, France.

World Labor under fire

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has released its Annual Survey on Violations of Trade Union Rights around the world at the UN's ILO Conference in Geneva. Between March 1989 and March 1990 2350 unionists were murdered, 13,000 were detained and tens of thousands were fired in 91 countries.

Join the IWW

No Bureaucrats—Aside from the modestly paid General Secretary-Treasurer and 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/mo. pay \$9; and members making more than \$1,700/mo. 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 St. 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 \$ _____

Left Side

It used to be that one would read the comic pages of the daily paper to indulge in slapstick humor, but the comics have been getting some stiff competition from the straight news pages. Northrup, the manufacturer of the supposedly radar-eluding Stealth Bomber, is trying to prevail upon the U.S. Patent Office to refuse the trade mark registration of a contraceptive manufacturer. Said contraceptive manufacturer is placing on the market a red, white and blue prophylactic called the Stealth Condom. Northrup fears that their product having the same name as that of a contraceptive will bring disrepute upon them. Sounds like the pot calling the kettle black!

Never mind that on the Stealth Bomber's first mission in the invasion of Panama, it only succeeded in bombing a saloon and a basketball court instead of the intended targets, and that the company recently pleaded guilty of fraud. It should be left up to the gentle reader as to which is the preferable manner of population control.

Meanwhile, as of this writing, the clash of personalities between Saddam and Gomorrah proceeds with no apparent abatement. Our living room boob tubes continue to regale us with patriotic exhortations, pulling out all the stops to whip us underemployed, over-taxed, over-charged denizens of Freedomland into a righteously indignant patriotic frenzy. Much is being said about the savage depredations of the madman Saddam, and the media mongers faith in the gullibility of the viewing masses apparently remains unshaken, since on the same newscast righteous indignation is waxed over the dropping of scud bombs in residential neighborhoods along with the peppering of Baghdad with real-live killer bombs in what looks like a glorious fireworks display.

Obviously these media-mongers and the Chief Executive have unshakable confidence in good ol' Freedomland's racism as well. That fireworks display is raining down a lot of havoc upon the women and children who live in a metropolis of some four million souls, never mind what the Prez says about trying to avoid civilian targets. Mr. prez was mighty indignant when viewing the battered faces of captured American bomber pilots on Iraqi tv. What the hell does George expect? After all these guys were dropping bombs on people's homes and children so don't be so surprised if they get worked over a bit when they get caught. But since militarism brings out the worst in everybody, we are left with the chauvinistic reasoning that it is perfectly alright for American bomber pilots to drop bombs on Arab homes but it ain't alright for the Arabs to handle these guys with anything but kid gloves. Relax all you John Wayne lovers, the spirit of



New Weird Order

With the impending assault of Russian elite army units on the Baltic States, it appears that the Soviet Empire will not die a peaceful death. Similarly, the U.S. assault on Panama, the purchase of the Nicaraguan elections and the Oil War would indicate that the U.S. empire will flail around awhile before it too expires. Too bad for the world.

The great exaltation of freedom in Eastern Europe is sobered by the prospects of entering into the vicious capitalist market system. They eye events in Russia, the emergence of the intransigent generals, the artificial food shortages (created to encourage the retention of Poland and Romania, traditional bread-baskets?) and the actual implications of the "New World Order" become clear. The New Order is the order of mutually agreed upon shared spheres of domination, a new version of the Old (cold) Order, with the same odor of greed and murder.

Rearrangements of power are deadly inconveniences that periodically afflict a world composed of nation states. It can't be helped. Economic "adjustments" and military service are the sacrifices extracted from the majority to facilitate this process. The elite pay little and, more often than not, make a tidy profit from the general turmoil. That the ruling elites occasionally miscalculate is a regular feature of this mess. The ruling class fucks up and we, the people who do the dirty work, are the ones who pay.

In Europe the combined economic power of the EC is seen as a threat to the economic power of the United States, dwarfing even the competition of Japan and the Pacific Rim. The loosening of Soviet control in Eastern Europe has, if anything, increased this perceived threat. Prior to August 1990, economists in the U.S. were contemplating a rearrangement of markets at the same time they were calculating the effects of decreased military spending and a mass of unemployed service men and women. Things were getting sticky.

The decline of the Red Menace must mean the creation of alternatives. Illegal immigrants, drug addicts and The Homeless have been shouldered with the mantle of Public Enemy/Public Problem, a mantle they can't carry for long without exposing the root causes of their civic irresponsibility (in other words the *real* public enemy).

The attempt to foist that same mantle on Manuel Noriega, more an attempt to *kill* him before he could spill the beans on our commander-in-chief, resulted in mass murder in Central America (for the hundredth time or so). This attempt to personalize, focus and fine tune the War on Drugs has failed miserably, and the War on Drugs is over (the drugs won).

The solution to the sinful malaise of America requires stronger medicine.

A little war was not sufficient to hold the interest of the Viewing Public. The invasion of Panama served to reimpose

the Monroe Doctrine in Central America, allowing the U.S. government to grant itself permission to impose its will on that region at the point of a gun, but it did not deal with the malaise at home and it did not deal with Europe and Japan.

In the Persian Gulf the U.S. government found a solution to all their problems. The trick was in getting Saddam Hussein (since the mid-80s a regular, albeit independent-minded, client) to "force" a massive intervention of the U.S. military in the Gulf. The resulting war would (by their design) destroy the power of Hussein, who was getting too big for his britches, and (of course) require the establishment of permanent U.S. bases in the region. The war would produce the patriotic unity so desired at home (provided it wasn't too long or too bloody) and deliver the bases needed to control the oil supply to Europe and Japan.

Control of those oil supplies is the first goal. This will put both the EC and Japan on a leash held by the U.S. government. If economic decisions are made contrary to the interests of their corporate masters, the U.S. government will be able to squeeze the hose that feeds petroleum to Europe and Japan. If either party gets too far out of line, they will find themselves without gas.

The success of this scheme is dependent of the cooperation of Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi military. If the Iraqis fight hard, the U.S. plan starts to fall apart. The Arab coalition put together with various bribes and promises is already beginning to unravel around the edges. The European governments could wise up to the real motive behind the intervention at any moment. The beginnings of a large (and potentially militant and demanding) anti-war movement is forming in North America and Europe. The U.S. government is not concerned with this movement at present. It appears tame, hopelessly mired in nostalgia for the 1960s and *that* peace movement. But the current movement is not subject to the same evolutionary limitations of the one that went before. There are glaring differences in the circumstances we now find ourselves in and those of the 1960s and early 1970s. At the beginning of the Vietnam War the U.S. economy was never stronger, there was a 500 billion dollar surplus in the budget and no end in sight. At the beginning of the Oil War the U.S. economy is a barely animated corpse. The deficit is bigger than the surplus was at the beginning of Vietnam, and there seems no indication of a "war boom" to liven up the action. In fact we are seeing what may be the slow disintegration of the U.S. economy and social structure. The Oil War will only accelerate this process.

As you recall, by the end of the Vietnam War a substantial minority had come to the realization that stopping the war was just *not enough*. Many predicted, and rightly so, that unless the system which makes war possible (the economy

International Workers Association

(Given that the Industrial Workers of the World have approved a resolution to investigate affiliation with the International Workers Association, what follows is the first in a series of articles concerning the history and current activities of that organization.)

The International Workers Association

After the experience of the Red Trade Union International Conference called by the Bolshevik government in 1920, most of the syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist union formations recognized the necessity of creating a revolutionary alternative. They met in Berlin in July of 1921 and again in 1922, and the result of those meetings was the founding of the International Workers Association (IWA), perhaps best known by its Spanish title, *Asociacion Internacionale de los Trabajadores* (AIT).

As an obvious counter to the party-dominated unionism of the Bolsheviks and the class collaborationism of the business unions, the IWA saw rapid growth throughout the 1920s. Organizations in Uruguay, South Africa, Paraguay and elsewhere were formed. An IWA group was in operation in most areas of the world.

The rising tide of fascism in Europe saw many of the IWA sections coming under attack. The USI of Italy, one of the largest IWA sections with half a million members, was the first to be driven underground. Sections in Spain, Holland, France and Norway soon followed. Many comrades were shot outright. Many more were sent to the concentration camps. In Poland, the ZZZ (the precursor of *Solidarnosc*) had applied for IWA membership just prior to the invasion of that country by Russian and German tanks. In Poland, as in every other country under fascist tyranny, anarcho-syndicalists formed themselves into resistance units and continued to fight after the governments of those countries had collapsed.

The end of World War II found the syndicalist movement and the IWA all but destroyed. Yet despite this, the first post-war conference of the IWA, held in Toulouse in 1951 drew delegates from 16 organizations from all around the globe. But the massive union formations were gone. The combined actions of the "free" West and the "communist" East sought to oppose the re-emergence of anarcho-syndicalism. The Allies who now controlled Western Europe imposed their own form of class-collaborationist unionism on the countries recently freed from Nazi occupation. In the East the USSR outlawed syndicalist unions, strikes and workers rights in general.

The decades of the '50s, '60s and '70s were the low ebb of the IWA. The one remaining functioning union, the Swedish SAC, withdrew from the International in the late '50s over a dispute in tactics.

that makes war profitable and the state which makes war necessary) were completely destroyed, the horrors of war would come again and again and again.

The state seems aware of this situation. Corporate control of the media is efficiently blacking out the opposition to the war, and the *reality* of the war itself. This makes the "informal lobbying" technique of mass demonstrations largely ineffective in changing public opinion. Direct action is needed to drive the message home. Direct action does not necessarily mean violent action, but we shouldn't surrender the tactic of violence to the forces of the state alone, as some would have it.

Disruptions of capitalist business interests, occupations and blockades of governmental and military facilities, as well as other forms of sabotage (use your imagination) seem the most viable tactics in the short term. When we develop the strength and the level of organization necessary, the general strike should also be used to drive our message home.

The SAC wished to participate in the economic organizations of the state in order to share in the riches of the booming Swedish economy. This position was steadfastly opposed by the majority of the IWA sections which saw such policies as reformist and doomed to lead to open class collaboration.

The Dutch NSV collapsed, but was regenerated as the OVB (with 13,000 members) which chose to stay outside the IWA and also share in the largesse of the state.

It was not until the beginning of the 1980s, with the death of Franco and the rebirth of the Spanish CNT that the IWA began to flower once again. At the 17th congress in 1984, 3 union sections, the CNT, the CNTF (France) and USI of Italy, as well as ten propaganda sections were represented. The '80s saw the steady growth of the IWA, with new sections being formed in South America and Australia.

As the IWA enters the 1990s there are currently 15 sections of the International. These are: ASF-Australia, ASO-Denmark, CNT-Spain, CNTF-France, CNTB-Bulgaria, COB-Brazil, DAM-Britain, FAU-Germany, FORA-Argentina, FORVE-Venezuela, NSF-Norway, SAL-Finland, USI-Italy, WSA-United States, and the WSM of Japan.

Workers Solidarity Alliance is the U.S. section of the IWA. WSA was formed in 1984 by members of the Libertarian Workers Group (then the U.S. section) and other anarcho-syndicalist groups and individuals, many of whom had worked together within the Anarchist Communist Federation of the late 1970s. There are currently WSA local groups in San Francisco, New York, Knoxville and Miami, with many other members around the United States.

Relations between the WSA and the IWW have, for the most part, been expressed in terms of a general, theoretical solidarity with no formal working relationship between the two organizations. It is only over the last two years that a genuine working relationship between the WSA and the IWW has begun to form (specifically in San Francisco where the local IWW and WSA groups often work together on projects of mutual concern, as well as marching together at mass demonstrations in a single revolutionary unionist contingent).

A first step in any future affiliation of the IWW to the International Workers Association will be cooperation between the IWW and the WSA. Like any other relationship, this will require an increased level of knowledge and understanding on the part of both groups. Mutual respect and solidarity are minimum requirements for this to take place.

—Mike Kolhoff

(Next: The Principles, Aims and Statutes of the I.W.A.)

Failing that, we should prepare for even more demanding eventualities.

There is every possibility that, under the cover of the present "National Emergency" the state will attempt to impose every draconian measure and crack-pot scheme they have fumbling around with for the last decade. If there is substantial resistance martial law is not out of the question. If abortion is made illegal, concentration camps are filled with Arab-Americans and basic social programs are eliminated, they will probably need martial law in order to deal with the uprising.

Our ability to confront future repression will be shaped by our effectiveness in opposing the war. We will have to mobilize our own forces and weld ourselves into a viable movement, otherwise we will be forced to re-live the mistakes of two decades ago. In the New Weird Order I suspect we will not have that luxury.

—Mike Kolhoff

Nuclear Testing— and the Gulf War

There is a direct correlation between the undeclared war in the Persian Gulf, which commenced with the U.S. bombing of Iraq on January 16, 1991, and the United Nations comprehensive Test Ban Conference (CTB) of January 7-18. In both cases, the U.S. government has chosen to ignore peace options and negotiation in favor of military and ruling class ideology. President Bush kowtowed to the military-industrial establishment, thus effectively ignoring more pressing domestic issues. Would the U.S. government have responded to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait so violently if Kuwait and other oil-rich Arab countries did not have billions of dollars invested in the Rockefeller Banks? Anarcho-syndicalists know that the answer is inherent in the capitalist system and the employer-worker paradigm.

Most workers in this country are not cognizant that the Nevada Test Site hosts both U.S. and British testing. All workers are affected by these underground tests, whether or not they are "downwinders" living in the immediate vicinity. Economically, politically, environmentally, and physiologically, we are all victims of this nuclear madness. However, against all odds, the workers in the U.S.S.R. managed to shut down the main nuclear test site in the republic of Kazakhstan at Semipalatinsk.

Since 1985, the Semipalatinsk nuclear site has been closed intermittently, twice. Both times the U.S. government ignored the Soviet overtures of a nuclear testing moratorium. Twice, the American "free press" chose not to report these facts. The Department of Energy (D.O.E.), which runs the 17 nuclear installations in the U.S. as well as the Nevada Test Site, had even less interest in Soviet test site closure being known. A news black-out from the "free press" is more egregious than printing facts and mis-representing them, because the job of the press is supposedly to print facts; blackouts are therefore called lies by omission, instead of commission.

The first shut down of the Semipalatinsk nuclear site was executed by Kazakh workers after a release of radioactive gas there in February, 1989. This was no small feat in a country where a "free press" does not exist—the Soviet government, like our own, has lied to the "downwinders" for over 40 years and cover-ups are merely business as usual. Olzhas Suleimenov, a well-known Kazakh poet, was invited to read his poetry on Kazakh television. Instead, he read a statement against nuclear testing and announced a meeting at the Writer's Union for the next night. Over 5,000 workers tried to participate in this meeting, held in a building that could accommodate only 500 people. That night the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement (NSM) was born.

By March 1989, over 1,000,000 signatures and charitable donations had been collected to support this new movement. Although the U.S. ambassador to the U.S.S.R. was invited to Alma Ata, the capitol city of Kazakhstan, to learn about this new anti-nuclear movement, nothing was printed in the U.S. newspapers. In May, 1989, Olzhas Suleimenov was elected to the Supreme Soviet where he spoke on the aims and demands of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement.

From August to October 1989, NSM became an internationally recognized movement. Meetings with the International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War in Boston (who won the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize) and Soviet and other international peace groups legitimized their anti-testing resolve.

The second closure of Semipalatinsk was again initiated by the workers. The Karaganda coal mines in Kazakhstan produce one-fifth of all the coal in the U.S.S.R., and are therefore very important to the Soviet economy. On October 10, 1989, the miners of Karaganda released a statement to the government of



the Kazakh republic and to the Supreme Soviet demanding an end to nuclear testing. Otherwise they would utilize their leverage and go on strike. By October 19, 1989, striking miners were joined by other workers and a general strike of all Kazakh workers prevailed. Suleimenov finally had Gorbachev's ear. The site was closed on October 19, 1989, for an undisclosed duration of time.

In April 1990, Kairat Umarov, the main NSM organizer from Kazakhstan, joined the annual peace encampment at the Nevada Test Site. Although German, Western Shoshone, and American activists participated at this week-long encampment, Kairat was the first Soviet participant. Kairat shared the ancient Kazakh rock piling ceremony, and the symbol of the open hand of peace and non-violence. Three thousand activists completed this rock piling ceremony, then paraded to the fence and cattle guard of the Nevada Test Site. Eleven hundred were arrested on that temperate sunny day.

In September 1990, Soviet and American anti-nuclear activists met in Kazakhstan for the International Peace Walk (IPW). Writers from major Soviet newspapers, including TRUD, PRAVDA, and the Kazakh language newspapers, traveled with IPW through villages and cities. In Alma Ata, the entire delegation was the subject of a 2-1/2 hour nationally broadcast television show. Because I was one of three American activists in a Soviet video being made about the peace walk, I had ample opportunity to share my anarcho-syndicalist (I.W.W.) viewpoint on many issues in addition to nuclear testing.

IPW participants were greeted by throngs of adults and children as they walked through cities and villages for 4-6 hours per day. School children had school holidays when IPW participants were in their village, and workers took the opportunity to provide "homestay" options. These workers shared their food, customs, homes, and hearts with walkers during the entire Kazakhstan stay.

The test site at Semipalatinsk was a sight to behold. Thousands of locals joined walkers for the rally, protest, and peace-pipe ceremony. Before buses took walkers back to the city that evening, many objects, including origami peace cranes, crystals, banners, and other memorabilia had been placed on the

barbed wire fence of the test site. With one exception, the barbed wire fence of Semipalatinsk, resembled the fence at the Nevada Test Site. A young man, born in Semipalatinsk without arms and hands (a "downwinder" and victim of nuclear testing), who has since rehabilitated himself through painting (by holding the brush in his mouth), placed his prostheses on the test site fence. He dedicated this "gift" to all "downwinders" and victims of nuclear testing.

The IPW activist's final day in the U.S.S.R. was spent outside the home of the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow. Since the Soviet soldiers who guard the American Embassy in Moscow have "shoot to kill" orders, and take their job seriously, it was decided to make the last event as newsworthy as possible. Although a press release had been sent to the American ambassador one week prior, announcing the IPW arrival, he was conveniently out of town. Undaunted, his lawn was covered with IPW tents and a huge Kazakh yurt.

A 15-foot banner reading "U.S.S.R. STOPPED TESTING, WHY DON'T WE?" was strung between two trees. Soviet newspapers were present, as well as Moscow television. However, nary a word appeared in the U.S. newspapers. The U.S. "free press" did announce that Mikhail Gorbachev had won the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize in mid-October, but not a word about how the Kazakh workers had convinced him with a general strike and worker's power to permanently close Semipalatinsk on October 1, 1990.

At the "Uniting Nations Against Nuclear War" conference in Las Vegas on January 4, 1991, and at the "Protest for No Test" at the Nevada Test Site on January 5, twenty-five Kazakh comrades, as well as other international activists, joined the two-day event. Two thousand people paraded past the casinos of Sin City to the D.O.E. offices in downtown Las Vegas and totally encircled the building. Participants included activists from the U.S.S.R., Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, England, Muruora (the Tahitian islands where the French test nuclear weapons), as well as the Western Shoshone and other U.S. activists.

The rally at the Nevada Test Site was 4,000 strong. Olzhas Suleimenov, the president of the NSM, along with other anti-nuclear Soviet mayors and interna-

tional guests, participated with speeches and later took part in the peace pipe ritual. Corbin Harney, Elder and Western Shoshone medicine man, closed the rally with prayers in the Shoshone language, followed by the Kazakh rock piling ceremony. Finally, participants paraded to the barbed wire fence, where 750 activists were arrested for "trespassing" on D.O.E. property, property which actually belongs to the Western Shoshone nation.

The Soviet mayors attended the Mayor's Against Nuclear Power Conference held Sunday, January 6, in New York. From January 7-18, many international and American activists left Nevada for the CTB conference in New York. Every evening from 5:30-6:30pm, outside the United Nations, a silent vigil was held. Americans knew that the U.S. delegation would boycott the CTB, even though a nuclear test ban would have put U.S. fears of Iraqi nuclear weapons to rest.

The U.S. government knows that 74% of the American people wish to end underground nuclear testing, but the Bush administration is committed to testing for 10 more years. Why hadn't the U.S. government acknowledged the end of the Cold War, or the peace dividend, instead of bombing Iraq on January 16?

Why did the U.S. refuse to attend further meetings of the CTB Conference in November and December 1990 and January 1991? Why did the U.S. and Britain vote "no" while 75 other nations voted "yes" for a CTB? Why does the U.S. and its "free press" ignore the connection between first strike nuclear weapons, the lack of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and a totally unnecessary war with Iraq?

Join other non-violent, anti-nuclear and anti-war activists at "Operation Desert Peace" from Wednesday, April 3 through Monday, April 8, 1991, at the Nevada Test Site. For information, contact American Peace Test, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, Nevada 89126. (702) 386-9834. Nuclear testing is first and foremost a worker's issue, as are all environmental and anti-war issues. The future of ourselves, our children, and our planet is at stake.

—Zimya A. Toms-Trend