



# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ Education  
April 1991

★ Organization  
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★ Emancipation  
50 Cents

## Welcome to the



AM 12:53:30

# NEW WORLD ORDER

Workers and the Environment  
New College Organizing Drive  
Short Report from L.A.  
Militancy and Violence

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# Letters to the Editors . . .

Letter to the Editor:

While it's great to see the IWW respond so quickly to the Gulf War in the form of a proposal for a general strike, it seems to me that it's now time to get back to work on the business of the union: organizing workers. Since we thought the war would drag on for an extended period, organizing around a general strike seemed appropriate. However, now that the emergency is over (at least for North Americans: Iraqis will live with the disaster for many more years) to put more energy into a general strike at a time when we need to be organizing could have fatal consequences for our union. With a national membership of a few hundred, calling for a general strike in the present situation further marginalizes us, rightly allowing our critics to put us in a category with "vanguard" Marxist-Leninist sects who call for "world revolution" every May Day, or fundamentalist sects who gather on rooftops awaiting the Rapture.

It's time to get back to the hard, patient and mundane labor of organizing workers, educating ourselves and others and rebuilding our reputation as a union with a realistic analysis. Let's tell the world we're still alive and well in the 1990's by responding with clarity, vision and workable solutions to current problems. Most people think we died long ago. Pushing for a general strike in the current situation may prove them right.

Cliff Ross

Berkeley, California

#### Response to Cliff Ross' letter:

To set the record straight, neither the membership nor the General Executive Board (GEB) of the IWW specifically called for a General Strike against the Gulf War. The San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch passed a resolution to "endorse the General Strike as a preferred anti-war tactic, and to mount a campaign to publicize this." In addition, the Industrial Worker Editorial Collective agreed to run Martin Sprouse's General

Strike graphic as the cover to their March issue, because it was a striking image (no pun intended) and it tied in to a story that ran inside.

The GEB did pass two motions condemning the Gulf War, but these motions did not suggest specific tactics. However, the General Strike has always been a part of the IWW program for social change, so it's unlikely that the union would now denounce it as a tactic. Whether it makes sense strategically for us to push it now can be debated, and I would agree with Cliff that our focus should always be on the practical business of building the union. For without that the General Strike is, indeed, just so much hot air.

—Jess Grant

The latest IW carried a prominent ballot which suggested a variety of name changes for our union's paper.

The inclusion of the survey in the paper was inappropriate on several counts. It should not have appeared in our paper directed to members, non-members and anyone who has access to a bundle. Only members have the right to such access to union decision-making. Most members will receive their copy only a few days before the ballot deadline, thus precluding any meaningful debate.

Further, the survey does not present an appropriate format for decision-making even if presented only to members. Which entry would win? The one with the largest plurality? That wouldn't necessarily represent majority opinion.

Beyond such concerns, the most serious issue is the disregard for the union constitution. The editorial collective does have editorial control over the content of the articles and graphics that appear in the IW. However, changing the paper's name is a decision well beyond editorial decision-making. The GEB and the membership at large have the full power of all union publications and guide their policy, as outlined in the amended constitution.

If the San Francisco Wobs want to change the name of the Industrial Worker, they must follow the constitution. A referendum should be carried out in the prescribed manner. Let's honor the practices of democracy which bind us as members of the same union.

Solidarity

Michael E. Kozura  
GEB Member

Fellow Workers,

Finally got my March I.W. Good first effort for the new collective. However I do have a few friendly criticisms:

1) The Preamble needs to be printed in each and every issue of the paper and I hope to see it back in the April issue; 2) the "Three Stars" of Organization, Education, Emancipation should be on the masthead/flag. As a matter of fact this was mandated by a referendum back in the early 80's; 3) the literature list also needs to be printed. I realize that this was your first issue and hope that these essentials were simple oversights.

As far as changing the name of the paper, the only name on your list that grabs me, and preserves the historical link is *Wobbly*. This name invokes the historical image of the rebellious wage-slave which any worker, regardless of their industry or occupation, can relate to. The other names, *Wildcat* and *Strike*, for example, are just too generically "anarcho-syndicalist" and have been used. As for *Intelligent Worker*, while it does conjure up the image of a thinking worker who knows the score, it does not evoke the spirit of revolt. The only other name that would seem appropriate would be simply *IWW*. It's simple and says, "Hey, this is the paper of the IWW." Whichever name is chosen, if a change is made, the content of the paper will have to make it clear to the reader that this is the voice of the IWW and the continuation of the *Industrial Worker*.

That's about it for now. Take care.

In Solidarity,

Mike Hargis X328826

P.S. I'm not sure that a simple "consensus" arrived at from a survey initiated by the IW collective is sufficient to mandate a change in the name of our paper. Such a decision should be made preferably by a referendum of the membership or, alternatively, by the GEB.

Comrades:

I don't think *Industrial Worker* is a bad name, though I'd agree it's not a very exciting one. In the broad dictionary definition, an "industry" is any form of work. Thus, an "industrial worker" is a worker who works. As I said, not too exciting . . .

On the other hand, I cannot find the name in any way politically objectionable. It is part of a proud old tradition, and it is also the name of our organization. Do those who object to the name on political or tactical grounds also object to the name of the organization? Perhaps they are in the wrong organization then? I do not think the name is any more likely to alienate potential readers than are any of the alternate suggestions. On balance, then, I vote for *Industrial Worker*.

Of the alternatives you have listed, other than status quo, I like *Wobbly* best because it is short, general, to the point, and identifies the paper with the organization and the tradition.

*Wildcat*, *Strike*, and *Sitdown* are not too bad, but the problem with each of them is that they are specific tactics which, while good tactics in some situations, are far from the only tactics of struggle which characterize our everyday lives. Their relevance is therefore too situational for an ongoing publication. They are headlines, not mastheads.

As for *Intelligent Worker*, I don't think I'd be caught dead reading a paper with such a stupid name. While you're at it, why not *Worker Spy* or *Stupendous Worker* or *Good Worker*? Come on!

In solidarity,  
Dave Linn

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## INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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# IWW Directory

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### 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

Eastside Datagraphics Job Branch (I.U. 450)—1460 Commercial Dr., Vancouver V5L 3X9, (604) 255-9559

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

The Tools Job Branch (I.U. 630)—c/o 1536 Kamloops St., Vancouver V5K 3W2

### ONTARIO

Kingston IWW—472 Albert Street, Kingston Ontario K7I 3W3, (613) 544-2382

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 Euclid Ave., Rm. 301, Toronto, M6G 2F9, (416) 972-6293

## AUSTRALIA

Jura Books—110 Chrystal St., Petersham, Sydney

## UNITED STATES

### ARKANSAS

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

### COLORADO

Denver/Boulder GMB—2412 E. Colfax, Denver 80206, (303) 388-1065. Office Open Saturdays 9-12. Meetings, second Sunday each month; phone for time.

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.

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N. Michigan—John Patterson 7335 N. Conway Road #5, Alanson, MI 49706

### MINNESOTA

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

### MONTANA

IWW Delegate—George J. Evankovich, 214 Roosevelt Dr., Butte 59404, (406) 494-2523

### NEW YORK

New York IWW Arts Branch (I.U. 630)—272 E. 3rd St., New York 10009, (212) 979-0601, at the Living Theatre

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

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### 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

IWW Delegate—Gilbert Mers, 7031 Kernal, Houston 77087, (713) 921-0877

### UTAH

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

### 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

# Workers and the Environment

The deepening ecological crisis and efforts within the environmental movement to transcend conservatism to include social and economic justice as well as environmental justice have created new possibilities for building a powerful worker-environmentalist relationship. Although corporations, the state, the mainstream media, corporate-sponsored "environmental" groups, and some AFL-CIO unions have equated labor's relationship to the ecosystem as a fundamentally antagonistic one that can be reduced to "jobs versus the environment," an understanding of U.S. labor history and the current organizing between labor, community, and environmental groups offer a very different perspective.

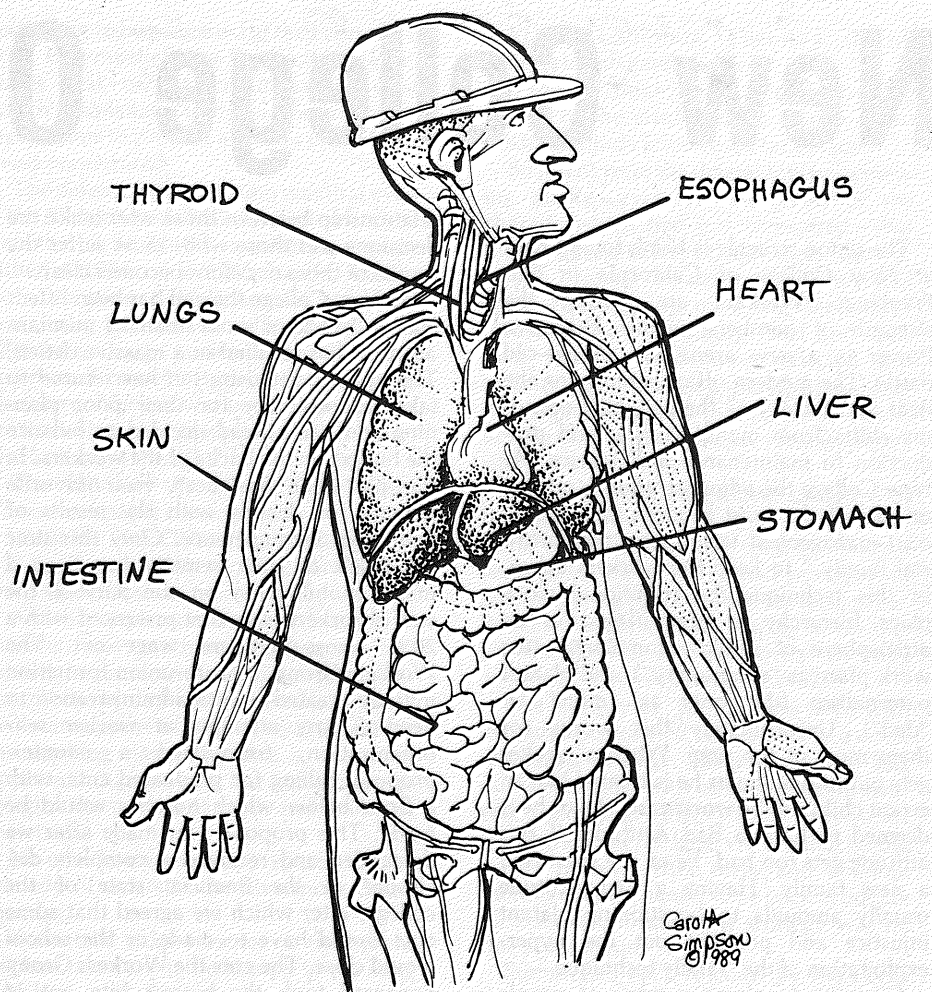
## The Impact of Ecological Devastation upon Workers and Their Communities

The exploitation of workers and their communities is a fundamental feature of the brutal exploitation and destruction of the planet, for workers, their families, and their communities are the first to suffer the adverse effects of ecological degradation. From the farmworking communities in California to the mining communities of Appalachia, the poisoning of working-class communities is of epidemic propor-

tions. The farmworking communities of Delano and McFarland are so saturated with pesticides that they are labeled "cancer cluster" communities because the cancer rates in these small towns are many times higher than in the general population. This poisoning is particularly commonplace to communities of color, who are exposed to a disproportionately higher share of environmental dangers. According to the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice report examining the correlation between the siting of hazardous waste dumps and ethnicity, 3 out of 5 African Americans and Latinos live in communities with uncontrolled hazardous waste sites.

The lethal reality of the American workplace is even more stark. The Fall 1990 National Safe Workplace Institute report based on national mortality data for 1987 concluded that toxic workplace material remains a significant cause of premature death in the U.S. This report revealed that 71,428 out of 1,668,427 deaths from disease in 1987 were job-related. These deaths are augmented by millions of annual worker injuries and illnesses due to prolonged exposure to toxic chemicals, radiation,

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Where employers like to store their most dangerous chemicals.

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Dear sirs:

I just received March's *Industrial Worker*. I really like the new format, but miss the old design of the Ann Arbor Collective's. I miss all the artwork such as The Left Side's and the old IWW reprints. In response to the survey, I am a subscribing non-member who prefers to see the name of the IWW's paper kept the same. True, you would like to attract more people with a new name, but remember the history of the *Industrial Worker*, it has been the name of the Union's paper off and on since its inception, now published as volume 88. How could you change the name after all these years? If you must change the name please put in small typeface "formerly the *Industrial Worker*." Keep up the great work publishing one of America's oldest labor papers. Best of luck in your new headquarters.

Sincerely,  
Paul Williams  
Absecon, New Jersey

Dear Fellow Humans,

My first experience with the IWW was in 1978, when at age 21 I first moved to San Francisco, met Mike Mack and helped organize a local gathering to hear a traveling CNT speaker. I didn't "stick"—the organization seemed stodgy and mired in the past—just another noodle in the alphabet soup of American left sectarianism. I knew it wasn't leninist or anything like that, but it didn't have any vitality to spark my interest.

My energies went in to founding and keeping alive *Processed World*, which I'm sure many of you know, for better or worse. My reluctance to be involved with formal organizations was partially inspired by my aborted association with the IWW, and I'm still pretty cool to the need for formal groups. But my business partner and I decided to affiliate with the IWW as a union shop, because in spite of everything, we both still believe in workers' self-emancipation, and our little self-employed niche, while no panacea or solution, does make small contributions to the ultimate abolition of the Economy, which must be our goal when all is said and done.

So I got a little excited, mostly for personal reasons, when the IWW moved in down the hall from our typesetting shop and *Processed World's* offices. Many times over the years, people have asked me and/or *Processed World* to play the role of "organizer" or "leader" for office workers, a

role I and we have assiduously avoided. So when the IWW moved in, I thought "Great! Now I can send people somewhere when they're looking for a formal organizational alternative to self-defeating trade unionism!"

But the IWW still suffers from a terrible image problem, which may or may not have to do with its actual membership and purposes. Frankly it seems more like a Labor History Club than a living, breathing attempt to subvert the logic of our lives.

My suggestion, enthusiastically received by Jess and Melissa at the IWW office, was to change the name of the paper (and ultimately the union, too), to catch up with the 1990's, the Spectacle, and some semblance of modern marketing techniques. How many people in the U.S. still think there's a working class? How many identify themselves as *workers*? You can argue with all these people that they *SHOULD* see themselves as workers, but with the high rate of transience in the workplace, the general interchangeability of most workers and work, and the nearly complete wipe-out of class consciousness, why bother? Why not move on to the next stage, which is the *abolition* of work as we know it (and, really, the very idea of the Economy, on whose sickness or health we somehow depend), and especially the abolition of *WORKERS* as the main point of self-identity. The fact is, many many U.S. citizens, especially the ones with whom we have a lot in common in terms of politics, attitudes, and aspirations, have already given up defining themselves by what they do for a job. This is a good thing, a step forward! Why should the IWW spend so much energy trying to get people to re-frame their lives in the moribund and socially regressive categories imposed by the perverse society of wage-labor?

In spite of the wishful thinking of IWW die-hards, people will never again commonly describe themselves as "workers." Certainly not "industrial workers," which has a very specific connotation in most people's minds of the auto- or steel-worker. To attach your whole organizational identity to this is to condemn yourselves to premature obsolescence, especially now, when there is such a dire need for a libertarian, practical, and subversive organization of people who *DO* recognize the social power that lies at the point of production/circulation. It's not so much a philosophical question, as one of marketing—like it or not, we have to approach people who don't know us with some form of self-representation, which for all intents and purposes is marketing. Your chance to grab their attention and speak to the issues that matter to them is very short. Cloaking yourselves in a

horribly anachronistic label is self-defeating. Wake up! Forward to a new *social movement* or stay comfortably isolated as a backwards-looking Labor History Club, or some other kind of self-marginalizing subcultural ghetto.

The burgeoning connections between Earth First! and the IWW is a promising direction (also in need of a self-critical marketing analysis), remarkable for being one of the only examples of something really new happening around workplace organizing. I hope the spirit that informed that direction will prevail and help revamp the self-conception and public presentation of the organization.

Sincerely,  
Chris Carlsson, X340159

Friends,

This is in response to the "Express Yourself" in the March issue...

After spending 39 years in a pro-business union I am now a retired showcard lettering person. I receive a social security pension but no union one.

Our union had three separate occupational contracts which overlapped. An entire company had to be under only one of the three. After several years under one contract, I changed jobs and spent the next several years under another contract of the same union. Then I was laid off and spent a short time under the first contract again. Then the union was voted out of this last company I worked for. **Result—no pension!**

During my time in the union we won one 30-day strike. The union is honest enough except for one business agent who died in the state penitentiary. I support unionism because the bosses are organized so it was necessary for us workers to be, also. However, it is too bad that we can't have "one big union"!

Fraternally,  
James Gardner Erickson  
(former member Local 880—  
Sign, Display and Allied Workers  
AFL-CIO)

Dear IW:

I want to thank you for sending the *IW* to this penitentiary. After it's thoroughly read in this cellblock, I donate it to our inmate library so it is available to the 1,500 prisoners here.

Your publication is often the only source of factual information about social and political happenings available to us convicts. We know there are unfair actions done by this government against its own people and it is encouraging to see it in print.

Thank you.  
Jim Buckley  
Leavenworth, KS

Dear Friends:

I don't know if you get any news from New Zealand, I guess not. The government here is dismantling the welfare system and privatizing the national health service. The unemployed and other beneficiaries will have their benefits cut by up to 25%. All this will be introduced on May Day!

There is a curious system here of compulsory unionism, arbitration and what's known as the "award system" (regulated national wage scale according to industry). All this will go on May Day. Union membership will slump, will in fact be decimated. Many trade unions are merely executive extensions of the government.

I suppose you are aware that the IWW was very active in New Zealand before the First World War. Industrial Unionism was very influential.

Well, a little about us: we are a small group of anarchists and syndicalists and are only just getting organized, but we have made quite a few contacts. Things are looking up.

Best wishes,  
Frank Prebble  
New Zealand

Dear Industrial Worker:

I'm writing to ask if you would be able to help me in gathering information concerning an old IWW school called the Work Peoples College which was located in Duluth, Minnesota. Apparently it was begun by a group of Finnish socialists around 1916. I am interested in possibly preparing an article on the subject and would be grateful for any assistance you may be able to provide.

Sincerely,  
Gerald S. Greenberg  
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Friends,

I've heard from several people that the November 1990 *Industrial Worker* had an article about Catalyst that claimed I received several thousand dollars for speaking. I hope you'll set the record straight—I spoke at Catalyst for no fee.

Happy Trails,  
Dave Foreman

# New College Organizing Drive

The union struggle is being fought here at New College of California in San Francisco. Workers are pitting the strength of numbers against Executive Power in a new arena for an age-old battle. The modern office is replacing the field and factory as the capitalist economy shifts from manufacturing and production to maintenance and service. At New College the administration is relying on one of the most modern (and insidious) management techniques, the "artificial family," to keep the workers down. In this technique the traditional work place hierarchy is camouflaged in an atmosphere of shallow familiarity (the work place as "community") and blatant paternalism (the boss as "mom" or "dad"). Unfortunately this works for them most of the time. When a worker gets out of line she or he is treated like an errand child. In the worst case, she or he is deemed to have a Bad Attitude. If this attitude gets too bad, he or she must find a new family. Having a Bad Attitude usually amounts to questioning blatant injustice and pointing out the hyper-exploitation of the "family technique."

Given that a large number of people come from real dysfunctional family settings, the artificial family management technique can seem natural. In certain bizarre cases, skilled managers have been known to purposely pack their staffs with people from such backgrounds, placing themselves at the head of this "family," and ruthlessly exploiting the psychological weaknesses of individual workers.

This method of management begins to crack when capitalism experiences one of its inevitable downturns. When this happens "mom and dad" begin to act like ruthless managers again. People are laid-off from the family. Workers begin to see beyond the familiarity and into the rancid heart of the technique. The actual

relationship between those who make the decisions and those who must suffer the results of those decisions becomes clear.

At New College the veil has been lifted. Half a decade of gross financial mismanagement has resulted in a massive deficit. The upper administration has refused to take responsibility for their poor planning and has instead decided to balance the budget on the backs of the workers. In the past this has been their favorite remedy for dealing with the results of their own incompetence. Only this time the result of their remedy has been a major mobilization on the part of the staff. Workers were first presented with a 20% across-the-board wage cut. The Workers Group, a proto-union formation initially created by the administration to head-off any attempts at worker self-organization, formulated a counter-proposal calling for graduated cuts, with a floor below which no cuts would be made. This proposal was made after we demanded and received a complete disclosure of the financial state of the college, after which we agreed that some cuts would have to be made or the school would close. The cuts the Workers Group proposed took the biggest bite out of those making the most money (management) and left the lowest paid workers alone. This extremely fair proposal was initially rejected outright by the upper administration, but was finally approved by the Budget Committee in the face of growing anger among the staff (and a personal call for all of the upper management of the college to take 100% layoff and let the workers, faculty and students run the place). The final plan cut management 20%, with no worker taking more than a 10% cut. But even *this* plan, approved by the Budget Committee, has not been adhered to. A selective process is suspected of being used to decide who gets what cut, and some of the upper-



level management and their flunkies are suspected of taking no cut at all.

The actions and attitudes of management at New College have made it clear that they have no respect for the Workers Group (which, after all, is their own creation) and that they do not take the actions of the Workers Group seriously. So we are organizing ourselves, and we have chosen to organize with the Industrial Workers of the World, Education Workers Industrial Union 620.

We are not romantics. The history of the IWW has played no role in this choice. We are organizing with the IWW because the IWW is a rank and file controlled union; because individual Job Shops in the IWW are given virtual autonomy (no chance of being put into receivership if we disagree with the actions of the IWW administration); because the IWW does not buy into the

current mythology of capitalism ("what's good for the boss is good for the workers") and because we see an IWW local group which has expressed a willingness to assist us in our struggle. Community support is the key to workers struggle in these the (hopefully) fading days of capital. We don't need wannabe politicians sucking around for a job in the Democratic Party. We need solidarity and community support, things you can't buy with all the strike funds in the world.

For Workers Control,  
X340845  
New College Workers Group  
E.W.I.U. 620

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dusts, noise, cold and heat. In the agricultural industry alone, pesticide exposure amongst farmworkers causes more than 300,000 cases of pesticide-related illness each year.

Moreover, the situation for U.S. workers is worsening. In the 1980's, every industry experienced rising numbers of incidents of occupational injury and illness. The Labor Research Association documents that in 1988 alone, 8.6% of the workforce—or 10,320,000 workers—suffered job-related illness or injury. Furthermore, the proliferation of the more than 65,000 chemicals used in production processes, of which only 20% are ever tested for their effects on humans, combined with new health risks such as Video Display Terminals (VDT's) on data entry workers, guarantees that the conceivable future will be a dangerous one for U.S. workers.

## Environmentalism on the Workplace Level

Workers are quite aware that they are the first ones to suffer from the destruction of the earth and labor history demonstrates that workers are in the forefront of environmentalism when the workplace environment is included in the analysis. Although workers have struggled for the passage of many laws, they continue to die at a remarkably fast pace because of the inadequacies of these laws and its agencies—especially the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). OSHA is underfunded, understaffed, and sets unrealistically low standards for "acceptable" toxicity exposure to workers while the EPA requires testing of only 10% of all workplace chemicals.

So, the fact that governmental attempts have not guaranteed a safe and healthy working environment have spurred workers to directly continue the struggle in the workplace and in the community. On the job, the existence of rank and file health and safety committees guaranteed in many union contracts, union publications and departments dedicated to improving the workplace environment, joint worker efforts with health, medical, and legal professionals, and especially direct action by rank and file workers continue to improve

health and safety on the job by forcing employers to address the highly unsafe reality of many workplaces. For instance, the contamination of many timber industry workers at a Ft. Bragg Georgia Pacific (GP) mill by a highly toxic polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) spill in February 1989 was only stopped by the direct action of the workers involved. Despite Georgia Pacific's assertion that the spill posed no serious health risk and the refusal of the business union (the AFL-CIO International Woodworkers of America) to assist the poisoned millworkers, rank and file workers closed down operations for three days, forced Georgia Pacific to properly clean the spill, and succeeded in the conviction and \$435,000 fine of Georgia Pacific for willful misconduct.

Also, workers have succeeded in pressuring employers to phase out hazardous materials and initiate safer alternatives. For example, workers from United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1438 at the Milwaukee General Motors Delco Electronics Plant initiated a 1988 cancer-death study which demonstrated that exposure of workers to hazardous chemicals led to brain cancer deaths four times higher than in the general population and workers with more than twenty years seniority faced brain cancer risks ten times higher than the general population. This study finally reversed GM's indifference to worker health concerns and resulted in a multi-million dollar GM clean-up.

## Environmentalism Beyond the Workplace: Workers, Environmentalists and Community Groups

The workplace environment has recently served as a springboard for organizing with community and environmental groups, especially in industries which have the most dramatic environmental impacts. The timber industry has witnessed the beginnings of radical labor and environmental organizing with the coalition of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and Earth First! (EF!). The recent developments in the timber industry, including intensive clearcutting, automation, exporting raw logs for finishing in Mexico and the Far East to capitalize on cheap labor, the growing pollution emitted from mills, and unsafe working conditions

have resulted in steady layoffs, the poisoning of the surrounding communities, and the probable destruction of the timber industry. This reality has spawned the organizing efforts of the IWW and Earth First! to stop the clearcutting and replace it with sustainable yield timber practices, build a coalition between timber workers and environmentalists, and turn over control of the timber industry to the workers and their communities. The IWW/Earth First! coalition has translated into the efforts of Redwood Summer in Northern California and IWW/EF! Local 2 activities in Southern Illinois.

The petrochemical industry has also seen recent developments between workers and environmental groups. The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) have been actively involved with environmental and community groups. The BASF Chemical Company's five and a half year lockout of 370 OCAW Local 4620 workers in Louisiana in 1984 spurred workers to research the relationship between much higher accident rates and contracting out (where employers hire temporary workers for tasks instead of full-time workers in order to cut wage and benefit costs) as well as BASF's terrible environmental track record. With the help of the National Toxics Campaign, OCAW teamed up with Louisiana's grassroots environmental network to form Ascension Parish Residents Against Toxic Pollution. This coalition has fought for tougher penalties against polluters and new bans on hazardous wastes. Also, OCAW helped launch Louisiana Workers Against Toxic Chemical Hazards (LA WATCH) to help petrochemical workers answer questions regarding health and safety issues. These efforts, which galvanized community support for the workers, forced BASF to end its lockout in 1989. Local 4620 is continuing its relationship with environmentalists by funding a joint project with the National Toxics Campaign and hiring an environmentalist to monitor BASF.

Moreover, in Richmond, California, OCAW petroleum refinery workers have joined forces with the community organization West County Toxics Coalition to battle Chevron's unsafe working conditions and its pollution of the primarily Black community of Richmond.

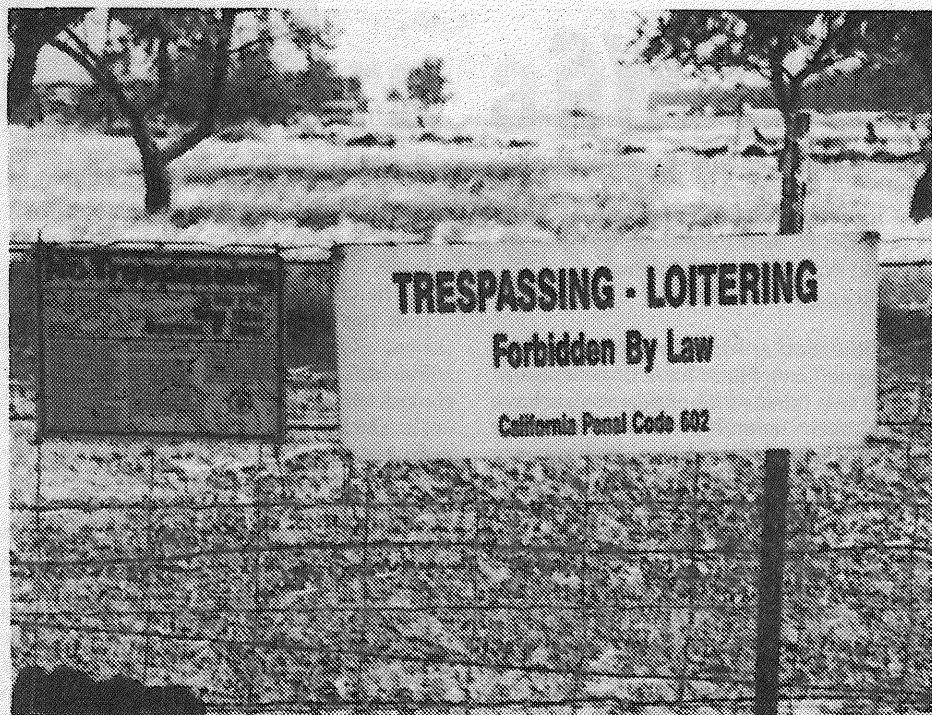
The aims and activities of this coalition include trying to guarantee a "Good Neighbor" agreement with Chevron where the community has the right to know pertinent information and has the ability to inspect the plants. Also, the coalition plans to ultimately convert the facilities on labor's terms to avoid plant closures and the displacement of jobs and pollution to another community.

The mining industry is another example of coalition-building and is witnessing miners working with environmentalists both in Appalachia and Montana. In Appalachia, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has teamed up with community and environmental groups to force coal companies to restore lands devastated by years of strip mining. In Montana, the UMWA and local environmental groups have agreed which lands to mine and which ones to leave untouched regardless of corporate priorities.

So, workers, environmentalists, and community members are integral participants in the environmental movement. The understanding that workers' issues are environmental issues and vice-versa, the continuing historical struggle of rank and file workers to improve their working environments, and workers' recent organizing efforts with community and environmental groups serve as glimmers of hope in very desperate and uncertain times.

Direct action by workers, environmentalists, and community members has demonstrated that such tactics are effective in attaining immediate gains as well as forcing broader institutional changes. It is direct action combined with highly participatory decision-making structures that will drive the struggle both on the immediate level as well as overcoming more comprehensive obstacles such as plant closures, capital flight, unemployment, powerlessness, and environmental destruction. So, the beginning of a participatory democratic alliance of workers, environmentalists, and community members is a crucial development that presents a formidable challenge to the powers-that-be and their exploitation of the earth and its inhabitants.

by Dave Karoly



Friendly greeting signs at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

## A Day in Court

In October 1990 the U.S. government used a smokescreen to convince the public that Iraq's nuclear weapons capability was a danger to peace. They set a January 15 deadline for Iraq's troops to be out of Kuwait—or else. When asked what the U.S. position on the Jan. 7-18 (CTB) Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Conference at the United Nations was, President Bush stated: "We must continue our nuclear testing program for at least 10 years, or well into the 21st century." Indeed, justification for a possible war and utter hypocrisy over nuclear proliferation glibly slid off his tongue.

On Monday, October 22, 1990, hundreds of peace and environmental activists gathered at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the last Soviet nuclear test and to demand that the U.S. vote for and sign a CTB. Since 74% of the American public wished to end nuclear testing, the U.S. would be following a public mandate if they voted for the upcoming CTB. Thirty-three non-violent protestors were arrested at LLNL that day to make certain that the government did not forget this mandate. They were charged with #647PC Blocking a Road-Way, a misdemeanor charge.

LLNL and the Los Alamos National Laboratory design all U.S. nuclear weapons tested at the Nevada Test Site (NTS). If LLNL did not design these weapons of destruction, nuclear disarmament could become a reality. If the U.S. joined the USSR and other responsible nations in demanding a CTB, then Iraq also would be obliged by this treaty. It was the perfect set-up to stop all nuclear proliferation.

In January 1991 the Livermore Judicial District reduced the misdemeanor charges to a traffic infraction. This was a repeat performance of their 1982 *modus operandi* when thousands were arrested at LLNL. The Court expected that those arrested would pay the nominal traffic fine, thereby closing the case to the annals of history.

Reverend Steve Brannon was the defense attorney provided the Western States Legal Foundation (the WSLF). Many meetings later, the arrestees decided to request a non-jury trial. The 100-page Nuremberg Brief was presented to the District Attorney in mid-January, and the group's trial date was set for February 5, 1991.

Any D.A. should have recoiled at receiving a 100-page brief for a mere traffic infraction, but this was a brand new D.A. The Court refused the defendants' first choice of trial judge claiming the judge could not be partial (Translation: the judge was on the side of the defendants). However, no one was surprised at this move. The defendants had been run around for three months as part of the Court strategy to wear them and their attorneys down.

Security at LLNL had increased after the January 16 bombing of Iraq by the U.S.; an armoured tank was stationed near the intersection where defendants had been arrested. Our attorney had certainly done his homework. Having been one of the thousands arrested at LLNL in 1982, he prepared the defense for the two possible traffic charges against the protestors: #21954 Pedestrians outside crosswalks and #21956 Pedestrian on roadway.

The defendants had taken portions of the "necessity" clause of the Nuremberg Law, and in their own words, had written

testimony to be presented at the February 5 trial. In a nutshell, the "necessity" clause, states that certain circumstances exist which necessitate a citizen committing a lesser crime to prevent a greater crime from being perpetrated.

The defense interpretation was that even if the 33 defendants had committed a crime (whether it be #647C, a misdemeanor or either #21954 or #21956, traffic infractions), a greater crime against humanity was being committed when LLNL was allowed to design nuclear weapons. LLNL committed crimes of genocide against all humanity. Nuclear war could wipe out the entire evolution of this planet in one blow. Not a pleasant thought!

The February 3, 1991 *Contra Costa Times* newspaper caption read:

WAR IN THE GULF: Nuclear Weapons a U.S. Option, 45% of Americans polled feel it's OK if it saves troops.

Another unpleasant thought! In six short months, war machine propaganda had turned the previous American anti-nuclear stance topsy turvy and garnered additional pro-war support as well. A total defeat for the working class, therefore it was more important than ever for test ban advocates to open the portals of truth and reality at their trial.

No one, however, was prepared for the comedy of errors in the Livermore Court that day:

a) the trial judge was not on the bench; she had taken the judicial copy of the Brief with her.

b) on the bench, instead, was the defendants' first judge of choice; he had never laid eyes on the Nuremberg Brief.

c) the new District Attorney was not in court that day; the prosecutor's copy of the Brief was with him; in fact, no D.A. was in the courtroom at all.

d) the assistant D.A., reached by phone, had no idea of how to proceed.

e) the D.A. had left instructions with the judge to prosecute the defendants on #21950, a different traffic infraction than given to the defense attorney.

f) although the four California Highway Patrol officers in the courtroom agreed that the old traffic infractions (#21954 or 21956) were inaccurate and the correct charge was #21950, no trial could take place without the prosecutor.

g) the defense attorney agreed that the #21950 assessment was more accurate. But because #21950 allowed the "necessity" defense, a defense which was denied in 1982 for the LLNL trial, the judge should be cognizant of the consequences if defendants were tried on this charge.

h) the judge was willing to adjudicate the defendants on #21950, but would need to first read the 100-page Brief and find a prosecutor for the case; the judge suggested reconvening at the end of the day for this trial.

i) this idea was ludicrous not only because defendants and CHP had been in court since 8:45 AM, but to wait all day for the judge to read the Brief was an unconscionable delay.

j) the judge suggested a new remedy to save time. If defendants were charged with the original misdemeanor—647C—the trial could proceed immediately; that is, if a prosecutor could be found to try the case.

k) the California Highway Patrol officers immediately agreed.

l) the defendants and defense attorney agreed to the misdemeanor charge if immediate adjudication could take place.

So intent were the defendants on achieving justice—even on the terms of the charade which had just transpired—that they'd agreed to have the charges "upped" to the original misdemeanor. They had spent hours going over the "necessity" clause of the Nuremberg Brief and their own written depositions reflected this tedious work. Winning this case would set a legal precedent and forever tie the hands of the court in cases of non-violent "necessity" defense protests.

The court had indeed been caught with their pants down. A recess of ½ hour was declared while the judge tried to obtain a prosecutor. Since WSLF had provided an attorney and a press release, the local press, in court that day, had a heyday interviewing the defendants, their priest-attorney and the Executive Director of WSLF.

The hallway of "justice" was filled with defendants sprawled on the floor in a circle discussing strategy. Some wished to "bag out" continuing with other important anti-war organizing, others wished to continue the charade for the legal victory that would surely follow. After three and one-half months of court hassle, to be back at Square #1 discussing brand new strategy was no one's idea of fun.

Summoned back to court by the clerk, the saga continued. No D.A. could be found who was able or willing to prosecute defendants on #647C misdemeanor charges that day, but if a postponement was acceptable, a date convenient to defendants and attorneys was possible. If this scenario was ruled out by the defense it was up to the District Attorney to "call the shots," or determine exactly what the next step in the adjudication process would be.

As the April 1991 edition of the *Industrial Worker* goes to publication, the defendants know only that the Statute of Limitations runs out October 22, 1991. Although Limbo Rock is the name of this court game, it's inherently understood that the charges are being dropped and the Livermore Court has wished the defendants good riddance. Is this comedy of errors a once in a lifetime event?

It's disappointing to this fellow worker to have been deprived of her day in court, but already she and other fellow workers have been "swept up" in mass arrests by the San Francisco Police Department for partaking of their First Amendment Rights—protesting against the U.S. war in the Middle East.

Other court dates loom, but the opportunity of having utilized the "necessity" defense to make legal precedent and set progressives a few paces forward has been momentarily lost. This anarcho-syndicalist has grown accustomed to winning *their* game even when using *their* ground rules. She has no delusions about justice within the "justice" system and believes that it's time for a whole new ballgame.

by zimya'a. toms-trend

## Beat the Boss

This section is a forum for workers to share their direct action experiences and is intended to spur other workers to employ similar tactics on the job. We have all participated in such actions and submissions are essential—so write!

I am a construction worker and install highway emergency telephones, or "call boxes." There are six workers including myself and we work in pairs. One of my co-workers took a couple of days off because his wife just delivered a baby. Since there were now five of us, this meant that one of the two bosses had to fill in and actually work. The bosses spend most of their time in the office or running errands and only work with us a few times a month. To them it is not daily hard labor, but a chance to "get some exercise."

Being the lucky person that I am, I got to work with one of the bosses. We spent most of the day bolting call boxes to highway soundwalls, but finished with about

an hour and a half left in the day. My boss decided that we should spend the remainder of the workday laying cement pads at call box sites. This job consists of digging out a six-inch deep 4x4 foot hole and laying/leveling pre-fabricated cement pads by the telephone so motorists have somewhere to stand when using the phone. This particular phase of highway had a great deal of rock and hard yellow clay which made digging with a pick very tough and slow-going (a reality that the boss did not understand because he had not worked on this phase).

On the way to the first site, my boss turned to me and said, "I bet we can do three by the end of the day" (4:00 p.m.). This was just the latest example of the speed-ups at work, which usually take the form of games or contests. The only difference was that the boss was now a participant in his own tactic to squeeze more output from us. When I laughed at his suggestion, he seemed to take it personally

and quickly offered to bet me \$5 that we could complete three before 4:00. So, I began thinking, "Is he crazy? He wants me to bet that I can't do three sites by the end of the day. Any conscious person must realize that all I have to do is slow down to win the bet. Also, he doesn't understand how tough the soil is in this phase." I quickly replied, "Okay, I'll bet you \$5 that we cannot complete three sites before 4:00."

My slow-down tactics were two-fold. First, I purposely dropped the orange construction cones from the back of the truck so they fell over. Therefore, the boss would have to stop and back up the truck so I could fix each cone. Second, by digging, shoveling, and raking extra slowly, I let him do most of the work.

Despite my efforts, the first two sites had surprisingly soft and workable soil and we finished them in about thirty minutes. However, the third site was much more typical and was laden with dense rock and hard yellow clay. As my boss picked away for about half an hour, I got to thinking that this guy really isn't very bright. But because it was his monthly exercise, I figured that it wasn't my place to deny him of it. I continued to watch him as I shovelled and raked as slowly as I could. When his face became beet red and he was

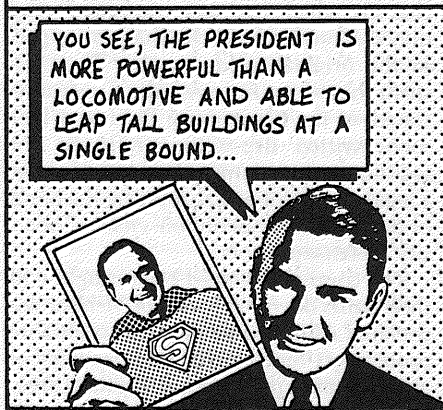
breathing rather heavily, I thought he was going to have a coronary. Instead, he got exhausted, dropped the pick, and sat down to rest. I finished the picking and, by the time we laid the pad, it was 4:30. We arrived back at the shop at 5:00 and I couldn't help but smile not only because I won the bet and got to see my boss work himself into exhaustion, but because I got an hour of overtime as well.

The next morning, I asked my boss to pay up, but he replied that the bet was just a joke and that he would "get in trouble" for making bets with workers. I can't say that I was surprised, for I am used to bosses lying to me. I wasn't upset either because my hour of overtime was much more than the wager. But, most importantly I viewed the incident as a learning experience. What did I learn? 1) My boss really is an idiot, 2) It's great fun watching my boss work (even if it is a rarity), 3) That the people who do the work everyday are much better equipped to make decisions which affect their work, and 4) workers can use their own ingenuity and/or take advantage of the stupidity of their bosses to assert some control over their working lives.

by Dave Karoly

## THIS MODERN WORLD by TOM TOMORROW

**HOW THE NEWS WORKS... STEP ONE: SPOKESMAN READS OFF PREPARED STATEMENT DETAILING INFORMATION GOVERNMENT WISHES PUBLIC TO BELIEVE...**



**STEP TWO: REPORTERS RECORD INFORMATION VERBATIM AND ASK A FEW SUPERFICIAL QUESTIONS WHICH ELICIT EVASIVE ANSWERS...**



**STEP THREE: NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION REWRITE GOVERNMENT PRESS RELEASE TO GIVE ILLUSION OF ACTUAL REPORTAGE AND THEN DISSEMINATE INFORMATION...**



**STEP FOUR: PUBLIC ACCEPTS GOVERNMENT PRESS RELEASE AS VERIFIED FACTS UNCOVERED BY A DILIGENT PRESS...**



**Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media**, by Martin Lee and Norman Solomon. Lyle Stuart, 1990. 403 pages, \$19.95 (hard-cover).

As I write, U.S. warplanes have recently stopped strafing Kuwait, U.S. troops are occupying Iraq, and the local paper announces that "The next big deployment in the Persian Gulf will come from corporate America, which is signing contracts and rounding up workers... in a reconstruction effort that could be worth up to \$100 billion." That's a handy bit of change, even for the multinationals.

That happy news (no doubt a great comfort to the hundreds of thousands of Kuwaitis and Iraqis whose homes, sewers, baby food factories, etc. were levelled) ran in the Business section. The editorial pages say the war was a crusade for democracy and freedom, while the news pages are filled with pictures of soldiers kissing babies.

Details of the Pentagon's carefully stage-managed war are only beginning to come out. The media swallowed the script whole, turning television screens and news pages over to an endless succession of Pentagon spokesmen and military apologists—before, during and after the war.

None of this will come as any surprise to readers of Martin Lee and Norman Solomon's recent book, *Unreliable Sources*. We know, of course, that the television networks and the *New York Times* are funded by corporate advertising. (Though we often forget that the same corporate interests "sponsor" large blocks of public television and radio programming.) But as the media have grown to be giant corporations in their own right—and as the number of media outlets has declined sharply (only a handful of cities, for example, have competing daily papers)—they are increasingly owned by the very same corporations that make the warplanes and bombs.

The *Industrial Worker* has long referred to the "boss press," meaning that the press was on the bosses' side. Increasingly the boss you work for, the boss who prints the paper you read, and the boss who owns the television network you watch are one and the same company. (If not, they quite likely own pieces of one another.)

Perhaps as a result, the media are virulently anti-labor, carefully avoiding the declining living and working conditions facing the overwhelming majority of U.S. workers. They eagerly line up to serve as conduits for the latest disinformation from the corporations and the military. When reporters need an "expert" or a commen-

tator, they turn to the politicians and to corporate leaders. If journalists don't slant their stories enough to keep the bosses happy, editors step in to make sure that the official story is the one that gets told.

Lee and Solomon present abundant examples (on stories ranging from foreign relations to crime coverage) to demonstrate that the news media we rely upon to let us know what's going on in the world are, in every sense of the term, unreliable sources. The "patterns of news bias documented in this book are not aberrations," they argue: "they are fundamental to the political and economic system... A central function of the American press is to keep legitimizing the country's most powerful institutions." (page 334)

But they don't stop with pointing out the conservative bias pervading our news outlets. Lee and Solomon go on to discuss ways in which media consumers can identify media bias and try to democratize the media. "When you watch TV or read a newspaper," a concluding interview urges, "be alert and skeptical... Be conscious of who the sponsors and advertisers are... When you see a report about a labor/management dispute, for example, be conscious that no unions own any daily papers or TV stations." (page 340) They suggest strategies for bringing pressure on media owners to allow more diverse views, and to develop alternative media outlets through which we can be heard.

The book could benefit from more attention to the ways in which journalists go about covering the news. Journalists, by and large, have been trained to believe that only the activities of the rich and powerful are newsworthy. Editors station them at police stations, corporate boardrooms, and the White House to wait for the latest official handout and repeat it to us as news. A reporter doing an article on, say, minimum wage levels, turns to businessmen and Democratic and Republican leaders for their views. It doesn't even occur to them to talk to workers trying to feed their families with minimum wage jobs.

*Unreliable Sources* covers much of the same territory covered by Chomsky and Herman in *Manufacturing Consent*. But they cover the territory with a somewhat lighter touch, and a wider range of examples. Next time someone complains to you about the liberal media you might hand them this book—it should do some good. And reading it (and acting upon some of its suggestions) might help relieve the often-irresistible urge to hurl a brick through the TV screen at one of the innumerable apologists for the boss class who never seem to tire of thinking up new ways to tighten the screws.

—Jon Bekken

## Reviews . . .

More Labor Cartoons by Gary Huck and Mike Konopacki!

Clothbound \$24.95 Paperback \$8.95  
Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company  
1740 West Greenleaf Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60626

Fellow worker Mike Konopacki and his colleague Gary Huck have done it again! These two talented labor cartoonists have issued their second volume of cartoons with their attendant biting commentary on the contemporary scene. As I did for their first publication, "Bye American," I can unreservedly recommend this volume as a worthy sequel.

Aside from proving that anybody could become the Chief Executive Window Dressing of Freedomland, Ronald Reagan provided a well-deserved target for the barbs of political cartoonists, not the least of them being Huck and Konopacki. Upon his retirement from office it might be thought that his would be a tough act to follow. However, in this volume Gary and Mike prove themselves every bit as adept at puncturing George Bush's balloon as well.

Despite their well-aimed barbs at the two aforementioned personages, their cartoons leave no doubt that the "Chief Executive" is nothing more than the window-dressing that camouflages the behind the scenes manipulators who call the real shots. One cartoon of a two-headed monster, the head of a donkey

alongside the head of an elephant, eloquently addresses the myth of the "two-party" system. Chief Executives may come and go, but the system remains the same.

The current military engagement with Iraq has provided ample grist for these two. One panel, captioned "Desert Shield," has Bush holding up a gigantic mask of Saddam Hussein while saying: "It shields me from any discussion of domestic issues!" Another shows a Pentagon general down on his knees praising Allah while presumably facing Mecca.

Foremost with these two cartoonists is the importance of unionism. Gary does a triple portrait entitled "Great Union Organizers," showing Joe Hill, Mother Jones and Frank Lorenzo. At the same time, the well-paid union executives come in for their share of stink weed bouquets, as in "The Lane and Jackie Show," where these two bureaucrats are pictured as a couple of stand-up comedians.

Besides the political scene, unionism and the Oil War, many other subjects are addressed in this book. Homelessness, reproductive rights, sexual harassment, etc.

If you like good graphic humor with it's heart in the working class, you'll find that "THEM" by Gary Huck and Mike Konopacki is a book you'll have to have in your collection.

—Carlos Cortez

## Shorts . . .

I'm sure the news has reached your office: A black Altadena construction worker was beaten, kicked and attacked with a stun gun when stopped for a traffic violation. There's been a considerable uproar in both Anglo and minority communities over this event. LAPD's reputation has been tarnished by similar charges of brutality over the years, but for once the event happened to be video-taped by a curious bystander. Three officers were caught in the act, with twenty others standing and watching.

Yesterday I was one of hundreds attending a hearing in the auditorium at the police commissioner's office. Among the more responsible speakers were representatives of the ACLU, NAACP and the Urban League who demanded the ouster of Los Angeles Police Chief Gates and the dismissal of the guilty officers. They also recommended the forming of an independent citizen's committee to watchdog police procedures.

Many citizens told stories of other incidents of police brutality, of reluctance to call the police in an emergency because of fear of the violent reaction of those who are sworn to "protect and serve." There was much more heat than light, with the main theme being: "Get rid of Chief Gates," then everything will be fine! The matter has reached such a pitch that the FBI and several other agencies are stepping in to investigate. A Grand Jury has indicted four of the officers in question. Meanwhile, the victim remains hospitalized with broken bones and the marks of at least fifty wounds on his body, and possibly brain damage.

I titled this article "Progress Report," but I fear there is no real progress to report. I've been around long enough to know that a few changes in personnel and the formation of another watchdog committee are just cosmetic changes.

Dorice McDaniels

Los Angeles  
March 15th, 1991

The IWW Poetry Anthology edited by Seattle Branch member L.E. Cornelison, is scheduled for release in late Spring 1991. All contributors will receive one free copy each. For those wishing more information, they should contact the publisher:

David Brown  
Left Bank Books  
4142 Brooklyn Avenue N.E.  
Seattle, WA 98105  
(206) 632-5870

In early January of this year a pay dispute between Turkish metalworkers and employers began. The resulting strike is over the metalworkers demand for a *living wage*. Some 85,000 metalworkers shut down much of Turkey's automobile and other key industrial sectors. Reports say that as many as 230 work places have been shut down by this strike action.

The strike, and ongoing activities, came about as the employers federation (MESS) broke off negotiations with the metalworkers unions in late December. MESS rejected wage claims and failed to address the problems associated with Turkey's high rate of inflation.

On January 3rd 1991 a General Strike by over a million Turkish workers took place. This strike, supported by the metalworkers, was called to emphasize the desire of the Turkish working class to gain both economic justice and respect for union activities. Independent unions are heavily restricted by Turkish law dating back to the days of the military dictatorship of the 1980s.

On January 4th, 50,000 workers took part in a protest march in the capital city, Ankara. The demands put forward were for economic justice, higher wages and better working conditions. During the course of the march 210 miners were arrested. These miners, under Turkish law, may be tried by the state security court and given harsh sentences, including the death penalty.

All unions and workers organizations are encouraged to contact their local Turkish consulate and demand the release of all imprisoned miners. A demand should also be made that a settlement be reached between the metalworkers and employers which satisfies the workers demands.

Workers Solidarity Alliance—IWA

It's March. Do you know where your unemployment check is?

Only about a third of Arkansas' jobless workers receive unemployment benefits.

But the Arkansas State Employment Security Division (how's that for double-speak?) recently announced that they're issuing more than 50 percent more unemployment checks than last year. As a result they've fallen three to four weeks behind in sending checks. The division head (whose paycheck comes on time) reports it will be more than a year before the state catches up.

(continued on page 7)

# International Workers Association

The IWW has begun negotiations to join the International Workers' Association (IWA). The following are the principles of the IWA:

## The Principles of Revolutionary Unionism

1. Revolutionary unionism is based on the class struggle and holds that all workers must unite in economic combative organizations. These organizations must fight for liberation from the double yoke of capital and the state. The goal of revolutionary unionism is the reorganization of social life on the basis of libertarian communism, which will be achieved by the revolutionary action of the working class. Considering that only the economic organizations of the proletariat are capable of reaching this objective, revolutionary unionism addresses itself to workers in their capacity as producers, as creators of social wealth, so that it will take root and develop among them in opposition to the modern workers' parties, which it declares inept for the economic reorganization of society.

2. Revolutionary unionism is the pronounced enemy of all social and economic monopoly. It aims at the abolition of privilege by the establishing of economic communities and administrative organs run by the workers in the fields and factories, forming a system of free councils without subordination to any power or political party. Revolutionary unionism poses as an alternative to the politics of states and parties the economic reorganization of production. It is opposed to the governing of people by others and poses self-management as an alternative. Consequently, the goal of revolutionary unionism is not the conquest of political power, but the abolition of all state functions in the life of society. Revolutionary unionism considers that the disappearance of the monopoly of property must also be accompanied by the disappearance of all forms of domination. Statism, however camouflaged, can never be an instrument for human liberation and, on the contrary, will always be the creator of new monopolies and privileges.

3. Revolutionary unionism has a two-fold function. It carries on the revolutionary struggle in all countries for the economic, social and intellectual advancement of the working class within the limits of the present-day society. It also seeks to educate the masses so that they will be able to competently manage the processes of production and distribution through the socialization of all wealth. Revolutionary unionism does not accept the idea that the organization of a social system based exclusively on the producing class can be ordered by simple governmental decrees. It affirms that it can only be obtained through the common action of all manual and intellectual workers, in every branch of industry, by self-management, in such a way that every region, factory or branch of industry is an autonomous member of the economic organism and systematically regulates, on a determined plan and on the basis of mutual agreement, the production and distribution processes, according to the interests of the community.

4. Revolutionary unionism is opposed to all organizational tendencies inspired by the centralism of the state and church. These can only prolong the survival of the state and authority and they systematically stifle the spirit of initiative and any independence of thought. Centralism is artificial organization that subjects the so-called lower classes to those who claim to be superior. Centralism leaves the affairs of the whole community in the hands of a

few—the individual being turned into a robot with regulated gestures and movements. In the centralized organization, the necessities of society are subordinated to the interests of a few, variety is replaced by uniformity and personal responsibility is replaced by unanimous discipline. It is for this reason that revolutionary unionism founds its social conception on a wide federalist organization, an organization which works from the bottom to the top by uniting all forces in the defense of common ideas and interests.

5. Revolutionary unionism rejects all parliamentary activity and all collaboration with legislative bodies. It holds that even the freest voting system cannot bring about the disappearance of the clear contradictions at the center of present-day society. The parliamentary system has only one goal: to lend a pretense of legitimacy to the reign of falsehood and social injustice.

6. Revolutionary unionism rejects all arbitrarily created political and national frontiers and declares that what is called nationalism is the religion of the modern state, behind which is concealed the material interests of the ruling class. Revolutionary unionism recognizes only economic and regional differences and demands for all groups the right to self-determination without exception.

7. It is for these reasons that revolutionary unionism fights against militarism and war. Revolutionary unionism advocates anti-war propaganda and the replacement of permanent armies, which are only the instruments of counter-revolution at the service of capitalism, by workers' militias, which, during the revolution, will be controlled by the workers' unions; it demands, as well, the boycott and embargo of all raw materials and products necessary to war, with the exception a country where the workers are in the midst of a social revolution, in which case it is necessary to help them defend the revolution. Finally, revolutionary unionism advocates the preventive and revolutionary general strike as a means of opposing war and militarism.

8. Revolutionary unionism supports direct action and supports and encourages all struggles which are not in contradiction to its own ends. The means of struggle are: occupations, strikes, boycotts, sabotage, etc. Direct action is best expressed through the general strike. The general strike should at the same time, from the point of view of revolutionary unionism, be the prelude to the social revolution.

9. While revolutionary unionism is opposed to all organized violence of the state, it realizes that there will be extremely violent clashes during the decisive struggles between the capitalism of today and the free communism of tomorrow. Consequently, it recognizes as valid that violence which can be used as a means of defense against the violent methods used by the ruling classes during the social revolution. As expropriations of the land and the means of production can only be carried out and brought to a successful conclusion by the direct intervention of the workers' revolutionary economic organizations, defense of the revolution must also be the task of the economic organizations. Defense of the revolution is not the task of a military or quasi-military body developing independently of these economic organizations.

10. It is only through the economic and revolutionary organizations of the working class that it will be possible to bring about the liberation and necessary creative energy for the reorganization of society on the basis of libertarian communism.

terminal rallied in support of the company —blasting rumors that the company was financially troubled. "It may seem like we're having problems," one union driver explained, "but they're not any different from anyone else's. When negative words get out, it starts negative thinking."

Another union driver told reporters that union members who voted against the pay cuts "wouldn't be happy even if you gave them a \$25-an-hour wage." Some folks are just hard to please.

(continued from page 6)

### Scissorbill of the Month

Drivers and maintenance workers employed by Jones Truck Lines—one of the country's largest trucking firms—recently agreed to a 12 percent pay cut and other concessions. Nearly 90 percent of the Teamsters' Little Rock voted in favor of the pay cuts. Minutes afterwards, management announced that 27 workers were being laid off. After the layoffs, union and management employees at the Little Rock

# 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 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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## IWW Literature

### Available from Chicago

1476 W. Irving Park, Chicago, IL 60613

**IWW Songs of the Workers: To Fan the Flames of Discontent** (Little Red Song Book). \$5.00.

**The IWW: Its First Seventy Years: 1905-1975**, by Fred Thompson & Patrick Murfin. \$9.00 paper, \$15 hardbound.

**The General Strike**, by Ralph Chaplin. \$3.00.

**The One Big Union**. \$2.00.

**Unions and Racism**, by Shelby Shapiro. \$2.00.

**The Yale Strike of 1984-1985**, by Gilpin, et al. \$6.00.

**Memoirs of a Wobbly: On the Road for the Revolution**, by Henry McGuckin. \$6.00.

**Roll the Union On: Pictorial History of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union**, by H.L. Mitchel. \$8.00.

**By American! (Labor Cartoons)**, by Gary Huck and Mike Konopaki. 150 cartoons, \$8.00.

**Labor Law for the Rank and Filer**, by Staughton Lynd. \$3.00.

**Labor Law Handbook**, by Michael Yates. \$8.00.

**Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology**, by Joyce Kornbluh, editor. \$19.00.

**The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America**, by Upton Sinclair. \$8.00.

**Wat at Home**, by Brian Glick. \$5.00.

**Mr. Block: 24 IWW Cartoons**, by Ernest Riebe. \$5.00.

**We Have Fed You All for 1000 Years**, by U. Utah Phillips. \$10.00.

### Available from Denver/Boulder GMB

2412 E. Colfax, Denver, CO 80206

**IWW T-Shirts** (black & red, M, L, XL, 50/50) \$10.00.

**Out of the Depths (Ludlow Massacre)**. \$10.00.

**Columbine Memorial Video** (scattering of Joe Hill's ashes). \$20.00.

**'Workers' Solidarity' suspenders** (red, Reg., XL-XXL). \$12.00.

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

### Available from S.E. Michigan GMB

**Domino's Pizza Boycott Info Packet**. \$10.00.

Make checks to "Domino's Coalition—LASC," and mail to AATU Job Branch,

4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI 48109

### Available from New York GMB

P.O. Box 1174M, Bayshore, NY 11706

**A Workers Guide to Direct Action**. 75c.

**Collective Bargaining Manual**. \$2.50.

Postpaid. Make checks to IWW, NY GMB

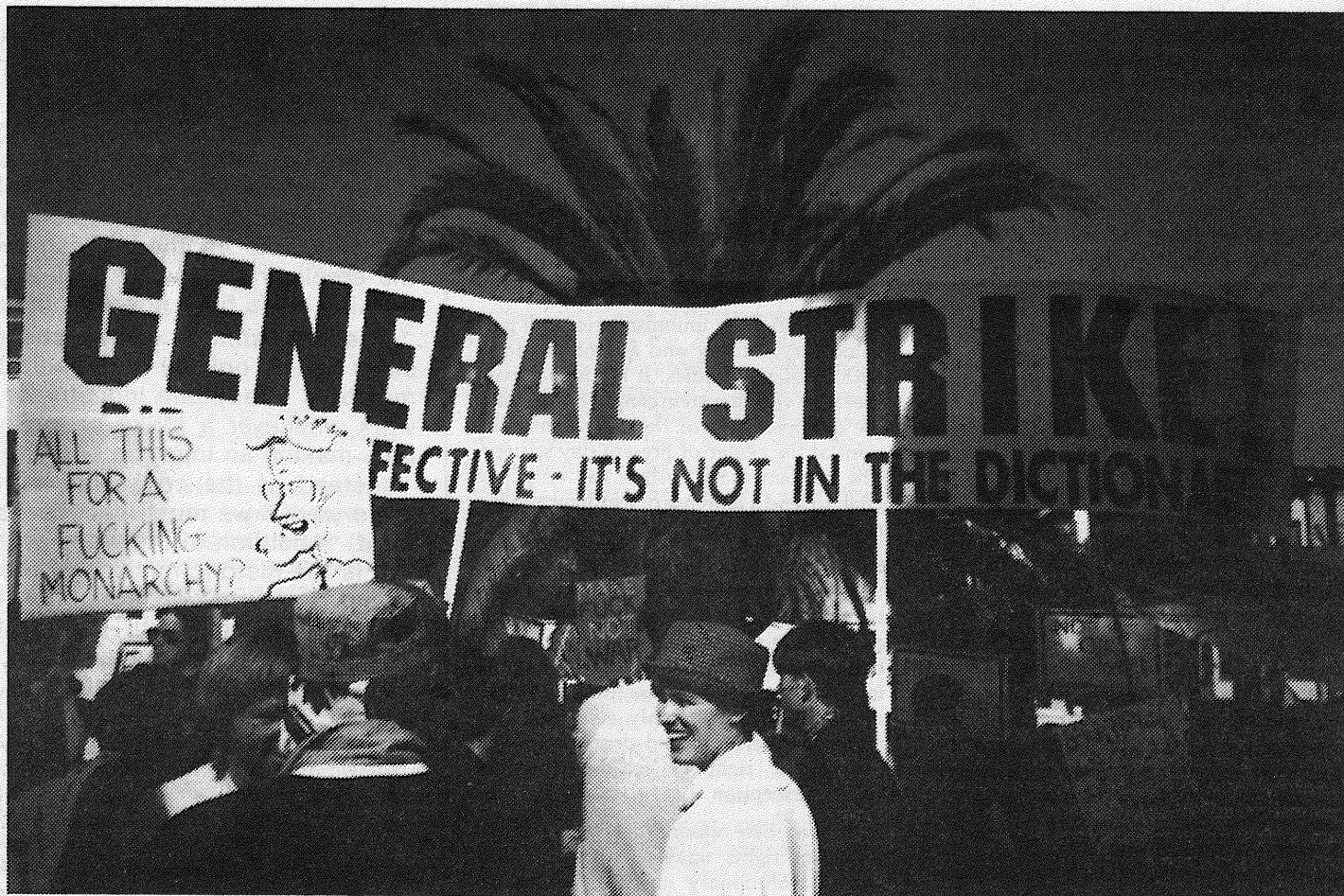
# Militancy & Violence

**SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.** The issue of violence has come up repeatedly in the anti-war movement. We have heard complaints from participants and observers alike that the protesters are too violent, occupying bridges, preventing honest people from going to work, burning flags, or spray painting. Yet none of these acts has injured a single person physically and there has generally been great care taken by activists to engage in these activities without injuring any people, plants, or animals. Even the more militant actions that have occurred in San Francisco, such as the trashing of the armed services recruiting depot, or the burning of the cop car, have occurred without any injury to people. These acts can be considered violent only in the figurative sense, like when we say "it was raining violently." What we are really talking about is destruction. In the case of the protests it is the destruction of inanimate objects, like symbolic annihilation of certain symbols of state repression and violence.

Such forms of protest may seem too militant or confrontational to some; yet to others, the less militant and confrontational forms of protest may seem too acquiescent or ineffective. Considering that activists of both perspectives, as well as those in between, are being marginalized and trivialized by the mainstream media and attacked by the patriotic mainstream public, and that these attacks have the potential to fractionate the movement, it makes little sense to exacerbate this divisiveness by attacking people's chosen form of resistance. Yet a considerable number of activists are nevertheless engaging in such name-calling and thus serving to perpetuate the media-generated myth that the anti-war movement contains violent elements. Furthermore, many activists do believe that the movement is divided neatly into two categories, with the dogmatic pacifists and anti-confrontationists on the Gandhian moral highground and the militants on the extremist and lunatic fringe. Such analysis and name-calling not only ignores the true source of violence and its threat to our freedom and liberty, but it also serves to obstruct the unity of the movement even more than did the burning of the cop car.

Let's not fool ourselves, however. There has been violence at many protests, and the mainstream media has by and large neglected to cover it. What have been the conditions of this violence and who is responsible? While there have been isolated instances of protesters and hecklers squaring off in aggressive and absurd arguments over who loves the troops more, as well as a few cases of patriotic citizens with too much testosterone lunging into a crowd of protesters to attack someone burning a flag, it has been primarily the police who have committed the overwhelming majority of violent acts at the demonstrations in San Francisco. In one recent and particularly brutal attack, two activists were clubbed in the shins by California Highway Patrol officers until their pants were soaked with blood. One of the activists was hospitalized with an open fracture. This attack came in response to a completely nonviolent direct action to block rush hour traffic. John Crew of the American Civil Liberties Union remarked after seeing a videotape of the incident: "Police are trained to escalate the violence, starting with the least amount of force and increasing it if necessary. [This] didn't look like any trained technique, it looked like a golf swing."

Something that contributes to the misunderstanding about violence is that violence by the police generally escalates in direct proportion to the militancy of the protesters and their level of non-cooperation with the authorities. In the preceding example, the protesters' action was militant and confrontational. They refused to allow business as usual to occur. They refused to comply with the status quo. Likewise, there is generally more violence against activists who refuse to cooperate when being arrested than against those who get up and walk. And a quiet ritual on the sidewalk is much less likely to be attacked than a vocal march through a major thoroughfare. It is important to acknow-



ledge, however, that violence against people engaged in any of these forms of protest is an encroachment on the liberties of each of us, as well as being completely unwarranted and excessive.

The difference in degree and effect between the militancy of protesters and the violence of the police were exemplified quite well at several recent protests that occurred here during the last week of February. One of these events was a blockade of the Federal building that occurred on February 26. Approximately 1000 people participated in this protest, a low turnout compared with similar actions occurring earlier in the war. 10,000 people had effectively shut down the federal building on January 15 and 17, outraging the federal government to no end. As a result of these earlier successes, the U.S. government dispatched to the San Francisco federal building an elite SWAT team of 150 crowd control and anti-terror specialists, wielding 9mm semiautomatic pistols. This particular group has a long and noteworthy record of violence and abuse. They were part of the team that attacked Native Americans at Wounded Knee in 1973, and they took part in the Panama invasion last year. Needless to say, tensions were high at this action.

Further heightening the tension was the low turnout of demonstrators and media personnel. This had the effect of promoting a police cockiness that immediately escalated into widespread attacks on demonstrators. In front of the building federal marshals were clubbing people in the arms, elbows, backs, and ribs. They threw many people to the ground, including several older demonstrators. All of this was in response to a nonviolent and peaceful blockade in which activists stood with their arms linked, attempting to prevent workers from entering the building. There was no graffiti or vandalism, fires, or aggression by the protesters, just angry chanting.

Meanwhile, activists at the back and sides of the building faced similar brutality, as well as mass arrests. At the back entrance, the federal police appeared to be more violent to men than to women, and even more violent to larger men, though in the front women and men were abused equally. The San Francisco Police eventually began to encircle everyone near the back entrance, including many who had no intention of being arrested. They then began to arrest everyone. People were thrown into the street when they were arrested, and some received minor injuries as a result. A similar mass arrest scenario then occurred on the Larkin Street side of the building.

The federal police wore no badges or any other identifying symbols, just plain blue

jeans or slacks and dark, lightweight jackets that said "Federal Marshall" on the back. When people asked where their badges and name tags were, they replied: "We're federal marshals and don't need any of that stuff." It thus became difficult, if not impossible, to know who was responsible for the more violent attacks on protesters.

The entire protest could be considered militant, and it was certainly non-cooperative. Activists were there with the intent of closing the federal building and preventing people from going to work. Many people came to the event planning on risking arrest, knowing full well that what they were doing would very likely incite the police to arrest them and possibly abuse them as well. Yet none of the protesters attacked a police officer physically or verbally. The police beat protesters without provocation or warning.

For comparison let us consider a smaller event that splintered off from the federal building demonstration later that day. Members of the religious community and Pledge of Resistance carried out a mock death ritual in front of the Chevron building on Market Street. The ritual was very tranquil and unobtrusive. Other demonstrators and spectators sat or stood quietly nearby while it took place. The police likewise looked on peacefully, allowing them to finish their ritual. Then they politely asked the participants to please get up, as they were under arrest; all eight of them complied. As they were taken away, the police handed their flowers and props to other protesters who were not involved in the ritual. The protest ended soon after.

The one final example, a Sunday evening march through the city to protest the start of the ground war, there were many threats of violence by the San Francisco riot police. These threats escalated as the march wore on through the night and the police grew restless and frustrated, culminating in a particularly brutal attack on one protester. The march was basically peaceful, but militant. Spray paint fumes were strong during most of the march as was the chanting and yelling. The armed services recruiting depot was trashed once again, and at the federal building protesters attempted to dismantle the police barricades. In both cases, riot cops began to move on the protesters involved. And in both cases the protesters managed to escape without serious injury, but only because they were quick (the riot cops were running and had their clubs in what appeared to be an attack posture).

Later in the evening, however, marchers were chased through the financial district by riot cops. People in the back covered their faces with bandannas and began to dump garbage cans and newspaper stands

into the street and set fires in order to slow down the police attack and to protect the others from potential abuse. The crowd began to run. Riot cops soon appeared from virtually every side street and effectively trapped the crowd. A cop on a bull horn told everyone to leave the intersection where they were sequestered or face arrest. The mass began to move south, away from the intersection. Suddenly, two cops ran from their ranks and grabbed one of the protesters and twisted his arms behind his back in a compliance hold. "Hey, I was moving, I was moving. I didn't want to be arrested, so I moved." The cops ignored him and twisted his arms more forcefully.

Another protester leaped from the crowd and tried to free his comrade. Immediately 5 cops threw him to the ground and began to beat him aggressively with their clubs in the chest and gut. One cop slipped his club between the man's legs and appeared to pull it up into his crotch. A Channel 7KGO camera man was there, not filming, with his camera pointed in the opposite direction. The crowd screamed for the cops to stop, to show restraint, but to no avail. They screamed at the newsman to film this atrocity, but again to no avail. Once the two protesters were restrained and taken away the crowd began to dissipate.

In summary, it should be emphasized that in virtually every instance in which violence toward people occurred it was the police, not the protesters, who instigated it. In the one example in which a protester touched a police officer first, the beating he received as a result was brutal, excessive, and vindictive. Five police officers could have easily restrained him and arrested the man without the superfluous beating they gave him. His attempt to free his friend may have been stupid, considering he was surrounded by several hundred police officers at the time, but it certainly did not warrant the violence he received as a result. Refusal to comply with unjust rules, or any rules for that matter, does not justify police aggression. Militancy does not justify police brutality. Nor does sabotage or destruction of inanimate objects. And the fear or threat of police violence does not justify attacking others for engaging in activities that may lead to police aggression. By backing down from or avoiding situations in which violence is threatened by the state we are allowing the state to rule by force, and helping it to do so.

by E.G. Smith