



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ Education

★ Organization

★ Emancipation

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¡A Las Barricadas!

Ignacio de Llorens, a correspondent for the CNT paper Solidaridad Obrera who was studying Russian in Petrograd, had been visiting Moscow for several days when, on August 19, 1991, as he walked on Marx Avenue, which borders the Kremlin, he noticed that traffic had been blocked and that a line of tanks had been formed, next to which stood a row of soldiers with machine guns. At first he thought these were precautions taken in anticipation of some sort of demonstration, but a quick call to a friend, the Spanish correspondent for the mainstream Spanish newspaper El Pais confirmed that there had been a coup d'etat and that Gorbachev was being held in isolation in Crimea. What follows is a partial translation of Fellow Worker Llorens' first-hand report, which appeared in the September 1991 issue of Solidaridad Obrera.

The response of the people in the streets surprised me: serenity reigned; people approached the soldiers, offering them cigarettes and commenting on the events taking place. Once in a while someone would stick a ukase (edict) on the walls in which the constitutional government (Yeltsin) requested popular support against the military and the KGB.

I reached Revolution Square, which accesses Red Square and the Kremlin. There I found an improvised platform

full of tri-color Russian flags. Various speakers with megaphones proclaimed the need to resist the coup and support the autonomous government. People shouted Yeltsin's name repeatedly; no one seemed to remember Gorbachev. But suddenly the rally was interrupted. A brusque movement by the tanks created panic and dispersion in the square. I think probably all of us at that moment were remembering what happened at Tianament Square.

After one-and-a-half hours of traveling I arrive back at my room. Alexei, my landlord, welcomes me back cordially... JUST IN TIME TO WATCH A TELEVISED PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY THE LEADERS OF THE COUP: all freedoms are suspended—the few there are—for the next six months; all political parties are dissolved except for the CP, of course, just as Lenin and Trotsky did in March 1918; respecting the autonomy movements among the many republics, they say they will "solve the problem" by sending in troops, in true Soviet style. With this good news Alexei and I bid farewell to the day.

TO THE BARRICADES!

The next morning, upon arriving at the center of the city, I see that overnight the military has taken control of Revolution Square. After a long wait at the Inturist Hotel, I manage to reach home by phone...and reassure my family of my wellbeing.



Preparing for battle at the barricades in Moscow.

As I leave the hotel, groups of people are walking up Gorki Street, and the end of which I see a red and black flag. "My people at last!" I think to myself. I quickly join them. They're the members of KAS (Anarcho-syndicalist Confederation) I spent time with the previous Sunday. We number about six, not counting the flag. I ask Sacha Shubin, a young historian that speaks some Spanish, where the other members of KAS are. He doesn't know, though he assures me

they'll soon show. We follow Gorki Street up to City Hall, which we reach after skirting a line of tanks. The mayor, a short energetic kind of guy with a name, Popov, which sounds like a clown's, is on the balcony condemning the coup. After that, Shevernadze speaks with a grave voice. People listen silently and with respect.

Sacha has been giving out the few flyers he's been able to print up on time.

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Welfare and Workers' Wages

by X327194

A Monday morning in December, 8 am. A crowded bus is inching up San Francisco's Mission Street. Near 13th it stops in front of the Social Service office and a line of shabbily dressed persons is waiting there for the doors to open.

On the bus, a middle-aged man without a tie responds that his name is McGowan. He looks out the window at the line and shakes his head. "They could work," he says.

In his hand is part of the Sunday *San Francisco Chronicle*. An article claims that in nine years California will be paying out more in health, education and welfare than it can possibly collect in taxes. And this, according to Governor Pete Wilson, "is not fair to our taxpayers."

The governor proposes "to reduce support for the needy" and "get people back into productive employment." It's hard to see how he can do either.

A family of three now receives \$663 a month in welfare, or 71% of the federal poverty guideline, in a city where the average two-bedroom apartment rents for \$950. Later in the week, the newspaper reported that General Motors plans to lay off 74,000 as the recession deepens.

Wilson's anti-welfare scheme will need to be approved by referendum. He hopes to fool moderate income people like McGowan into hating the homeless and jobless. So, even if McGowan votes as the governor wants, he may soon be out of a job himself. On Christmas Day, the *New York Times* said, "Since the peak of economic activity in July 1990...the

number of blue collar jobs has fallen by more than one million...and desk jobs by about 200,000."

Racism enters into this, in that blacks and Hispanics—the "last hired and first fired"—are supposedly getting most of the welfare money. Yet if you visit a Social Service office, you will find persons of every race asking for help. So, are the people on welfare really too lazy to work? If so, they are unusual; for history shows that a majority has always preferred to work, rather than starve or beg for handouts. Only a minority has been able to live by stealing or exploiting the work of others.

Among Stone Age hunters and gatherers, everyone worked, and there were no bosses. In slave states from ancient Sumer to the 19th-century American South, slaves worked while their masters

enjoyed leisure and luxury.

During the Middle Ages the serfs and artisans worked, but the aristocracy did not. In perhaps only two eras have workers been systematically denied the opportunity to work, and thus obliged to accept state alms.

Under the Roman Empire, the aristocracy increasingly used unpaid slaves to replace free workers. The latter were bought off with "bread and circus," equivalents of our welfare and TV.

With the advent of early Christianity, the workers organized themselves along religious lines. Rome fell, and from beneath its rotten shell emerged the Church, which in the beginning at least was a plebian movement.

The second age of involuntary idleness began with the "enclosure," or legalized theft, of village common lands in 18th-century Europe. Agricultural workers were driven off the land into urban factory jobs, which they hated. The only way to keep them at the bench was to insure that not working would be worse.

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Letters to the Editors . . .

Dear Readers,

This paper you hold in your hands is the last issue edited and produced by the San Francisco IW Collective. We're handing off the project to the IWW Ottawa Group. All further submissions of articles and graphics should be sent to them at Box 2541, Station D, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1P 5W6.

Thanks to all our contributors this year. For a union without borders.
—The SF IW Collective

Fellow Workers,

Ron Kaminkow is quite mistaken in his claim that U.S. workers "worked at straight pay for whatever duration the

employer saw fit" until the passage of New Deal labor legislation in the 1930s (Letters, Jan. 1992). The average U.S. work week in manufacturing fell from 51 hours in 1909 to 44.5 in 1925, and continued falling for several more years (Historical Statistics of the U.S.). The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—establishing the 40-hour week—was absolutely meaningless when adopted, since the average work week was 35.5 hours. The law did not reduce working hours, rather they increased to 40.5 hours by 1940 (Statistical Abstracts, 1942).

President Roosevelt pushed his National Industrial Recovery Act as part of his strategy to sideline a 30-hour bill approved by the Senate in 1933. The National Labor Board (later the NLRB) served employers' interests from the start; the Textile Workers Union noted, in 1933, that workers were losing their only real power, their strength on the job floor.

The American labor movement was largely built around the struggle for shorter hours. Unions won shorter hours (and better wages) for all workers, not only for their members, since non-union employers either had to approach union standards or risk the danger that their workers, too, would organize. To this day, the mere threat of a union organizing campaign often results in improved conditions.

In the 1930s unions were persuaded to abandon job-based direction action

strategies in exchange for government-regulated labor relations and a promise of economic prosperity. (The process is admirably documented in Benjamin Hunnicut's *Work Without End* and Christopher Tomlins' *The State and the Unions*; the broader question of the effect of Labor Party schemes is discussed in Sam Dolgoff's *The American Labor Movement: A New Beginning*, available from the IWW Literature office.) The result has been plummeting union membership, increased union bureaucracy (strengthened by state regulation), longer working hours and, since 1973, falling wages.

Nor has labor partyism served our fellow workers abroad. Canada certainly does a better job of meeting workers' health care needs than does the U.S., but their system is not the result of "independent working-class electoral politics," as Kaminkow claims. While Canada has a long tradition of labor parties with representation at the national and provincial level, these have never held national power or even been the official opposition. (This may change in the next elections; the New Democratic Party has recently won elections in several Canadian provinces.) These parties were not in a position to implement health care (paid for, by the way, almost entirely by our Canadian fellow workers through very high sales and income taxes) or other pro-labor legislation. Rather, Canadian governments have

responded to working-class power manifested where it matters—in industry.

Our power lies on the job, not in politics. To the extent that gains are made through political action, they are granted only in the hopes of sidelining more radical efforts at the grassroots. Labor and Socialist parties have consistently demonstrated, everywhere that they have held power, that they serve the interests of the ruling class first and foremost. We can rely only upon our own efforts, and our own power, to defend workers' interests.

If it is sectarian to suggest that we resist efforts to divert our energies into less effective channels, so be it. Workers have never gained anything of lasting importance by toadying to reformist schemes.

—Jon Bekken, I.U. 620

Dear Friends and Comrades,

In less than a year the 1992 Presidential Election Campaign will be in full swing. The Democrats and Republicans will once again dominate the political debate in the U.S. The spectacular quality of Presidential election campaigns has historically had a very negative influence on oppositional politics in the U.S. The whole campaign process is antithetical to the Left Green vision of grassroots democracy. Furthermore, it is likely to divert the energies of committed activists into the Democratic Party (or a third party that is not directly accountable to the movement). We have a choice to make regarding the 1992 Presidential Election: we can either participate in it, ignore it, or actively oppose it.

At the recent Love and Rage organizing conference (June 29-July 1, Min-

(continued on page 3)

North America's
Only Radical Labor
Newsmagazine

INDUSTRIAL
WORKER



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

IW Collective

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IWW DIRECTORY

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

AUSTRALIA

NEW SOUTH WALES

Sydney Area IWW Group—Delegate: Ray Elbourne, Cnr Dittons Lane and Old Illawarra Hwy, Sutton Forest 2577, (048) 682883
Jura Books—110 Chrystal St. Petersham, Sydney

CANADA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver Group—110-511 Gatsbury St., Coquitlam, V3J 5E7, (604) 936-1927. John Barker, contact.

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

SE British Columbia IWW Group—P.O. Box 54, Balfour, V0G 1C0. Contact: David Everest (604) 229-4978.

MANITOBA

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

ONTARIO

Kingston IWW Group—472 Albert Street, K7L 3W3, (613) 544-2382. Delegate: Brad Waugh (613) 549-6094.

Ottawa IWW Group—388 1/2 Kent Street, K2P 2A9, (613) 231-2922.

Toronto Group—11 Andrews Avenue, M6J 1S2, (416) 941-9945. Meetings first Thursday, 7 pm, each month, phone for location.

Blackbird Design Collective Job Shop (I.U. 450)—394 Euclid Ave., Suite 301, Toronto M6G 2S9, (416) 972-6293.

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND

IWW Delegate—D. Czunys, 13 Wolsley, York, YO1 5BQ.

IWW Delegate—F. Lee, 22 Vicarage Lane, Belgrave, Leicester, LE4 5 PD, Phone: 0533-661835

UNITED STATES

ARKANSAS

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

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles contact—Dorice McDaniels, (310) 679-2570.

IWW Local 1/Mendocino/Humboldt GMB—Delegates: Judi Bari, P.O. Box 656, Willits, 95490. message phone: (707) 468-1660.

Riverside Group—Delegate: Kathy Light (714) 369-9799.

San Diego IWW—RMR Kroopkin, 2675 Fletcher Parkway #211, El Cajon 92020, (619) 460-2907.

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

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

ASUC Recyclers at UC Berkeley, 620 Eshleman, 94720. Delegates: Kiri Soares and Karen Burnes (510) 642-4895.

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

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

COLORADO

Denver/Boulder GMB—2412 E. Colfax, Denver 80206, (303) 388-1065. Office open Saturdays 9-12. Meetings, second Friday each month, 7 p.m. Delegates: Cliff Sundstrom, 910 E. 8th Ave. #202, Denver 80218. (313) 832-7602. Dave Frazer, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474. (303) 258-3732.
P&L Printing Job Shop (I.U. 450), 2298 Clay, Denver 80211, (303) 433-1852.

FLORIDA

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

GEORGIA

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

HAWAII

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

IDAHO

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

ILLINOIS

Chicago GMB—(New World Resource Center) 1476 W. Irving Park, 60613 (312) 549-5045. Meetings, first Friday 7:30 pm, Labor Video Forums, third Friday 7:30 pm.

LOUISIANA

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

MAINE

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

MARYLAND

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

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston GMB—23 Gorham #3, Somerville, MA 02144, (617) 629-2922. Meetings, second Sun. 2 pm. Delegates: Nora Smith, Dani Mavronides.

MICHIGAN

SE Michigan GMB—Albert Parsons (313) 769-0695 and Michael Kozura, 7252 Kendal, Dearborn, MI 48126, (313) 581-2065.

Ann Arbor Tenants' Union Job Shop (I.U. 670)—4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor 48109, (313) 763-6876. Delegate: Jeff Gearhart (313) 994-5477.

People's Warehouse Branch (I.U. 660)—727 W. Ellsworth, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 769-8629. Delegates: Carol Landry, Mark Kaufmann (313) 483-3478.

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

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis / St. Paul IWW Group—Box 2391, Loop Stn., 55402, (612) 339-5002. Delegate: Chris Shillock.

Duluth Area IWW Group—1514 N. 8th Ave. E., Duluth 55805. Delegate: Jack Rosenquist.

MISSISSIPPI

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

MONTANA

IWW Contact: Mark Ross, 111 W. Quartz, Butte, 59701.

NEVADA

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

NEW YORK

New York GMB—P.O. Box 1147 M, Bayshore 11706. Delegates: Brian Mahoney (516) 586-2103. Jackie Panish, Box 372, Rego Park 11374, (212) 868-1121. Rochelle Semel, RD 1, Box 158-B, Hartwick, 13348 (607) 293-6489. Bob Young, Box 920, Wingdale 12594.

Socialist Party USA National Office Job Shop (I.U. 670)—516 W. 25th St. #404, NYC 10001. (212) 691-0776.

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

PENNSYLVANIA

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Philadelphia Delegate—Tom Hill, P.O. Box 41928, Philadelphia 19101.

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TEXAS

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UTAH

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

VERMONT

Burlington Contacts—Anne Petermann and Orin Langle, P.O. Box 804, Burlington 05402, (802) 658-2403.

WASHINGTON

Bellingham GMB—P.O. Box 1580, 98227

Tacoma/Olympia GMB & GDC Local 4—2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma 98405, (206) 272-8119.

Seattle IWW Group—P.O. Box 95686, 98145-2686, (206) 525-1336. Delegate: Wayne Taylor. Street of Crocodiles Letter Press Job Shop—P.O. Box 20610, Seattle 98102, (206) 726-5924

WISCONSIN

Madison GMB—Box 2605, 53701, (608) 255-1800. Delegates: Tim Wong, Jerry Chernow.

Lakeside Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1334 Williamson, Madison 53703, (608) 255-1800. Delegate: Jerry Chernow.

1992: Will Anything Change?

by Dave Collins

1991 is finally dead-gone and, hopefully, laid to rest. The past year has been witness to considerable ugliness including a disturbing rise in unemployment, homelessness, the spread of AIDS, and massive cutbacks in vital human services. It also saw the United States in the forefront of yet another war, this time in the Middle East—with all its jingoism, death, and wasted human potential.

The downward spiral of the economy left a bitter taste in many mouths as people lost jobs, homes, and dignity. Fear and uncertainty were (and still are) the watchwords of the day. Feeding upon all of these ills are the twin evils of bigotry and racism.

From the videotaped attack on Rodney King in Los Angeles, to cross-burnings in Iowa; from gay-bashing and anti-gay discrimination to the sexual harassment of women in the workplace, the country seethed.

While all this was going on, from the bowels of Louisiana issued forth rumbblings of a dire nature as David Duke made his bid for governor of that state. Although he lost that race, he has recently announced his intention of running for president. While the Republican Party has disavowed any support in his effort, there are elements in the party which, theoretically, align themselves with Duke and his fascist ideals. And the hits keep on comin'.

In the workplace, racism and bigotry have taken new and ominous turns. The influx of new immigrants and the jingoistic manipulation of the mass media and "popular culture" have divided workers and, in many cases, set in motion the erosion of solidarity. It has been a classic example of forces "pitting one set of workers against another set of workers." Oftentimes fear has been used as a tool by management to keep workers polarized and wary of each other, thereby

limiting organizing activity. Economic instability and court injunctions have curtailed any solid strike activity, so that while "partial victories" have been "won," the *real* issues have remained virtually ignored (i.e., "tabled"). Much of this has been due to the attitudes of the major unions, which have opted for concessions, while cloaking their own bureaucracy in the mantle of unionism and "worker brotherhood." In addition, many of these same unions developed an "America first" policy, thus opening the

The influx of new immigrants and the jingoistic manipulation of the mass media and "popular culture" have divided workers and, in many cases, set in motion the erosion of solidarity.

door to increased ethnocentric hostility and international-bashing.

The war in the Persian Gulf, like the taking of the U.S. embassy in Teheran after the ouster of the Shah, gave vent to extreme hatred and saber-rattling as persons of Middle Eastern heritage were vilified and, in many cases, the victims of violence—all in the name of "100% Americanism." Although much of the initial reaction has gradually abated, the socio-economic cauldron still simmers.

Economic instability has also led to a sharp rise in homelessness as more and more families are ending up living on the streets and wherever else they can. With cutbacks (actual and forecast) in essential social services and fewer shelters available, the outlook for 1992 is bleak. And although the mass media has been making a concerted effort to accurately portray the *overall* situation, the media image of the "typical" homeless person as a single male plagued by alcohol/drug addiction and emotional problems has, unfortunately, been indelibly burned in

peoples' minds. And, as things become worse, many people, uncertain about their own futures, and force fed a steady diet of media hype, are turning their backs on both the homeless and economically disadvantaged. Even during this past "season of sharing," donations have been notably much less than in past years.

Fears have also been fueled by the spread of AIDS and related diseases. Although no longer limited to IV drug users and the gay community, AIDS is

still be regarded in much the same way as the bubonic plague was regarded in Europe during the Middle Ages. Although public awareness has improved, many people still harbor fears based largely upon misinformation. In many instances reaction has been, well... reactionary.

In Concord, California, Measure M narrowly passed on the November ballot. Measure M removed the words, "sexual orientation" from the city's anti-discrimination ordinance, thus opening the floodgates for job and housing discrimination, and increased gay bashing. Mark Zapalik, the measure's author, and one of the "leading lights" of the Traditional Values Coalition, lost his bid for a seat on Concord's City Council, and there have recently been strong allegations that the campaign for Measure M was a dirty, underhanded affair. There are efforts underway to overturn Measure M.

The battle conducted in Concord was typical of many battles over socio-politi-

cal issues where rightwing Christian fundamentalism is involved. Using such words as "traditional family values" and bemoaning the "disintegration of the family structure" by those "godless elements," the fundamentalists feed on fear and ignorance. And what results is usually anger and violence against innocent people. "Alternative lifestyle" has no meaning at all for these oily tongued preachers who spout dictums about brotherhood and love, then turn and murmur, "Let us Prey."

Overshadowing all this is the spectre of a resurgence of fascism. While not appearing to wear *all* of the trappings of the crude, club-swinging, brownshirted brutality of previous eras, it nonetheless harbors the same hatred and fanaticism.

During the gubernatorial elections in Louisiana this past year, it wore a suit and tie and was in the person of David Duke, one-time Grand Wizard of the KKK and "former" Nazi sympathizer. While denying any allegiance with either the Klan or Nazis, much of his platform, although thinly disguised, reflected his past involvement.

In a recent interview on the Phil Donahue Show, Duke suggested a program in which mothers on welfare would receive a certain amount of money per month if they agreed to a "sterilization treatment." This, along with decrying the rising crime rate in inner city areas, the rising unemployment, etc., coupled with his "new-found Christianity," was, in effect, a reshaping of the same old bullshit.

The truly frightening aspect of this is that a fair percentage of the people in the audience were *swallowing it!* Duke was (and is) working the classic con game—playing on peoples' fears and then manipulating and molding thoughts and emotions. And this is the same man who has announced his intention of running for the presidency. The Reagan/Bush plan certainly has been bad enough, but a Reagan/Bush/Duke plan would be catastrophic. Although the Republicans claim to have disowned Duke, there are enough of them who espouse enough of his theories to make a crucial difference. Indeed, 1992 bears careful scrutiny.

Letters

neapolis) it was agreed to initiate as broad a coalition as possible to organize a boycott of the 1992 Presidential Elections. We would like to propose that the Left Green Network endorse this effort, choose a couple of contacts and help build that coalition. We conceive of this campaign as much more than a "don't vote" campaign. We see this as an opportunity to actively expose the dead-end of national electoral politics. The Boycott is an effort to render conscious the unconscious contempt for national electoral politics of the non-voting majority of people in the U.S. and to give it radical political content. We think that there is a broad range of potential support for this effort in the radical wings of many of the social movements. By organizing a coalition we can begin to improve communications between radicals in the various social movements.

The exact form that the Boycott will take (its stated politics, its tactics and so on) can't be settled except by the coalition in an open and democratic manner. There are a number of possible tactics the Boycott could use:

High visibility propaganda: large posters, handbills, spraypainting and so on. Using election debates as forums for the Boycott. Demonstrations in appropriate localities during the primaries and caucuses to take advantage of the press presence that accompanies a Presidential campaign. Placing articles and opinion pieces in mainstream and alternative publications. Mass rallies and demonstrations at the sites of the Democratic and Republican conventions. Organizing forums, meetings and rallies to support the Boycott Election Day actions.

We envision the building of a democratic coalition as an important process in its own right. The Left Greens strong commitment to building grassroots democratic structures will be an essential component in the difficult process of bringing together the various forces that oppose the elections.

For more information contact the Love and Rage Network office at: P.O. Box 3, Prince St. Station, NY, NY 10012 or call (212) 925-7966. Matt Black, Love & Rage —Matt Black, Love & Rage Network —Chuck Morse, Left Green Network

Dear Wobs—

Just a few comments on the *IW* and the Jan. 92 copy. The newspaper has improved 1000% since the move to San Fran. The layout is excellent and the writing is top-notch. I must especially complement Judi Bari on her article "Working at the L-P Mill." It was superb.

If I could only get my fellow trade union members to read *IW* instead of arguing over overtime with 20% of the Local unemployed (including me). Only you could appreciate how ignorant they can be.

I feel that people prefer to live surrounded by a cloak of lies and fairytales. It is more comforting that way. The truth is just too hard to live with and they can't stand it when you challenge them on their pathetic situation.

The IWW is speaking common sense. Keep up the good work. Someday Truth will win out. Let's hear it for the OBU!!! In Solidarity, Martin Conlisk La Grange, IL

Dear *Industrial Worker*,

"Kanada" differs from "the Snakes" in having a "third" political party, and it is one of those "labour parties" (see Jon Bekken's article *IW* Nov. 91). While the "Liberals" (read democrats) and "progressive conservatives" or Tories (read republicans) toss power back and forth, the New Democratic Party (NDP) has acted as the radical left opposition.

The NDP grew from an old prairie socialist party back in the '30s and has been supported over the years by unions of the CLC (Cdn. Labour Congress). The smaller CFL (Cdn. Federation of Labour), mainly construction trade unions, split from CLC over the issue and remains apolitical but generally eager to sell out.

Now that the Tories have sold Canada down the drain of corporate control, people are getting pretty upset, and to prove it in Autumn '90 Ontario elected the NDP to govern the province. The capitalist media cried socialist ruin, and the Big Bank lowered Ontario's credit rating, but the NDP have moved softly so as not to scare the capitalists off the john.

On the plus side, the Ontario NDP raised the minimum wage to \$6, and implemented full pay equity for female govt. workers. On the minus side, they did not yet impose promises of a minimum corporate tax; and they raised taxes on tobacco, alcohol, and gasoline.

In between the poles of good or bad, the NDP have resisted pressure to cut public services, for example raising welfare 2%—not enough, but better than a cut. On worker disputes they have been mediocre, forcing Toronto transit workers to mediation, and ticketing truckers who blocked the road. They assisted Paperworkers to buy a failing pulp mill, and appointed a union officer to cabinet. The NDP are still promising a no-scab law as part of a labour law package; they will probably deliver on this, under pressure from CLC.

Environmentally they haven't done much but promise a recycling law. In one suspicious incident, a govt. ministry took the word of a corporation when it lied, saying that the Algonquins of Barrier Lake had agreed to let their land be clearcut. Without any confirmation, the govt. issued the permit. Fortunately the Algonquin people took matters into their own hands and captured the logging equipment. Company officials had to wait for a sunrise drum ceremony in which the machines were escorted off.

In Autumn '91 the NDP suddenly took on more importance, as it won provincial elections in both British Columbia & Saskatchewan. The NDP already rules Yukon Territory, so now controls over 50% of Canadian population at provincial level.

In Canada, the federal election is called by the Prime Minister at any time during his 5-year term. Most likely the hated Tories will wait till the last minute in 1993. Barring major blunders, chances are good for a national NDP win. National party leader is Audrey McLaughlin, who would be first woman prime minister.

NDP governments so far are notable for increased public consultation, human rights as a priority, and a flexible attitude. Significantly they come to power just when the country is falling into Deep Depression as an obvious result of Tory policies. Already the corporate media are blaming the NDP

for the economic ruin!
—Unsigned

Dear *Industrial Worker*:

We've heard that there is a small miners' museum in some interior British Columbia town, which has a lot of IWW artifacts. Does anyone know more about this?

—Carlos Murray

Dear Wobs:

Industrial Union 630 is in the process of being revitalized, and a new newsletter called *Busker's Rag* is being put together so that musicians and other performers can network effectively. The following excerpt is from the proposal put forth by Executive Board member Carlos Murray to publish the *Busker's Rag*.

"The IWW is lucky to have so many fine musicians among its members. Every branch has its musicians playing everything from folk to hard rock. Whatever the style, Wobbly musicians sing songs with potent messages about the world we live in. And of course, many play Wobbly traditional music, as well as writing new songs to fit the occasion.

Let's start a tape exchange among ourselves, so we can hear each other. We can turn on our friends to each other's music, and promote its distribution. Send a list of your tapes to the address below, tell us how much you'll sell one for, and whether you are willing to trade tape for tape. We'll publish the list in *Busker's Rag*.

The music industry is a tough way to earn a living, and musicians like other workers need the power of organization. Here in Ottawa, performers have no love for the A.F.M. That music union only helps orchestra players and a few established dance bands. Alternative musicians, from rock and roll on down the line, are at the mercy of club owners for pay and benefits. From time to time there is even talk of forming another music union.

What are we waiting for? *We are* the alternative music union, IU 630 of the IWW. The first step is to become visible, to coordinate and share info among ourselves in the *Busker's Rag*.

Busker's Rag: 388½ Kent Street, Ottawa, Ont. K2P 2A9 Canada

International Notes

"Free Trade": Last August, a panel of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—an intergovernmental body working to reduce trade barriers—decided that the U.S. ban on tuna caught with dolphin-killing nets was an offense against free trade which must be stopped. The decision means that GATT could prohibit countries from applying any health, environmental or labor standards to products made beyond their borders—and makes international grassroots solidarity and direct action that much more urgent.

In reporting on the GATT and the U.S.-Mexico negotiations, the *Left Business Observer* (250 W. 85th St., New York 10024-3217) notes that "globalization is inevitable; the real issue is on whose terms. . . . One of the pleasant side-effects of the trade melodrama. . . is that its forcing U.S. unions, churches, environmentalists and community organizers. . . to notice that the Third World begins at our southern border, and to realize that it's in the long-range interest of our non-corporate classes to raise Mexican wages.

"It's not enough just to try to block free trade legally; even if the NAFTA talks are postponed, or GATT collapses, multinational companies can probably make a sufficiently borderless world on their own; what do they care about a few stinking laws. U.S. opponents of the corporate agenda can only succeed over the long term by allying with opponents of that agenda. . . to assure that there are no low-wage, unregulated havens for capital to flee to. Multinational capital can only be fought multinationally."

Telephone Unionists Meet: Unionists employed by Northern Telecom, the world's fourth-largest telephone equipment manufacturer, met in Toronto last October to develop plans to counter Northern Telecom's attacks on working conditions in recent years. Some 150 NT workers and unionists from Canada, the U.S., western Europe, Turkey, Japan and Malaysia participated in the meeting.

Northern Telecom's top boss describes national boundaries as "inconsequential. . . a mere inconvenience," pledging to approach the world "as if it were a single market." While NT remains highly unionized in Canada, only 21 percent of its workforce around the world belongs to unions, and the company has aggressively worked with governments to keep unions out of its new international operations.

Unionists are hoping to respond not by pushing protectionist schemes, but by cooperating with other NT workers around the world. "We intend to do all in our power to help Northern Telecom workers—wherever they live in the world—improve their working conditions," says Communications Workers of Canada president Fred Pomeroy. The 11-union NT Solidarity Coalition is drawing up a common organizing brochure,

describing the company's global strategy and labor relations record, which will be translated into seven languages and distributed in unionized and non-union NT workplaces around the world. The Coalition plans an international "Action Day" this spring to present its demands to local managements around the world, and hopes to bring pressure to bear at a stockholders meeting planned for late April.

A more limited campaign along these lines forced the company to settle a strike by the last group of U.S. NT workers still represented by a union. Unions hope to make the costs of union-busting, at home and abroad, so costly that the company will find it more economic to treat workers fairly. (information from *Labor Notes*)

Repetitive Strain Injury: British Telecom has made record profits since privatization, and paid its top bosses so handsomely that even the government is a little embarrassed. Despite this, the firm plans to fire 16,000 workers over the next few years. Meanwhile, the company pays its data processing workers according to their speed, which varies from 10,000 to 13,000 key strokes per hour. With three breaks, workers put in 7¼ hours daily; if they fell below 10,000 strokes an hour they were warned of possible dismissal.

Ten thousand strokes an hour is nearly three per second—which isn't a lot, for a few seconds. But do it at that rate for a minute, and then for an hour, and then for a working day, a working week, a working lifetime, and you have working hell. That working life is not likely to be very long; a 31-year-old former British Telecom worker who developed Repetitive Strain Injury in just a few years on the job, says the company "wrecked my life. I just want my arm back." *Freedom*, from which this report is taken, concludes: "What a world where the machine rules and humans are reduced to mere 'key-strokers' whose arms wear out and, unlike the machines, can't be replaced."

Auto Workers Discuss International Solidarity: U.S., Canadian, Brazilian and Mexican auto workers met last November in Mexico to discuss the restructuring of the auto industry under present and proposed free trade agreements, to exchange information, and to discuss the potential for greater solidarity. GM workers called for protests against deaths caused by speed-ups and the use of toxic chemicals in their workplaces. Canadian workers pledged to take action if Chrysler refuses to stop using dangerous chemicals in Mexico which have been banned in the U.S. and Canada. And Chrysler workers will discuss the possibility of common negotiations across national borders.

International Aid: Recent World Bank figures demonstrate that the third world repays industrialized nations more than it

receives in loans and other foreign aid. Latin America, for example, paid back \$1.56 billion more in 1990 than it received in new funds.

In the 1980s, per capita income among "developing" countries, as a percentage of income in OECD countries, plummeted from nearly 7 to 4 percent, after a decade of slow improvement. This has been aggravated by International Monetary Fund and World Bank policies, which condition loans and other "aid" on austerity programs aimed at slashing wages and social programs to create a more attractive investment capital. Meanwhile, the World Bank reported a \$1.2 billion profit on operations in its 1991 fiscal year. According to UNICEF figures, a third of a million children go blind every year because of Vitamin A deficiency; the entire at-risk population could be protected for \$6 million a year. About \$2.5 billion, twice the World Bank's profit, could prevent "the great majority" of malnutrition deaths. But the Bank prefers to undermine social services and encourage heightened exploitation of labor.

Socialism at Work: As unemployment in France approached 10 percent of the workforce, the "socialist" government has devised an ingenious job creation scheme—tax deductions of up to \$4,500 a year for rich households to subsidize the pay of their domestic servants. The government, which estimates that 100,000-150,000 jobs will be created by the tax break, rushed the bill through a late-night session of Parliament without a word of objection, even from the Communist delegates.

Paraguayan Unionists Form Independent Union: Under the Stroessner dictatorship, only the pro-government Paraguayan Workers' Confederation was permitted to exist. Since the dictatorship has fallen, unions have formed the Coordinated Independent Labor Unions (COSI), which now includes nearly 70 unions. The COSI aims to be a democratic, pluralist and revolutionary organization, with roots in anarcho-syndicalist principles. (Source: *Umanita Nova/Love & Rage*)

Danish Anarko-Syndikalistisk Organisation Dissolves: The International Workers Association's (IWA/AIT) Danish affiliate unanimously decided to dissolve. ASO members have been debating whether anarcho-syndicalists should work within the official, reformist trade union or whether they should organize industrial networks or build syndicalist unions. This disagreement, and general organizational stagnation, led to the decision to dissolve.

The Danish section of the Anarchist Black Cross reports that the ongoing conflict between the International Workers Association and the Swedish SAC contributed to the decision. "ASO has all along had a more gentle view of SAC [than the IWA/AIT]. Though ASO supported the CNT-AIT. . . ASO still considered SAC as a valuable source of information and experiences—being the only functioning syndicalist organization

in Scandinavia. . . . With the 1993 European unification approaching and the effect that this will have on the workers. . . we think it is even more important for militant unionist, revolutionary and anarcho-syndicalists to meet, debate, organise and act together. . . . The IWA sections and the SAC/CGT have set up separate European industrial networks. SAC has hosted some well attended international syndicalist meetings which almost every IWA section boycotted. These sectarian attitudes are very harmful not only to the IWA and the SAC/CGT alliance, respectively, but also to the development of a broad libertarian working-class movement in Europe." (Source: *Libertarian Labor Review*)

80 Ninja Turtle Workers Killed: A fire raging through the Xing Ye Raincoat Factory in the Chinese province of Guangdong killed more than 80 workers May 30th, and seriously injured another 40. The factory employed some 130 workers, housed in overcrowded dormitories, working 7 days a week, 14 hours a day, and fed plain rice and vegetables. The fire broke out in the middle of the night, when workers were locked into a fourth-floor factory dormitory. Most of the dead were young women aged 17-24. Management locked all factory exits each night to prevent workers from going out and "fooling around." Many charred bodies were found just behind the locked main gate. The factory produces raincoats for export, recently including children's Ninja Turtle raincoats exported to Europe and the United States. Families of the deceased received compensation ranging from US \$1,300 to \$1,700, but injured workers received no compensation and little medical care. Most (many permanently disabled) have been sent back to the rural villages where they were recruited.

A report by the government-sponsored China Federation of Trade Unions indicates that more than 50,000 workers joined strikes and other job protests, including slow-downs and rallies, between July 1989 and December 1990. The report details more than 2,300 such protest actions, all of which were illegal. "Some workers are in a predicament in which they have no money for medical care [and] no rice for their pots," the report states. Some workers have gone without pay for several months, while ill and retired workers have been ejected from hospitals because their companies failed to pay medical bills. (Source: *Asian Labour Update*)

Bangladesh Workers Demands 6-Hour Day: Riot police broke up a 48-hour strike by 2,000 members of the Low Paid Government Employees Association last August, as striking workers sought to blockade government offices. Strikers were demanding pay increases of up to 110 percent for low-paid workers, and a reduction of working hours from 7 to 6 hours daily. Union secretary Ruhul Amin Patwari was quoted as saying, "We want to prove to this government who is powerful—we or they."

—International Committee

New Day for Teamsters?

Ron Carey, president of Teamsters local 804 since 1968, was elected Teamsters international president in a three-way race against two veteran officers of the mob-ridden union. Carey's slate swept the other 15 contested executive board positions with 48 percent of the vote. Three vice-president positions were not contested by the Carey slate. Turn-out was 28 percent in the union's first national election.

Carey ran a well-financed campaign, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars (the incumbents raised even more from the 165 Teamsters officials paid \$100,000 or more in annual salaries) to pay for opinion polls, advertisements and telephone banks to get out the vote. His slate—endorsed by Teamsters for a Democratic Union—won in every region except Canada, winning absolute majorities in the Southern and Western con-

ferences. Although Carey lost Canada by a two-to-one margin, TDU co-chair Diana Kilmury was elected to the executive board from British Columbia—becoming the first woman to sit on the Teamsters executive board. Carey's highly jingoistic campaign—replete with American flags and fevered patriotic appeals—may well have backfired in Canada.

The Teamsters agreed to elect their officers only after the Justice Department sued them under federal racketeering statutes and installed a government trustee to oversee the union's affairs. Incumbents were forced to face elections for the first time, and deprived of the many advantages of incumbency (such as generous coverage in the union's magazine.)

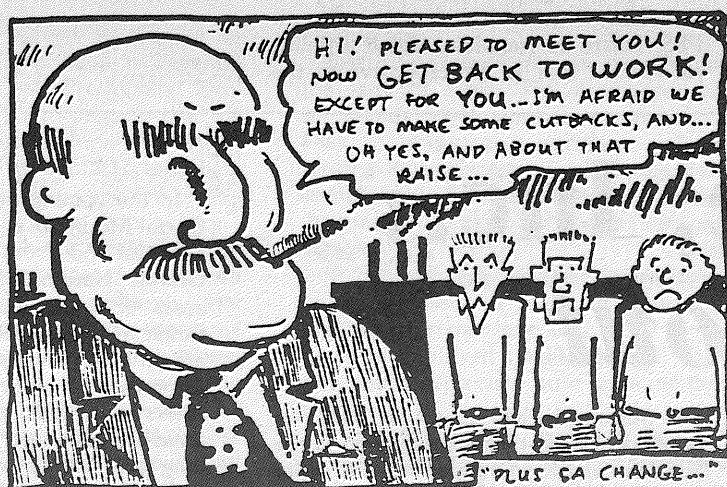
Only a handful of unions—most notably the Steelworkers, Mine workers,

Teamsters (now), and, of course, the IWW—allow direct elections. Most elect their officers at conventions dominated by middle-level union bureaucrats who rule their locals with an iron fist. But desirable as they are, elections are no guarantee of union democracy. Although both the USWA and the UMW have long elected their presidents, both were until recently highly undemocratic—and still have a long way to go before they are truly run by their members.

As Carey takes office, he is confronted with a solid phalanx of old-guard holdovers in the Teamsters' regional conferences and union locals. Only a handful of union locals are in the reformers' hands, and some officers have threatened a dues strike against the new administration. Carey's promise to eliminate multiple salaries for officers is not likely to win many friends among this bureaucra-

cy, although some may sign on with Carey in exchange for support in upcoming re-election bids. These holdovers may well impede Carey's efforts to reform the Teamsters bureaucracy, to strengthen the union's bargaining efforts, and to organize the growing number of non-union firms in the Teamsters' core jurisdictions.

The key test of whether the Teamsters will be transformed from a criminal enterprise into a genuine union, however, is the extent to which union members are involved in the day-to-day process of running their union and fighting for their interests on the job floor. Some Teamsters have proposed that unemployed members take jobs at unorganized shops in order to organize them from the inside. Such tactics would be a first step in returning unions to their true function, and an important first step in ridding the unions of the hordes of functionaries who consume union resources, stifle members' initiative, and cut sweetheart deals with the bosses in order to protect their cozy positions.



¡A Las Barricadas!

(continued from page 1)

(Actually, people have been grabbing them right out of his hands.) The flyers explain KAS's position, which calls for a general strike. The autonomous government has also called for a strike, although timidly. As we all know, governments always turn to the people for help, yet always with the fear that the people will get out of control and, in effect, stop being "governed." Deep down they fear this more than all the military establishments put together.

We then head towards the Russian Parliament, where I'm told barricades have been erected. Our fast-paced walk there turns out to be a propaganda tour for us. Attracted by our flag, people ask us who we are. Sacha briefly explains KAS's position to them: free soviets, self-management, neither the bureaucracies nor the bourgeoisie—libertarianism. People seem a bit perplexed.

We finally arrive at the headquarters of Parliament, where an enormous crowd has gathered; we calculate it's about a half-million people. From the balcony, which is decorated with the tricolor Russian flag, various orators speak, each welcomed with applause. Again we hear Shevernadze, after which Yeltsin speaks. I'm surprised by the civic consciousness displayed by the Russian people: near where we stand there are piles of garbage and various areas of uneven ground; in order to prevent a potential avalanche of people, a human chain has spontaneously been formed, keeping new arrivals from standing near the dangerous spots.

The rally ends. Groups begin to form to defend the barricades that will keep tanks from taking over Parliament overnight. Individuals with megaphones ask for solidarity with those that will remain on the barricades overnight; money is collected as well as all types of supplies: cigarettes, food, medicine. It's inspiring to see how a people that's been so buried in poverty empties its pockets to help the cause.

Across the square we spot anarchist signs and rush to join them. We are welcomed with cheer. There are about 50 comrades, who stand next to the small barricade they built the night before. We are offered bread, cucumbers, tomatoes. Since the afternoon is here and we haven't yet eaten, we attack the food.

I look around and notice that many people leaving the rally stop and stare at us. We must present quite a spectacle, what in the old and corrupt West is known as "urban tribes": most of us young, some adolescents, all enthusiastic about the events taking place.

The presence of a "Spanish comrade" among them fills the anarchists with jubilation, and I end up shaking hands with each and every one of them. Some of them speak to me of Buenaventura Durruti. And one of them, who knows about four words in Spanish, knows that

there is a Spanish anarchist hymn called "A las barricadas" ("To the Barricades"); luckily for me, he doesn't make me sing it. After jotting down our names and the cities from which each of us hail, Igor, the comrade who's been carrying our black and red flag, heads towards the groups that will be defending the Parliament overnight to volunteer to help.

He returns to inform us that we will be defending three of the barricades on Novi Arbat Street. We head over to them, in wide Russian military strides, singing.

Our field of coverage is very wide, but the barricades are very large, one of them formed by several buses. We quickly put up our flags so as to leave no doubt as to who is defending these barricades. We subdivide ourselves into various groups of about a dozen people each, and then most of the comrades disperse in search of projectile objects to defend the barricades with, as well as to explore our terrain. I form part of the group that is to remain with the barricade and act as a sort of headquarters. Iulia Chepeltova, a young woman comrade who speaks fluent French, complains to me about this arrangement: so many years of dreaming of being on the barricades, and now they've left her to care for handbags and other personal belongings—even on the barricades, sexism lives...

Passers-by stop and ask who we are. We explain the anarchist position. A group of comrades comes to get me; they want to introduce me to a Russian reporter, who smiles and says, "Before it was the Russians who went to fight in Spain; now it's the Spaniards who come here." I agree, somehow feeling that behind me there are many other Spaniards ready to fight.

Soon after, I notice people crowding around a very "Western"-looking man who turns out to be a popular Russian rock singer. Everyone wants his autograph—another symbol of the mix of ingenuousness and fierceness that I've found among the Russian people. The singer bids us farewell, assuring us that he, too, is an anarchist. Sure.

Night soon arrives, and I must leave for Petrograd. The news from that city is both confusing and alarming. Some say that the fighting has already begun there. Some students told me this morning that the Spanish embassy has been worried about the students in Petrograd, since there is no consulate there. In any case, the group of students I arrived in Russia with are there, so I decide to risk the return to Petrograd.

I left the Moscow barricades still unsure of my decision. As I was leaving, I was able to see groups of people of all classes, ages, and professions, working shoulder to shoulder to build more barricades, carrying benches, wood, steel, as the night's battle drew closer.

We Are Innocent

by Harry Siitonen

The total collapse of the state capitalist empire in the former USSR and Eastern European countries has brought about its share of "icon-bashing" by an angry people. A statue of Lenin which stood across the street from my Intourist hotel in Riga, Latvia during my visit there last May hit the dirt following the failed coup attempt by the Brezhnevist old guard in September.

I snapped the accompanying photo of the statue of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels while strolling around the Marx-Engels Plaza in East Berlin last May 8. Admirers had strewn flowers at the base and had stuck one in old Karl's hand, perhaps in honor of May Day the preceding week. A few weeks later a Finnish anarcho-syndicalist Fellow Worker translated the graffiti appearing at the base, "Wir Sind Unschuldig," as meaning "We are Innocent."

Did this protestation help save this statue from the wrecker's sledge hammer? I don't know. These two can't necessarily be blamed for the Stalinist era. After all, there were offshoots from Marx and Engels other than the Leninists. The German Social Democratic

Party, now only a pallid reflection of anything socialist, still claims Marx and Engels among its ideological forebears although it renounced Marxism in 1956. The SPD is still a power in Germany and that fact alone may have spared the Marx-Engels statue.

In other East Berlin sightings, I walked by a crossing where the street signs at the intersection saw the joining of Rosa Luxemburg and Wilhelm Liebnicht streets. I walked later to the beautiful Rosa Luxemburg Plaza nearby. But there have also been numerous street renamings in East Berlin with the names of old Stalinist "heroes" being painted over into the "dustbin of history." Will the names of Rosa and Wilhelm vanish too? The deposed Stalinist rulers of East Germany claimed them as their own, too, because they were revolutionary Marxists and had been key figures in the crushed Spartacist uprising and were murdered in January, 1919 by the Noske rightwing social democratic regime for their role. The Spartacists became the nucleus of the early German Communist Party.

However, Luxemburg and Liebnicht died before they saw the final upshot of Leninist oppression in the USSR, and being libertarian Marxists and authentic

champions of working class internationalism, they would likely have condemned it. In fact, Luxemburg was disturbed by many of the developing trends in that revolution while in her prison cell. She had been an ideological opponent of Lenin's since 1904, and she wrote this in prison a few months before her death:

"Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party—however numerous they may be—is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of 'justice' but because all that is instructive, wholesome, and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when 'freedom' becomes a special privilege."

How prophetic her words proved to be! They were hardly ones which would be quoted in Bolshevik newspapers and pamphlets. As an anarchist, I don't agree with Rosa or Wilhelm about the necessity of a revolutionary Marxist political party. I side with Bakunin here. Yet I see them as genuine heroes and martyrs in the service of a rank-and-file worker democracy and socialism.

Some years ago, the then-SPD government of West Germany issued a Rosa Luxemburg postage stamp. Was this act an attempt to mollify guilt over the complicity of its far right wing in Rosa's murder a couple of generations before? It would be a shame if the street names honoring her and Liebnicht were erased now. They deserve to be remembered.



Welfare and Workers' Wages (continued from page 1)

Thus was born the "industrial reserve army," which is today known as the "underclass." Factory jobs in the new system were not made available to everyone—in effect, the working class was split into two battalions.

Employed workers were worked into insensibility at middle or low pay, while the unemployed were starved to that point at no pay. If the first group had to put up with long hours and miserable conditions, those in the second were subject to imprisonment for non-payment of debt: the "poor house."

A *Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens, with its hard-hearted Mr. Scrooge, reflects the spirit of the era: except that for most people, the ending was not happy.

Direct action by workers has certainly improved their condition "from the 16 hour day to the 40 hour week," as author Albert Camus put it. Unfortunately, and unlike the medieval guilds which preceded them, the newly formed unions did not assume total responsibility for the unemployed. They allowed a permanent underclass to arise which has been used to undercut employed workers.

At first, the unemployed were able to grow their own food in little plots, or hunt and fish in nearby woodlands. With the spread of urbanization, that became more difficult. First the churches, and then the government, had to step in with aid to keep them barely alive.

Government assistance for the underclass has today become a multi-million dollar business. If employed workers like McGowan resent this, it is too often for the wrong reasons. The welfare system was not set up to reward people for not working, or to favor any particular race or ethnic group.

Its real purpose is to frighten employed workers into working harder for less money. In other words, if you get too uppity, some hungry stiff on the welfare rolls can replace you at a lower rate.

Law of supply and demand: If there are few workers and many jobs, workers can command a higher price for their labor. So a scarcity of jobs was artificially created, forcing many of us to compete for fewer openings. For

example, instead of 100 workers working 30 hours a week, 50 were hired at 60 hours. The other 50 were kept in reserve as potential scabs, in case of a strike.

To make jobs even scarcer—and reduce labor costs—new machinery was developed that has quite accurately been described as "labor saving." (These innovations also happen to waste energy and are environmentally destructive.)

Wages have become so low that for many they hardly exceed the total welfare package, which includes Food Stamps and Medi-Cal as well as cash. The *Sunday Chronicle* said, "A family of three would have to earn \$1,400 a month to make more than [welfare]. By comparison, an individual earning minimum wage makes \$737 for full-time work."

If these figures are even remotely accurate, the obvious answer is to raise the minimum wage. Instead, the governor of California wants to cut welfare—he faces a state budget crisis, and it's easier to pick on the poor than raise Chevron's or the Bank of America's taxes.

Of course, California is not alone. The *Fifth Estate* newspaper's winter 1992 edition reports that Michigan has already eliminated General Assistance, the welfare program for single adults. Whenever corporations have trouble making money, they not only reduce their payrolls, but also allow the plight of the underclass to deteriorate.

The so-called "workfare" programs—including governor Wilson's—to find jobs for welfare recipients can have but limited results. Full employment is the last thing capitalists want, since it would drive wages upward. A hidden goal of workfare may be to replace employed workers with former welfare recipients at lower pay.

If the ruling elite in America wanted everyone to work, why did they allow the Reagan Administration to eliminate the "30 and 1/3?"

Working welfare mothers used to get a deduction of \$30 plus 1/3 of their remaining earned income, before their welfare grant amounts were calculated. Eliminating this deduction now imposes a penalty on them if they work.

Many persons who are not poor enough to get welfare money receive

Food Stamps, which is another source of resentment for employed workers, who notice the stamps or coupons being exchanged in supermarket checkout lines.

Once again, the righteous indignation of workers is directed at the wrong target. The Food Stamp program was designed to underwrite the food industry. Its policies originated in the Department of Agriculture, not Health and Human Services.

With the earning power of citizens drastically reduced, companies like United Fruit and Campbells' Soups need government subsidies to make a profit. They are on welfare too. The subsidies are not direct; they are made to lower income persons in the form of coupons, which can be legally used for no purpose except to buy food.

And what about those "welfare queens" driving Cadillacs? If you hear of one, please send evidence to the *Industrial Worker*. Few such persons have ever been detected—the number of businessmen caught defrauding the government is higher.

The Fannie Mae federal mortgage program, according to the December 24 *Chronicle*, "said that all 53 of the banks and Wall Street firms that buy it's debt had inflated orders and submitted false information...to win a larger share of the market."

Unlike poorer welfare applicants who are discovered lying about their finances, these corporate cheats will not suffer any real penalties.

PARABLE: A single mother with one child is receiving less than \$600 monthly in welfare. She earns another \$100 from a part-time job. Since that would reduce her welfare check, she doesn't report it. Found out, she has to pay back hundreds to the state and is regarded as despicable.

PARABLE: In return for tax incentives, a corporation installs a factory in a certain locale. Eventually the factory is moved overseas, causing employees with 15 years experience to lose their jobs.

PARABLE: When the corporation runs into hard times, it obtains generous help from the U.S. government. The company president is interviewed fawningly on PBS, where he complains about a political climate that is "unresponsive to the

needs of business."

This article has focused on the genuine causes of welfare, as opposed to the false ideas of it that are circulating. As a minimum, the IWW has long advocated a 20-hour week at 40 hours' pay, so that both the stern, character-building aspects of work (what conservatives claim) and its full financial rewards may be shared equally.

Before concluding, the immigration problem—which could merit a separate article in its own right—must be considered insofar as it affects work.

Immigrants are doubly accused both of coming here to apply for welfare, and also for bringing wages down by working too cheaply. Yet whether illegal or not, these new arrivals are victims too.

Aside from political refugees, most immigrants are escaping from poverty at home. Even if a Third World country has great mineral wealth, it may be in debt to Western interests like the World Bank or International Monetary Fund.

In return for loans, these agencies make rulers impose a lower standard of living on their subject populations. The subjects then flee in great numbers to Europe and North America, where they compete against workers in those places for a diminishing number of jobs.

This is to say nothing of "runaway shops," which American corporations like the one above have exported to lands where wages are lower and environmental protections flimsy.

A vicious circle: American workers bamboozled into hating poor welfare mothers and foreign workers, while the capitalist exploiters of all three make big bucks. Clearly, all three could gain by uniting against the capitalists.

The IWW's industrial unions are international bodies. The General Convention of each would be incomplete unless attended by workers from many countries. No government or corporation will ever devise an immigration policy that will benefit workers. Only workers can solve the problem, by meeting together across international borders.

U.S. Forest Service, Inc.: Colorado Sellout

by Woody Hildebrant

FORPLAN? FORPLAN is a linear program forest model used by the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) to: "indicate the greatest economic efficiency—most return for the investment." FORPLAN lacks clarity, spatiality and humanity.

FORPLAN has been used to plot the San Juan National Forest in southwestern Colorado. The USFS has created a timber sale plan running through 1997 for the 1.8 million-acre San Juan. The plan determines 911, 240 acres—"tentatively suitable for timber production." Nearly one-third, 288,593 acres, of the timber sale area is wilderness or wilderness study area.

The San Juan, adjacent Rio Grande National Forest and the Ute Indian reservation include the largest wilderness areas in the lower 48 states. This area of the southwest has been occupied by Aztecs, Utes, Apaches, Navajos and other tribes for thousands of years. Since 1541, when Vasquez Coronado led the first white men to the area in search of gold, the San Juan has been the site of plunder. Hunts for minerals, game and timber, and battles with the natives highlight the history of the region for the last 450 years. The famous Afro-American 9th and 10th Cavalry, the Buffalo Soldiers, fought many battles in the area against the Utes and Apaches. Using freed slaves to subdue the natives—Imperialism, Manifest Destiny at its worst!

Today a battle still rages in Southwest Colorado. The struggle involves multinational timber interests (e.g., Stone Container Corporation), environmental-

ists and the local working people. Between the rhetoric of biocentric deep ecology and the short-term posturing of free market economics the working people of Southwest Colorado endure the daily struggle for a living wage.

The USFS timber management plan presents six alternatives for timber harvest. All include thousands of acres of wilderness. While Stone Container cries the plan does not provide enough board feet of timber the ecologists say the plan does not go far enough to protect old growth wilderness. The locals want employment. The Forest Service is pro-timber cutting and seems to have forgotten the words of a letter written the day the Forest Service was formed, February 1, 1905. The letter, written by Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to Forester Gifford Pinchot states: "In the administration of Forest Reserves it must be clearly borne in mind that all land is to be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people, and not for the temporary benefit of individuals or companies. All the resources of forest reserves are for use, and this use must be brought about in a thoroughly prompt and businesslike manner, under such restrictions only as will insure the permanence of these resources...In the management of each reserve local questions will be decided upon local grounds."

Stone Container Corporation is a huge multinational paper products company (supplier for McDonalds) whose attitude toward forest resources is rapacious barbarism. It cares not for the good of the whole people, the permanence of resources or the interests of the local work-

ers. Sustained yield is not in their vocabulary. Unless timber production in the San Juan and Rio Grande forests is maintained at 25 million board feet annually or increased, Stone threatens to close its South Fork mill employing 84 mill hands supplied by approximately 100 harvesters. A similar threat was carried out by Louisiana Pacific (LP) when it closed its fiberboard plant in Kremmling, Colorado in December 1991. One hundred employees were laid off. The plant closed because LP would not upgrade to meet environmental standards. LP claimed insufficient timber supplies from the surrounding forests were the cause of the closure. The USFS later reported no bids on locally available timber were submitted by LP. By using threats of mill closure Stone generates local animosity towards the environmentalists.

Major environmental groups involved in the San Juan struggle include: The Audubon Society, The Sierra Club, The Colorado Environmental Coalition and Ancient Forest Rescue. With the exception of Ancient Forest Rescue these groups work within the system. Ancient Forest Rescue is a deep ecology group employing direct action. None of these eco-groups seems concerned with the local economy. Southwest Colorado is the most depressed area in the state with 20% unemployment and high rates of alcoholism and domestic violence. Perhaps the most effective way the eco-groups could prevent old growth cutting would be to use their treasuries to pay the locals not to cut it. Certainly local concerns must begin to take precedence over the slash and run tactics of Stone Container.

In the coming year proposed cuts on Corral Mountain in the San Juan National Forest and Trout Mountain in the Rio Grande National Forest threaten large areas of wilderness and pose a grave threat to the watershed. While these cuts are on hold pending the outcome of U.S. Congressional voting on the Wilderness Preservation bill, many other primitive areas are in danger. It is essential that the long-term needs of the local working people receive prime consideration in all decisions.

Germany has had a forest policy since the age of Charlemagne, 12 centuries ago. Granted, centuries of war have devastated Europe's forests, but perhaps the modern sustained yield, labor-intensive forest policies of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia could solve some of the San Juan's problems. Certainly Stone Container could double employment at its South Fork mill by implementing a policy of 4 hours work for 8 hours pay!

The deep ecologists have angered the locals who see them as an outside threat to their livelihood. Stone Container Corporation uses its economic clout to intimidate the Forest Service. The local workers need jobs now and the Forest Service's timber policies pit one group against another. How can this atmosphere of contention be dispersed and replaced with cooperation between Labor and Ecology?

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) offer a viable solution to this dilemma—production for need not profit. If the profit taking is eliminated from industrial production, resources will become available to halt and reverse the destruction of the environment! Let the IWW become a bridge between Labor and Environmentalists. By educating both sides to the needs of the other then organizing against the monolithic network of capitalist greed, the emancipation of the planet and all its inhabitants can be realized!

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

1. "The 1991 IWW General Assembly reaffirms the IWW's opposition to all forms of human oppression, including but not necessarily limited to those based on race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, creed, age, physical ability or sexual orientation.
2. "While the IWW gives its full support to international cooperation between workers, the IWW declares its opposition to the Free Trade Agreements between the governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico. These agreements have highlighted the inequalities that exist among workers internationally, and therefore we find that our best response is to organize workers internationally. We support direct action taken by workers in opposition to these agreements."
3. "On the occasion of the Columbus Day Quincentennial, we endorse the sovereignty of all indigenous peoples and are in soli-

- arity with groups opposing 500 years of Euro-centric colonialism."
4. "In addition to the exploitation of labor, industrial society creates wealth by exploiting the earth and non-human species. Just as the capitalists value the working class only for their labor, so they value the earth and non-human species only for their economic usefulness to humans. This has created such an imbalance that the life support systems of the earth are on the verge of collapse. The working class bears the brunt of this degradation by being forced to produce, consume, and live in the toxic environment created by this abuse. Human society must recognize that all beings have a right to exist for their own sake, and that humans must learn to live in balance with the rest of nature. This will only be accomplished when the working class takes control of human production and redirects it to the long-term benefit of all rather than the short-term profit of a few."

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P.O. Box 204; Oak Park, IL 60303-0204

IWW Preamble

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

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

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.

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- I agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization.
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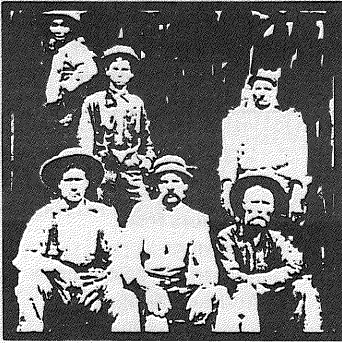
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★ Membership includes a subscription to the Industrial Worker.

Where the Fraser River Flows

The Industrial Workers of the World
in British Columbia



Mark Leier

Where the River Flows: The IWW in British Columbia, by Mark Leier. Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 1990.

Mark Leier has done the IWW a great favor in writing this new book about the Union's activities in British Columbia between 1906 and 1924. During this time the IWW organized many rail, lumber, mine, and migrant laborers, as well as city and dock workers.

This book aims to set the record straight. Leier asserts that the IWW was neither hopelessly idealistic or ultimately irrelevant, but was a valid alternative and that the "IWW attack on capital and on the state rings as true today as it did in 1905." Of special interest is the careful examination of relations between the IWW and the AFL, the Socialist Party and other British Columbia unions. Of Vancouver in 1912, Leier states that it "is

clear from the historical record that solidarity was extended to the IWW only when it controlled the street action and had to be included."

A historical thesis, the book is quite readable and even entertaining. Joe Hill drops in at Fraser River railway camps, and the lumber struggles are briefly described. We get a more detailed and colorful picture of the Vancouver free speech fights, such as the courtroom defense of FW Beamish, who "argued that he had climbed up on a water trough to address the crowd. This meant that the order to disperse himself implied that he should drop to the ground and splatter on the pavement."

The author shows the connections between events in British Columbia and the larger IWW and North American Left and quotes many prominent Wobblies of the time. Along with a history we have a

comparison of the relative successes of various labor tactics, which are still the source of much divisiveness in the labor movement today.

I think Wobblies will agree that Mark Leier has done a commendable job—not only in showing the IWW in a positive light, but also with his concise discussion of the whole problem of capital, state, and worker control. This book is a must-read for all labor organizers.

Individuals and booksellers alike can order direct from: New Star Books, 2504 York Ave., Vancouver, BC V6K 1E3. Phone: (604) 738-9429. The price for a single copy is \$14.95 (Canadian dollars), payable to New Star Books, Ltd.

—Reviewed by Carlos Murray

A Tribute to Vincent St. John

by J.J. Ettor

(*Industrial Solidarity*, July 17, 1929)

Vincent St. John died in a San Francisco hospital Friday night, June 21, 1929. He had been ill the past two years, fighting an increasingly losing fight against deep-rooted physical impairments that had their inception in his imprisonment at Leavenworth after the famous Chicago IWW trial for alleged opposition to the first world war.

In the death of St. John there passes into history a true proletarian character. He was one of the founders of the Western Federation of Miners and a member of its General Executive Board until 1907; one of the founders of the IWW, a member of its General Executive Board of 1906-1907, Assistant General Secretary 1907-1908, General Secretary 1909-1914.

To think of these years of proletarian history is to evoke the vivid pageantry of the gallant miners' struggles in the Coeur d'Alenes during St. John's presidency of the Burke Miners' Union; the epic Colorado strike of 1903-1904 centering in the Cripple Creek District, where he was president of the Telluride Miners' Union.

Arrested in Idaho in 1905, accused of

joint-implication with Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone in the killing of Governor Steunenberg, he was released upon the admission of the authorities that the real reason for his arrest was: "If left at liberty he would organize the whole district in the Western Federation of Miners."

Organizer of the Goldfield, Nevada, miners and leader in the struggles of that district, the employers failing to have him accept \$50,000 to leave that district, prevailed on the weak mind of a fellow miner and unionist to attempt his assassination, resulting in a badly crippled right hand.

St. John's activity in the miners' struggles of the West is the metalliferous miners' history a generation back, from Michigan to California and his period of activity in the IWW was the most glorious chapter of its history.

Of a retiring and modest disposition and of sterling qualities, he was a most effective writer and proletarian speaker. Burdened with no ism, his keen blue-eyed vision saw far. His physical and mental courage fought unflinchingly. His high hope and gloriously self-sacrificing life were given without stint for a labor

organization that would develop the means, the proletarian intelligence and savoir-faire to defend Labor's everyday interests and serve as a drilling-school for the control of industry.

He was no "diplomat." He had no patience with the professional "intellectual" or the "politician" in the labor movement. To him the duty of a labor officer was to work in the ranks to develop methods of victory rather than seek the approbation and friendship of employers, convinced that labor, through its organization and experience, could become self-sufficient and solve its

own problems.

When the true story of Labor's efforts across the past 30 years to realize effective organization is written, "The Saint" must be the heart of it.

At the end of a life begun as a child laborer and continued uninterruptedly with an activity that would surely have otherwise brought a fortune because of his rich mining experience, he died a poor man, broken in heart and health; yet he leaves a rich legacy of the true proletarian.

The death of "The Saint," or "Vint," as he was affectionately called by those who loved to work with him and be of his army imbued with his esprit-de-corps, will cause a deep personal sadness. It is mighty hard to think of the world without "The Saint" in it.



Vincent St. John

Vincent St. John Memorial Fund Appeal

Sixty-two years ago, "one of the greatest labor organizers this country ever produced" died in poverty and obscurity and was buried in an unmarked grave, without ceremony, in Oakland, California. That grave is still unmarked, untended, unnoticed. We want to correct this situation, and we ask your help.

Vincent St. John's name is probably known to you. Students of the Industrial Workers of the World agree he was the most revered leader that irreverent organization ever had. He called himself Vint, but to rank-and-file Wobblies he was simply "The Saint." A posthumous tribute by Joe Ettor, himself an outstanding IWW leader during the years St. John was General Secretary, is attached.

"The Saint" was self-effacing to a fault. He wrote no memoirs. He left no collected letters or papers. There has never been a biography. None of the Bay Area newspapers carried an obituary or even a one-line notice of his death. The absence of a marker at his gravesite may be attributed to the fact that his sole survivor—an unmarried sister, Helen St. John—could not afford one.

We propose a subscription for a suitable headstone to mark the grave of this extraordinary labor leader and

"fellow worker." We have in mind a headstone of red granite, with a simple inscription:

VINCENT ST. JOHN
1876-1929
"THE SAINT"
GENERAL SECRETARY
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

Contributions should be made payable to the Vincent St. John Memorial Fund and mailed to P.O. Box 20876, Oakland, CA 94620. Any amount is welcome. We will acknowledge all contributions promptly and keep contributors informed of the fund's progress. If the fund is over-subscribed, the surplus will be donated to an appropriate organization in the field of labor culture.

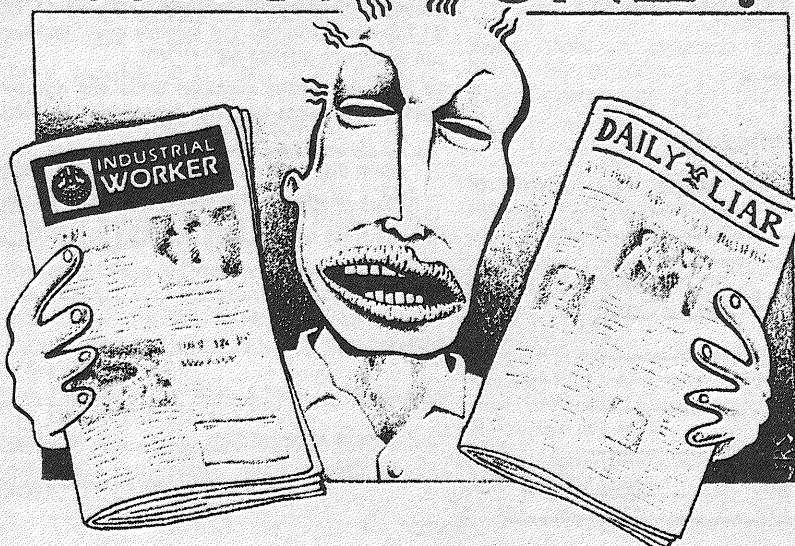
After the headstone is installed, we shall hold a graveside gathering to which all contributors will be invited. Those who are so moved will be encouraged to voice their feelings about the legacy of the IWW and Vincent St. John—"The Saint."

In solidarity,
Joyce Kornbluh, Co-chair
Archie Green, Co-chair
Henry Anderson, Treasurer
X341808

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