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TO LABOR

Industrial Worker

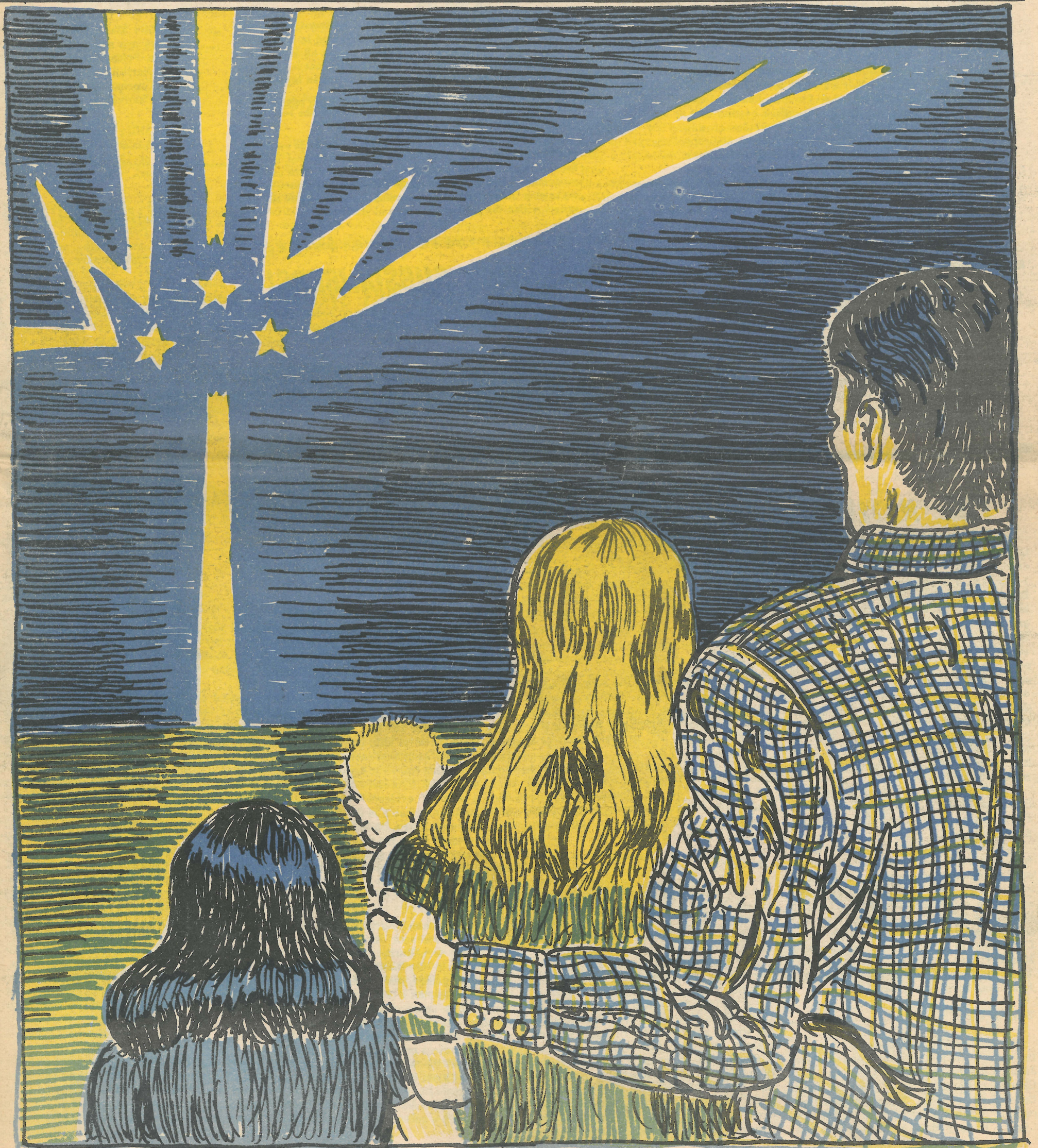
AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

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DECEMBER 1970

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INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Official Organ of The Industrial Workers of the World

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Carlos Cortez, Editor
Lionel Bottari, General Secretary-Treasurer
W. H. Westman, Business Manager

It should be understood by members and others who read this paper that it is the policy of the I.W.W. to designate as OFFICIAL any articles or policies which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official. All other matter herein contained is the mere personal expression of the individuals or individual writing or editing the same.

Attention, Field Correspondents!

The deadline for the January issue of the Industrial Worker shall be on January 10. All copy intended for the January issue should arrive in this office by that date. To further expedite the editing of this organ and to avoid confusion, all copy being submitted for publication should be addressed to the Editor apart from official business with General Headquarters. And please, Fellow Workers, when sending in typewritten copy, double-space the damn stuff. Typesetting charges are doubled for all single-spaced copy! — The Editor

IWW STICKERS NOW AVAILABLE

Members: Write to Headquarters for stickers for your area. Non-members and Collectors: The IWW has a selection of 12 different stickers, some new and some reproductions of the old classics, for sale at 50¢ each, postage included. Write to: Stickers, care of General Secretary, 2440 North Lincoln, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

THE NATIVITY — IN A GROTTTO

Many persons take it to be the "Gospel truth" that Jesus Christ was born in a crude wooden stable on December 25, in 1 AD, and that shortly thereafter he was the recipient of gifts from three Oriental kings whose names were Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar. Actually, not one of these familiar details of the first Christmas comes from the New Testament. All are products of pious imagination and probably are contrary to historical fact. Take the matter of that wooden stable. It has been depicted so often, in so many paintings and pageants, that it comes as a surprise to many to learn that the Bible says only that Mary, after giving birth to her son, "laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."

Since a manger is a feed-trough, the clear implication of this passage is that Jesus was born in a place where livestock are usually kept.

But in First Century Bethlehem, cattle were not sheltered in the kind of wooden barn envisioned by generations of Western artists. They were kept in caves hollowed out of the soft limestone cliffs. It is most interesting in this connection to note that the wooden-stable tradition is unknown to Christians in the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Palestine itself. They have always taken for granted that Jesus was born in a grotto.

Year of Birth

The assumption that Jesus was born in the year 1 AD is the basic premise of the Julian Calendar and of its successor, the Gregorian Calendar, now generally used throughout the world. These two calendars purport to date all events from the birth of Christ. History thus is divided into two

eras — BC (Before Christ) and AD (Anno Domini, which is Latin for "The Year of Our Lord"). Unfortunately the Roman monk Dionysius Exiguus, who made the primary calculations for the Julian Calendar in the Sixth Century AD, was not very good at arithmetic.

Six Years

Dionysius misplaced the year (1) by at least six years. Saint Matthew's Gospel clearly states that Jesus was born "in the days of Herod the King", and indicates that Herod died in 4 BC, so Jesus must have been born about 6 BC.

Saint Luke connects the birth with a decree from Augustus Caesar requiring all residents of the Roman Empire to enroll for taxation. Historians have fixed the time of this census as somewhere between 9 BC and 6 BC.

The Date

As for the date of December 25, that was chosen by the church during the Fourth Century AD as a fitting occasion to celebrate the "Christ Mass", the liturgy commemorating the Savior's birthday. The choice seems to have been dictated not by any particular historical evidence or tradition concerning the actual date of Jesus' birth, but rather by a desire to Christianize a Roman revel which marked the winter solstice. The Biblical evidence plainly indicates that Jesus was born during the late summer or fall. That is the time of year when Palestinian shepherds take their flocks into the field to graze at night. During this period, incidentally, the caves normally used for sheltering the livestock are empty and available for rent

to travelers who find a "no vacancy" sign at the inn.

Three Kings?

As for those "Three Kings of the Orient", the noted Dutch Catholic scholar, Doctor H. W. Van Der Vaart Smit, points out in his book "Born in Bethlehem" (Helicon Press, Baltimore) that Saint Matthew's Gospel simply refers to "wise men from the East". It does not say there were three of them: That is a deduction later generations have made from the fact that the gospel lists three kinds of gifts that they brought. So far as the Scriptural record goes, there could have been two — or two dozen — wise men. And, says Professor Smith, there is "not a wisp of evidence" to support the belief, which originated in the Middle Ages, that they were kings. On the contrary, it is fairly evident from the text that they were priest-astrologers (a type of scholar well known in First Century Babylon).

Names "Fiction"

As for the names Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, Professor Smit says, "We owe this fiction to a European monastery. The monk who in the Ninth Century created Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar was not a wicked person, but a friendly, well-meaning man with a sense of humor." He thought the three "kings" should have names, so he supplied another touch to the story which proved to have a prophetic significance. He gave one of the wise men a black face, to show that Christ belongs to all races alike.

Louis Cassels

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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 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 interest 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 every-day 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.

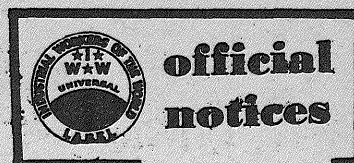
ATTENTION SUBSCRIBERS!

In order to save money on postage and also on added labor, we ask Industrial Worker subscribers to renew subscriptions on expiration.

To ascertain the standing of your subscription, look at the number following your name on the wrapper. The number of this issue is 1292. If your number on the wrapper is lower, your subscription has expired.

Hoping to have your co-operation in keeping your subscription in good standing, we are

Yours for a world of peace without the exploitation of labor
Carlos Cortez, Editor
W. H. Westman, Business Manager



BERKELEY: See Oakland-Berkeley

BUFFALO: Write to IWW Delegate Henry Pfaff, 77 Eckhart Street, Buffalo, New York 14207 (716-877-6073)

CAMBRIDGE: Write IWW, Post Office Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: Contact Delegate G. C. Graves, Box 2249 Station A, Champaign, Illinois 61820, or look for the street musician with the steel guitar.

CHICAGO: The Chicago Branch meetings are now being held on the first Friday of every month at 2440 North Lincoln, LI 9-5045. Cathy Gresher is the Chicago Branch Secretary.

CLEVELAND: The delegate for the Cleveland area is Larry Cornett at 13347 Caves Road, Chesterland, Ohio 44026.

DENVER: Write to Delegate Gary Cox, 7126 Inca Way, Denver, Colorado 80221. Drop around and help organize a mile-high branch.

DULUTH: Write to IWW Stationary Delegate Patrick J. McMillen, Post Office Box 559 (55801), or phone Pat (727-3154) after 7 p.m. for an appointment.

HONOLULU: The job delegate of IU 450, IWW, can be contacted at Vanguard Press, 12 North School Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817.

HOUSTON: Robert (Blackie) Vaughan is Acting Secretary of the Houston I. U. 510 Branch. All communications intended for the Branch should be addressed to him at 7505 Navigation Boulevard (77011).

ITHACA: Stationary Delegate Bill Siebert can be reached at the Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535 or 607-273-1899).

LAWRENCE: The Stationary Delegate is John Wismiller, 1301 Louisiana, Lawrence, Kansas 66044. Telephone: 842-5701.

LOS ANGELES: Mike Dale is the secretary of the Los Angeles Branch. He can be contacted at 1419 North Fairfax, Apartment 6, Los Angeles, California 90046. For immediate information call Dorice McDaniels, OR 7-8397. In the Van Nuys area the job delegates for EWIU 620 are the Dan Family, Srafrprint Co-op, 14133 Gilmore Street, Van Nuys, California 91901 (781-7589 or 782-6185).

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: For information on the IWW, write to Jim Cain, Post Office Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

NEW HAVEN: Write to IWW, Box 1615, New Haven, Connecticut 06506.

NEW YORK: For delegate service and information, phone Bill Goring (749-6465).

(continued on Page 3)

Reader's Soapbox



WHAT AFFLUENT SOCIETY?

Dear Editor,

I need help. I found your paper on a park bench, and it's the first thing I've read by people who sound like they've got any sense or give a damn.

I got laid off my job in a cafe here making \$1.60 an hour because business has fallen off. There aren't any jobs here, and wages are real low. I got so low on money, I can't even buy food stamps. I've been making a little money now and then giving out circulars at \$1.25 an hour, but I just can't make it. I've lost 16 pounds in the past month or so.

I got kicked out of this little slum hotel I was staying in because I got behind with my rent. Lately I've been sleeping under a bridge, and it gets so cold I can't even sleep half the time.

But my main problem is that my brain seems to be going to pieces. I get so full of hate for the big shots and rich bastards I start talking to myself, and I just feel I've got to tell somebody about all this.

If I had an address anymore I'd send it to you in the hopes you could put me in touch with somebody who could help me, but let's hope that some people read this and maybe try to do something to improve things.

Bob N.
Marysville, California

(This is a real letter, in case anyone has any doubts; and it is doubted that any serious reader of the paper would. It is hoped that the Fellow Worker here is looking up some of our delegates and Branch offices that are listed and that he keeps running into papers that are left around. — Editor)

IU 700?

Fellow Worker Editor,

Please allow me to present my views on the formation of a new Industrial Union 700.

While the formation of such a union would undoubtedly add to the membership of the IWW, I believe there is danger that it may violate the basic principle of Industrial Unionism: that people, by being actual wage workers, have the right to determine the direction taken by the society they live in. I joined the IWW mainly because it was the organization whose constitution and tradition made it best prepared to create a genuine classless society where all would share in the productive work.

I fear that the proposed IU 700 as presently conceived would make us closer to the radical political parties that will sign up anyone, including those who are

ardent revolutionaries but who may not be willing to take part in the actual work of a new society. If the IWW should become as indiscriminate in recruiting members as the radical political parties, what group is left for real workers to join that really represents them?

I am certainly not against fighting for the rights of tenants and all consumers, but I feel we must not violate our basic principle. That principle is that power must be in the hands of those who do the productive work of society, and we cannot take a chance on violating that principle in the hope that even the non-productive "revolutionaries" will join in the work of society when a revolution is accomplished.

Certainly, when the opportunity presents itself, IWWs should organize in tenant unions, but I believe that only those actually participating in the actual day-to-day economic struggle on the wage front should have a voting membership in the IWW.

Yours for a Workers World
Eugene Nelson X325919

ONE WHO REMEMBERS THE OLD DAYS

Comrades,

This is from a regular subscriber to the Industrial Worker. When I lived in Spokane, Washington and other places in the West, I used to hear the old Wobblies sing the songs of Joe Hill. You see, I am a Black man, 55 years old. Blacks were always welcome in the IWW halls, and Blacks were never put off the rods when IWW comrades were on the trains. I am sending a clipping about the Joe Hill opera being produced in Germany, and I hope you enjoy reading it. Here's a couple bucks for the Worker sustaining fund, and I will send some more next week.

Yours truly,
J. Randall

Disagree With HJP

Fellow Worker Editor,

Recently the Industrial Worker has run several articles and drawings unjustly attacking the women's liberation movement, but the piece by HJP in the November issue was by far the worst. He shows no understanding of the many ways women are oppressed materially and psychologically, or of the need for them to fight back as women (not just as workers) against their oppression.

HJP seems to think that the main reason women are upset and angry and active is that their husbands don't earn enough money to allow them to stay home and be full-time housewives. But that is almost a direct reflection of what the ruling class is saying and trying to train people to believe — that deep in their hearts women really do want to stay at home and center their lives around being wives and mothers (in other words, find personal fulfillment through serving their husbands). And in order to perpetuate this myth and keep the working class divided (and, of course, to keep corporate profits up), the ruling class discriminates against women in hiring, pays them less for doing the same work as men, and tries to keep them in the most menial and uncreative jobs.

It is against ideas and practices like these that women are rebelling — and against a million others as well which perhaps are less tangible but certainly are no less real: the myth that women are intellectually and psychologically inferior to men, the sexual exploitation of women in advertising, the insults and gibes women must bear every day in their homes and on the streets, and on and on. The various groups of the women's liberation movement have spoken out against all of these forms

of oppression and are taking action against them.

So, in reply to HJP's question about whether we're fighting a sex war or a class war, I think the answer is that we're involved in both. I suppose that the "main contradiction" in the United States is between the working class and the ruling class, but the movements for women's liberation and for national liberation of minorities will play crucial and maybe even primary roles as the class struggle develops. For one of the basic questions that women are asking is: What good is a revolution if 51% of the people will still be oppressed and subordinated by their "betters"?

Arthur Hochberg

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

Fellow Worker Editor,

About six months ago a Fellow Worker conceived the idea of a trip across our beloved country to begin sometime in the spring. Now it didn't take much convincing on his part to get me interested in the plan, because having spent four years in the vicinity of Boston I felt I could use some fresh air and a change of scenery. We had a car (at least some would call it that), and we had hoped to make the trip in that vehicle, but as fate would have it the bloody thing died the day we were to leave.

To make a long story short, we availed ourselves of public transportation and "Driveaways" — a system by which one can drive a car for a dealer and pay only for gas and oil. After spending a few days in Chicago dusting off back issues of the Industrial Worker, we headed for Denver in a 427 T-bird (no relation of mine, thankgod) — which, if one wants to save money, is a bad car: it gets only ten miles to the gallon! It did, however, have a push button electric aerial that was entertaining. The damn car broke down in Waco, Nebraska, which, incidentally, is near "Ong", in case anyone is interested.

Among the people we met in Waco was the Deputy Sheriff of York County. Even though we looked relatively strange, he didn't bother us because we did have a legitimate excuse for being there. However, there was one thing about his get-up that bothered me: he carried a can of Mace. The first question that came to my mind was: "Do cows riot?" But come to think of it, there weren't any cows in that part of the country, only Wheat. "Does wheat —?" I think you see what I mean.

Later I heard a story in Colorado about a town in the northeastern part of the state that was convinced it was going to have a riot last summer — a black riot. So they beefed up their police force and everyone ran around buying guns and things. There seems to have been only one catch — there weren't any blacks in that town. They thought, apparently, that people were going to come up from Denver in busses (with picnic baskets, I expect) to riot in their town. Needless to say, nobody ever came.

On the surface, both these tales can be funny; but I think you can see a potential danger to us or anyone on the Left. The media are always talking about a general trend to the right in this country, and as far as I can see the average Joe-community is running scared. What this says for us is that we had better do some fast thinking and talking. Most of the so-called "New Left" (myself included) has the better part of its work in urban areas while ignoring the people in the country. It's about time we started thinking about moving out of the cities, or we may find ourselves literally surrounded by an armed camp.

Yours for the Union

Bird

(This letter somehow got misplaced in the backfiles according to the date, but so far as the commentary wherein is still very pertinent and topical, your editor happily publishes it at the risk of exposing a chink in his efficiency.)



(continued from Page 2)

OAKLAND - BERKELEY: Richard Ellington is now secretary of the, Oakland-Berkeley Branch. Address: all communications and such to him at 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609. Phone: 658-0293.

PHILADELPHIA: Call Jarama Jahn at SA 4-4895 or drop in on us at 2054 South Salford St., Philadelphia, 19143

SAN DIEGO: Contact Daryl B. Van Fleet at Post Office Box 1332, 3303 Second Avenue, San Diego, California 92103.

SAN FRANCISCO: The Branch Secretary is Jim Shawvan, 2014 19th Street, San Francisco, California 94107 (647-8025).

SANTA ROSA: Write to Eugene Nelson, Post Office Box 7037, Santa Rosa, California 95401.

SEATTLE: Contact the Seattle Branch Secretary, Bob Horsley, at San Vito Press, 501 19th Street East, Seattle, Washington 98102. Stationary Delegate Stan Iverson can be contacted through the ID Bookstore, 1408 Northeast 42nd Street, Seattle, Washington 98105.

SIOUX CITY: The Sioux City IWW office and day care center is at 2515 Correctionville Road, Sioux City, Iowa 51107.

VANCOUVER: Contact Secretary M.C. Warrior, 427 East 20th Street, Vancouver, British Columbia.

WATERLOO: IWW Student Branch at University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario. Tom Patterson, Secretary, c/o Federation of Students.

YAKIMA: Write to Stationary Delegate, Post Office Box 2205, Yakima, Washington 98902.

YELLOW SPRINGS: Contact IWW Stationary Delegate Scott McNeil, 101 Tower Court, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45887.

OVERSEAS BRANCHES

AUSTRALIA: Bert Armstrong, 20 Barton Street, Concord, New South Wales.

GREAT BRITAIN:

LONDON: Colin Beadle, 49 Lausanne Road, Horney, London N. 8.

HARTEPOOL (NORTHEAST ENGLAND): Brian Carter, 1 Ormesby Road, Seaton Estate, Hartepool, County Durham.

GUAM: Shelby Shapiro is the stationary delegate for Guam. Communicate with him through Post Office Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910 (746-4435).

SWEDEN: David Sund, Harpundsavgen 44, 124 - 40 Bandhagen.

LEFT SIDE

When a Governor's banquet was held recently in Boston to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, one of the speakers was to have been a Wampanoag Indian, a descendant of those who had welcomed the Pilgrims and saved their derrieres from almost certain starvation. Having been asked to submit a copy of his speech in advance, he gladly obliged, but to no surprise on his part he found that he had to either change the tone of his intended speech or be dropped from the program.

Instead of the usual blah of the great friendship and trust that existed between the Pilgrims and the Indians, the speech told of how from the start the Wampanoag got the dirty end of the stick from the Pilgrims. Having their winter storehouses raided, being used for target practice, being sold into slavery, and many other types of gentle treatment were received by the Wampanoag at the hands of the God-fearing, money-loving Pilgrims. And rather than change his speech to please the Puritan descendants, he chose to remain one of the silent minority.

A Chippewa buddy of mine had his own art gallery in Milwaukee, where on every Thanksgiving Day he hung a big poster in the window with the words: "Squanto was a fink!"

About 600 miles southeast of Tokyo in the Pacific Ocean is a chain of islands called the Ogasawara, of which Iwo Jima is the most famous. Nearly 200 of these islanders are descendants of the early American whalers, and last summer Nixon signed into law a bill which permits these people to enter the US within the next two years regardless of immigration quotas on grounds that they are white Americans. So far none of them have jumped at the opportunity. It is doubtful if this will direct Tricky's attention to non-white Americans here at home.

Some wiseacre scientist, it is reputed, recently crossed a potato with a sponge. It tastes like Hell and its only virtue is that it can hold a lot of gravy.

So old DeGaulle finally went to the place where all good politicians go. Despite the so-called rift between the polities of this country and him, a helluva lot of boob-tube time and newspaper space was taken up by eulogies to his departed personage. Yet only a month prior a much-greater man had passed away, and rated only a blurb on about Page 90 of the local rag. Lazaro Cardenas, who had expropriated foreign oil interests in Mexico for the benefit of the people and helped to institute numerous improvements in the lot of the working man down there, understandably was not very well liked by the polities up here.

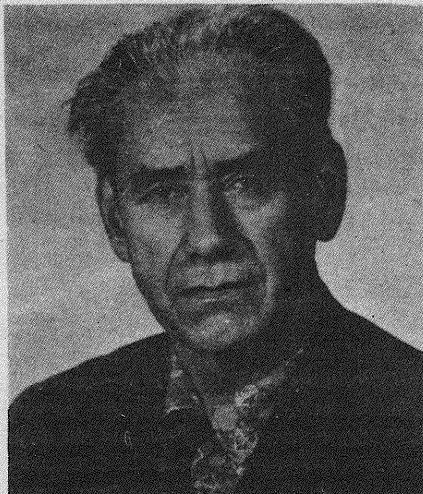
So much for the good-neighbor policy of yore.

All of this talk about air pollution is at last goading some of these big industries into some sort of action. They're no longer polluting the air during the day. According to Louis Marinari, an official of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union: "Every ship, every refinery, every public utility—you name it—when they release their particulate matter, they don't do it during the day." And so the cloak of night covers up yet more crime.

Alaska, which has long been thought of as the last great sanctuary of the unspoiled wilderness, is not for long to hold to that distinction. The oil companies at this time are gung-ho for ripping up that wilderness to lay down pipelines that will disturb the ecology as well as leave oil slicks in the Bering Sea and in other northern waters. Also threatened is the livelihood of many thousands of Indians and Eskimos who now depend on the wildlife that would be made extinct. The oil tycoons are pulling every trick in the book from spouting the paeans of progress to patriotism to get their way.

If you're bitching about where that dinky dollar of yours goes and you really don't know where, that adventure in Viet Nam and Cambodia is taking a good healthy

FAREWELL, EVERT!



EVERT ANDERSON

Evert Anderson died of a sudden heart attack at his home in 29 Palms, California on November 21. The IWW loses a fellow worker who was able to render it unusual services and who did.

When he was a young lad fresh from Sweden, with not too many English words and half of those half-Swedish, he was in Portland, Oregon; and having already taken an interest in this sort of labor movement there, he associated with Arthur Boose,

who did much outdoor speaking in Portland. Boose recognized Evert's natural gifts, and asked him just to get up on the open-air rostrum and announce the meeting and introduce him, saying he would be there in the crowd.

Evert got up to start things off, and was taken aback for a minute to see Boose heading off to a nearby coffee counter. But he held the crowd with his Swedish brogue and told them some ABCs of unionism. With the ice broken he kept on handing out the straight goods in the depression years in Seattle, Minneapolis, Duluth, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and sundry other places. He helped in the organizing drives in Detroit and Cleveland and in various major construction projects east and west.

A good part of his work life was spent in trades in which he bargained through other unions. He maintained his membership and struggled for good unionism in these areas too, for action on the job to extract all that could be won from a contract, and for solidarity between unions so as to offer a solid front to their common employer or engage in sympathetic action on behalf of those who were threatened or faced a dispute.

Two years ago the syndicalist union in Sweden (SAC) asked for an IWW speaker at its convention, and Evert Anderson went there, making many friends. This summer, when Bo Widerborg was making a picture about Joe Hill, he wanted someone to enact the part of an old hobo in a jungle to give some sound advice to young Joe. Evert Anderson was persuaded to undertake this, and sometime you can look at the movie when it is finished and see how well he did it. He enjoyed doing it, as he enjoyed doing most of the constructive efforts that he undertook in his lifetime, and the many articles and occasional verse he wrote for the Industrial Worker sounded as though he enjoyed doing that too. He was among those nominated at the 1970 Convention for the General Executive Board, but he declined the nomination.

Despite the aches and pains a retired construction worker too-often suffers, Evert was active and enjoying life up to the end. Since there are many things we would like a dozen like him to do, it is time some new Arthur Boose played the same trick on some new hopefuls as the old Arthur Boose played on Evert.

DAVE INGAR

Dave Ingar, who was an active unionist and Wobbly for many years, passed away from long-standing ailments on November 12 at Reading, Pennsylvania. Dave was a subscriber to all IWW publications for many, many years, and always enjoyed reading IWW news and views.

I knew Fellow Worker Ingar personally and had much correspondence with him through the years. In his last letter to me (dated October 21st), which contained a \$25 contribution to the Industrial Worker fund drive listed in this issue, he said: "Fellow Worker Westman, this may be my last letter to you, as I am afflicted with a number of bad ailments, and with age being against me I may not be around much longer. If and when the time comes for me to pass over the great divide, give my best to all fellow workers and tell them to carry on the struggle for a better world."

W. H. W.

P. S. Dave Ingar's wife, Mrs. Mary Ingar, would greatly appreciate it if some of Dave's old friends would write to her. Her address is: 222 Rose Street, Reading, Pennsylvania 19601.



chunk of it. If you're the average working stiff trying to support a family, then you're handing over \$2.75 out of your own pocket every day, with no sick days. That's the way it breaks down with taxes and inflation caused by a wartime economy. The really tragic loss is the admitted 50,000 young men killed so far and over a quarter of a million crippled, not to mention all of the Asians who died or whose lives have been messed up.

Draftees of the World unite! You have nothing to lose but your generals!

REBEL VOICES

Paperbound copies of Joyce Kornbluh's "Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology" may be had from headquarters at \$4.95 each.

THE END OF THE EUROPEAN SMALL FARMER

"Eight out of ten European farms have fewer than ten cows, and two-thirds have fewer than five, although on a fair-sized modern farm, one cowman can tend a herd of 40 to 60 head." So writes Sicco Mansholt, head of the drive to abolish the small farmer officially planned by the European Community—the economic alliance of Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, West Germany and the Netherlands. He proposes to take 12,000,000 acres of land now being cultivated out of cultivation, and to cut down the number working on the land by 5,000,000.

It is a genteelly-administered move, not like the depopulation of agricultural areas that Marx described as creating the class of wage slaves, nor like the Okies and the Arkies of America's threadbare Thirties.

"We estimate that in the next ten years," wrote Mansholt in the September European Community organ, "the majority of farmers over 65 years of age will take the opportunity offered to retire, as will perhaps half of those between 55 and 65.... Half of Europe's farmers are over 57... and about 3,000,000 over 55.... Most of these men will not be seeking other work, particularly since the plan offers them security for their old age.... Of those younger than 55, we expect 200,000 a year to leave to take up other work, with the aid of the European Social Fund and the compensation they receive for their land."

Big Brother decides to alter the lives of 5,000,000, but perhaps most small farmers 60 years of age with three cows and ten hens may prefer it that way. A question for us: Is the fight of revolutionary industrial unionists to be waged within this framework of welfare capitalism, to minimize its de-individualization, and seek whatever worker control we can in overall objectives?

INDUSTRIAL WORKER SUSTAINING FUND

Contributions to the Industrial Worker Fund Drive as of this date (November 24) have reached just over the halfway mark. We hope that the balance of the \$2,000 goal can be raised by the end of December, when the current fund drive will close.

Alexander Lang.....	\$ 4.50
Dave Ingar.....	25.00
Fredrick Meyer.....	30.00
X 325505.....	5.00
Oscar Sokol.....	5.00
James Martin.....	10.00
Mrs. Lars Florell.....	2.00
Old 110 Member.....	10.00
Elmer Anderson.....	20.00
Alice M. Greenberg.....	1.00
Anthony Hulber.....	5.00
Tom George.....	5.00
Stanley A. Cook.....	3.00
Pat McMillan.....	3.00
Lillian Statmann.....	5.00
Joe Ruby.....	10.00
Ray DeNault.....	5.00
Minnie F. Corder.....	3.00
Anna Smith.....	3.00
Gloria Nelson.....	10.00
James Randall.....	2.00
Ruth Sheridan.....	32.54
Roger A. Lee.....	3.00
Anthony George.....	5.00
Fred Hansen.....	5.00

Harry Clark.....	2.00
Vincent Bruno.....	5.00
Helen Zara.....	20.00
Peter and Bertha Suto.....	50.00
Gary Smith.....	3.00
Pete Wukusich.....	10.00
T. Christopherson.....	20.00
Fred Strom.....	11.00
Werner Schumann.....	10.00
Ed Johnson.....	1.50
John and Anna Shuskie.....	10.00
Bill Knapp.....	5.00
Card Number 225070.....	100.00
Nestor P. Mellin.....	6.00
Otto E. Schaefer.....	6.00
Catherine Borghi.....	7.00
Martin Katting.....	10.00

Total.....\$ 488.54

Previously Acknowledged.....\$ 540.56

Grand Total.....\$1029.10

Many thanks to all our fellow workers and friends for their generous financial support to help us keep the paper going and continue to carry on with its educational work among the world's working class.

Carlos Cortez, Editor
W. H. Westman, Business Manager

HARASSMENT IN DIEGO

A victory for those selling movement papers on the streets has been won by our fellow workers in San Diego. The story in brief is given in two successive issues of their paper Street Journal.

Their October 9 issue explains that the White Front Store on Rosencranz, at a suitable location for selling different movement papers, had "begun a deliberate policy of harassment of vendors. Sellers have been repeatedly hassled by the White Front security guards.... In the past the Street Journal and the IWW, representing the vendors, have found that the only way to combat such harassment is to organize sell-ins at the places where the vendors have been hassled". They set the date of October 14 for the sell-in, and concluded: "If enough people show up they will have to back down or fill the jails."

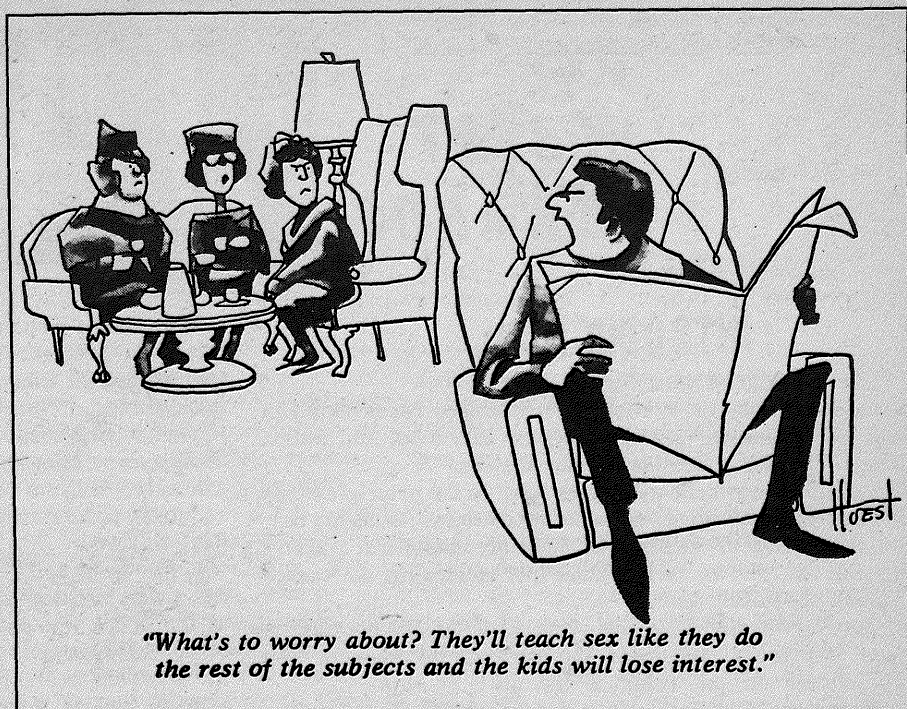
However, the day before (October 13), Chris English, a Street Journal vendor, was acquitted of the charge of soliciting without a permit. That is the charge on which police have been arresting vendors. Attorney Mary Harvey hit the charge on the score that it interfered with freedom of speech. The ordinance restricting street sales, because of the First Amendment, says it doesn't apply to regularly-published newspapers.

The DA said the movement papers were not newspapers, but the judge looked over a sampling of them and decided that indeed they were. Not cleared for certain, though, were some underground "comix", and when Chris after acquittal applied for a license to handle these, the police arbitrarily denied him one. (You just can't please some people.)

This is a separate matter from the telephoned information (on which we still lack details as we go to press) that some of our fellow workers active in the Chicano

community have been busted on that man catcher of the 1920s: Criminal Syndicalism.

The San Diego Union (the capitalist sheet and not a union organ) of November 6 carried a piece about the arrest of Carlos Calderon, age 24, an editor of the Street Journal, with a variety of charges, the most interesting being: "solicitation of the commission of a murder and criminal syndicalism". This source indicates that the basis for this unusual combination of charges was the publication in July in the Barrio section of the Street Journal of descriptive material concerning Molotov cocktails and such that ran through much of the movement press as a bit of satire at the time. It seems that some unknown person is alleged to have constructed such devices and used them, and that therefore the editor who published a description of them is held to have solicited commission of a murder even if no one got killed, and that this is criminal syndicalism.



"What's to worry about? They'll teach sex like they do the rest of the subjects and the kids will lose interest."

INDUSTRIAL BULLETIN

The Situation In Quebec

The dormant campuses of Canada came to life when the War Measures Act was invoked to curb insurrection on October 17 in the wake of the FLQ kidnapping of Cross and LaPorte as hostages to demand the release of separatist rebels and the publication of their Manifesto. The War Measures Act permits press censorship, the arrest and detention of people for 21 days without charging any offense, and the holding of such prisoners up to 90 days

without bail. It has never before been used in time of peace.

The Canadian House of Commons had impeded the measure with debate, but on Sunday morning, when the radio carried the news that Labor Minister LaPorte had been found killed, the debate ended — in the Canadian Parliament, but not on the campuses. Campus and underground papers appeared with white patches where items had been censored, a good many publishers refused to risk printing, and dissent went back to duplicating machines. At campus rallies across the country students and faculty members spoke out against the WMA, some in sympathy with the Quebec Liberation Front, some supporting other ways to meet French Canadian demands for a better life, some out of concern for the right to speak and publish.

Jobs. That's the trouble in Quebec, in the north of Ireland, in the black ghettos of Chicago. Jobs. The upper crust pits the workers of one language or skin color against another, and gives one lot a few extra crumbs. Those who get the extra crumbs feel that they must ally with their masters to keep their low-down fellow workers low-down. And those at the bottom often think that if only they were ruled and robbed by those of their own color or language or religion, life would be rosy.

Within a generation Quebec has changed from an area of small farms to one of city slums. In Montreal in the last 10 years the number of relief recipients has grown 20 times as fast as the population. A third of the kids in a Grade One survey were sadly undernourished, 30% were underweight and underheight, and a full half had emotional problems. Most French Canadian workers average 36% less in earnings than those with English names, and are discriminated against regardless of how advanced their technical education may be, or how fluent their English.

Students have a special drive. About 10 years ago there was a "Quiet Revolution". The older church-business hold on the province was broken, and the educational system was reshaped to train chemists instead of theologians, engineers instead of medievalists. Courses were revamped and technical schools opened, and there was

hope that bright young French-speaking Canadians could compete for top jobs. But they didn't get them. Unused capacities are a disruptive social force, but these French students no more had narrow job interests than their fellow students in either Paris or Berkeley. They allied themselves with Third World struggles, some going to Cuba or Algeria for a bit of technical training, and the lid was blown off!

American imperialism and the general internationalization of Canadian capital has left the old banking heads powerless to play their old game of shrewd manipulation. "Since 1963 over 600 Canadian firms have been taken over by foreign firms," history professor Johnson explained in the "war measures" issue of the Waterloo Chevron. Johnson showed that in 1966 non-residents owned 57.5% of mining, quarrying, and oil wells, and 56.4% of manufacture, but this included some 97.9% of petroleum and coal products and some 84.3% of chemicals and chemical products. American capitalists grab at Canada not merely as a place to invest but as a place to make up for the depletion of supplies. The USA imports about 95% of its bauxite, manganese, and asbestos, and, largely from Quebec, 75% of its copper, half its lead, potash, and zinc, and a third of its oil.

This spring the Parti Quebecois mounted a campaign for separation. It got a third of the vote, but only 6% of the seats. This turned some who had hoped to win by the ballot alone to thinking of urban guerrilla methods. FRAP (the Front for Political Action) had campaigned in Montreal local elections, and as a result two of the FRAP candidates were jailed, its print shop was shut down, and those who had worked in the shop were arrested. More switched to talk of Che, the Tupemaros of Uruguay, or the Palestinian skyjackers. One could say this is all wrong, but to say so is as pointless as to denounce the wind, rain, hail, and snow. On the other hand it is not pointless to look for something more effective, even if more difficult to achieve, such as labor solidarity.

The Canadian War Measures Act is used to repress unionism — progressive action as well as provincial separatism. The FLQ Manifesto explained: "We are fighting this clique of exploiters... dominated by Anglo American financiers, with which some ambitious French Canadians have been collaborating.... We are fighting all forms of exploitation.... We are with all workers who immigrated to Quebec and with whom we want to fight our common enemy, Anglo American capitalism."

(They may need to modernize this view, however. A world capitalist class exploits the workers of the world, and the Japanese investments in Canada now exceed British investments.)

PHILADELPHIA

Two Philadelphia activists were arrested April 9, 1969, and charged with conspiring to blow up national shrines. The two, Steve Frazer and Richard Borgmann, were active in National Caucus of Labor Committees and organized a large demonstration opposing an urban renewal project which threatened to displace many lower-income people with a corporation-government center which would be partially devoted to war research. It seemed no surprise to many that these two were singled out to stand trial for their alleged crimes in this city where police chief Frank Rizzo, a prize law'n'order gestapo chief, eagerly does the bidding of his moneyed masters.

Since then, a relatively-unique approach toward the goal of defending this pair had been taken. Reminiscent of the commission that exonerated Leon Trotsky from the "crimes" he had been charged with by the Stalinist robots, the Fraser-Borgmann Defense (c/o P. Milkman, 567 West 191st Street, New York City) is trying to set up an Independent National Committee of

Inquiry to look into the matter and to judge on the basis of the evidence whether these two are guilty or victims of a frame-up. Frank Rizzo seems to enjoy some popular faith in Philly, and it is hoped that an objective inquiry might undermine it and put him in a different light.

Hawaii

The case against Fellow Worker Renee Kajikawa was dismissed on Friday the Thirteenth (November). The judge decided to dismiss the case rather than consider the argument that Renee had a constitutional right to enter the hotel to leaflet for the strikers. Had this been considered, it could have opened the door for the strikers themselves to come in and leaflet. Our Hawaii Fellow Workers have had their first victory in the courts.

our holliday message

"...and Jehovah God commanded the man, saying: Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat; for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die...."

—from the Book of Genesis

"After Maasau created men and placed them on the Earth he was pleased because he had given the right of choice to them as human beings."

—from the Hopi Creation

"An honest man is the noblest work of God."

—Fundamentalist platitude

"An honest God is the noblest work of Man."

—Robert G. Ingersoll

"PUBLIC" TV?

Ralph Nader was set to start off his fall series on Public non-commercial TV with a critique of TV commercials, including those of Mobil Oil. Mobil Oil donated a million dollars to Public Television, and the series began instead with a description of Kannapolis, the company town where Cannon towels and such are made.

by
**ROBERT
EDWARDS**

INTRODUCTION

Our civilization is dying.

Crisis builds on crisis; war, inflation, recession; riot and assassination; pollution of our air, food, and water. These are death agonies of our society.

People everywhere are losing faith in the principles they have lived by. Priests abandon the churches, students tear up the colleges. Rumors of murder, rape, and robbery assault us. Like an ancient cathedral collapsing, the sacred beliefs are falling down.

Our civilization is dying—but who has the courage to face the fact? Who has the strength to found a new civilization on the ruins of the old?

Most people still live in a dream world. Some imagine that the old ways can go on. Some blindly strike out at the old system, trusting to God or some equally-mysterious force to create something to take its place.

This is an appeal to those men and women with enough courage to look the real world in the face and with enough intelligence to see that a new world—a new society—has got to be built, and that it is not going to appear by magic.

The basic cause of the disintegration of our society is the breakdown of the economic system on which it is based. To build a new society, we will have to achieve a complete reorganization of the economy.

The Profit System

Our whole way of life is geared to the economic operation of making things to be sold for profit—a system variously called “free enterprise”, “Capitalism”, or the “American Way”. This system has made the vast majority of people, who live by working for wages or salaries, into human tools for the production of wealth.

Practically all the work of modern civilization is done by hired labor, which, therefore, creates virtually all wealth. It is the working people who produce the profits collected by the employers; the investment capital for the upkeep and expansion of industry; the taxes that finance the Government. We produce the rent the landlords get and the interest payments the bosses collect. Therefore the wages we receive amount to only a small fraction of the wealth we produce. This fraction we receive only so long as we can be used profitably by our employers.

Thus we are reduced to the level of things, whose worth is measured by their economic value. A valuable worker is one it is profitable to employ. Let economic conditions change so that his employer no longer profits by using him, and his value suddenly disappears.

We live by selling our strength and skills—our ability to work—on the labor market. We are in effect slaves who, instead of being sold by others, sell ourselves.

If the demand for our abilities exceeds the supply, then we can command higher pay and more-pleasant working conditions. But if the supply of what we are able to do exceeds the demand, we face low pay, the worst working conditions, and chronic unemployment.

Supply and demand are economic forces which have nothing to do with the real needs for workers. For example garbage collectors are much more necessary and important than social workers, but the price tag the economy puts on their work is considerably less.

The advance of machinery in some occupations creates and maintains both unemployment and poverty. The rising demand for other forms of labor, notably in the skilled blue-collar trades and college-trained professions, gives these workers a “middle-class” standard of living.

The poor blame themselves for their poverty, and the “middle-class” workers credit themselves for the degree of their success. Schools, churches, TV networks, etcetera all are devoted to convincing people that their successes and failures depend on themselves alone. In fact our chance in life depends on an economic system whose operations cannot be controlled by any individual.

The Management Hierarchy

This economic system is like one big corporation. It has its staff of janitors and maids—the poor people. It has its production-line operatives—the blue-collar working class. It has its office workers and its lower, middle, and upper management—the white-collar workers, professionals, and managers of various degrees. And finally it has its board of directors—the rich and super-rich families with names like DuPont, Rockefeller, Mellon, and Ford.

The board of directors delegates responsibility to upper management. Upper management delegates responsibility to middle management. Middle management in turn delegates responsibility to secretaries and clerks. As a result the upper levels of the hierarchy do nothing particularly useful or necessary.

Many of the rich spend their whole lives doing the sort of thing you read about in the society columns. As for those who do put in time at the office—the members of upper management proper—they spend their time manipulating financial structures and engaging in the rivalries of one management clique against another. You can work twenty exhausting hours a day at this sort of thing year after year, acquiring ulcers and heart disease, and never do any useful work whatever.

It has been aptly said that an important man is one who has a wife at home who tells him what to do and a secretary at the office who does it. We think that the secretaries and other subordinates, getting together and taking control of the work themselves, would be doing the “important men” a favor (though they probably wouldn't think so) by taking away their status and making them find useful jobs.

The Government, too, is like a giant corporation, whose stockholders are the voters. Election day is like the typical stockholders' meeting—a stage-managed fraud arranged to give the small shareholders the illusion that they have a voice in company policy. In fact the president and officers of Government Incorporated take instructions mainly from the same board of directors that operates behind the scenes just about everywhere else—the super-rich class of upper management and the wealthiest employers.

The “important men” and established institutions that manage our society seem to be very powerful. But, both in private enterprise and in government affairs, the board of directors and upper management are given their power by all the ordinary people who keep on doing what they're told.

All the really important work, including the planning, the co-ordinating, and the administering, is done by underlings—that is, by us. We who do the work are like the moving parts of a vast and overwhelmingly-powerful machine. Yet the machine is nothing but a lot of people like ourselves working together, following orders, and going about the ordinary routine of our jobs.

An Economy That Grows

The operations of the economic machine are guided by one main purpose—to make profits.

The goods produced and the services performed by the workers are sold for money; of the proceeds, a portion goes to the workers to pay them for their work, and a portion goes to the employers to reward them for owning the production facilities. The former portion makes up the wages, the latter portion the profits.

Part of the profits goes to support the rich in the luxury to which they have grown accustomed. Part goes to the Government in taxes. A large part goes for new investment.

Thus economic growth—the continuous expansion of the production facilities—is built into the system. The system automatically creates profits and the profits automatically flow into investment. If the economy is to keep going at a reasonable level of prosperity, the total output of goods must keep pace with investment; and this requires that the goods be sold. So the demand for them must somehow or other constantly increase. Otherwise the profits will fall, production will be cut back, and workers will lose jobs.

The continuous development of new machinery and of more-efficient methods of organizing work constantly increases the amount that each worker produces. If total production does not increase at least as fast, jobs are destroyed. Therefore so long as we work in a profit system we depend on economic growth for our jobs.

Thus at the end of each year there are more factories, stores, offices, and so on than there were a year before. The goods and services they produce have to be sold at a profit if they are to keep going. But production machinery constantly tends to grow faster than the market for its output.

In former times production would outgrow the market regularly every few years, and then suddenly the economy would fold up and we would have a depression. But since the last big depression in the 1930s, the Government has devoted itself to upholding the economy of the United States. Government-stimulated “free enterprise” has avoided any depression for decades—at the cost of growing inflation. The current government policy is to try to stop inflation, whenever it seems to be getting out of hand, by deliberately creating recession. As of late 1970 this policy is succeeding in creating unemployment, but has not stopped the cost of living from going up.

... And Kills

The Government has fulfilled its obligation to stimulate economic growth in part by financing a vast war industry. This military-industrial complex, as it has come to be called, has a vested interest in bloodshed and considerable

political influence for stirring up trouble.

In the search for new outlets for investment capital and new markets for their expanding production, the larger corporations cross national boundaries, first exporting their products and then buying and building subsidiaries in other nations. Finding cheap labor in places like Mexico and Hong Kong, they soon begin exporting goods back to the USA. This puts American workers in competition with other workers all over the world, and, as pointed out in the IWW pamphlet “World Labor Needs a Union”, it gives us a good reason to find ways of linking up with those workers so we and they can't be used against each other.

The US Government in the meantime finds it necessary to defend all those American investments against native unrest. The military-industrial complex eagerly bids for the contracts to do the dirty work. Thus the economic need to grow creates occasions for wars and institutions with a powerful vested interest in fighting them. The graveyards of the world are full of the results.

The economy's need to grow is destroying the natural environment. Every year more cars are on the road, more oil refineries and power plants are in operation, more land is bulldozed for construction. The result is inevitable. Each year the air becomes less safe to breathe, the water less fit to drink.

And all the time science is finding new weapons systems for use by the military-industrial complex and more-potent pollutants for industry to poison us with. Poison gas is not only a weapon of war; various kinds of it are routinely used in the chemical industry, being shipped around the country on trains with no special precautions; and, in the course of its processing, a certain amount of it inevitably leaks out.

Neither is nuclear energy strictly a military item. The nuclear reactors which generate more and more of our electrical power are nothing but tamed A-bombs which are polluting our air, our water, and ultimately our food with radioactive wastes. Their owners, of course, take a certain number of precautions against this, but none that might cut down their profits.

The modern production system is an elaborate integrated mechanism whose effective operation depends on all its parts' working together. And its most-vital parts are the human beings—the hired hands who make it go. In essence it is a vast network of co-operative labor whose existence depends on all of its members' working together for the common interest. Consider, for instance, how many people must co-operate to put food on the shelves of your local market: people working on farms and in food-processing plants; transportation workers in trucks, railroads, and warehouses; wholesale and retail employees; office workers to schedule and co-ordinate them all.

The extensive linking together of all parts of the machine of production has created a need for economic operations of all kinds to be unified on a large scale. The profit system has unified them by organizing the giant corporations and expanding the Government. These two forms of large-scale enterprise have much in common; every corporation of any size acts in many ways like an independent government, and the various government agencies operate very much like large corporations. The differences are a matter of style the thing they have in common—the co-ordination of work by bureaucratic means—is decisive.

... And Of Greed

In the course of growing to great size the corporations have acquired monopoly power. Within broad limits, they can fix the prices they charge for their products as they see fit. When, for example, they grant wage increases to their employees, they can—if after considering sales and other matters it seems to their advantage—raise their prices.

This is one of the main causes of the high cost of living. Monopoly price-fixing extends far beyond big corporations; small businesses and independent professionals, notably lawyers and doctors, have built up the same monopoly power. In fact the only people still dumb enough to trust to free competition are the workers themselves. Employers of all varieties, through trade and professional associations and “gentlemen's agreements”, have arranged to charge all the traffic will bear, and then some, thereby constantly pushing up the cost of living.

The present Government policy is to fight inflation by taking measures to cut down economic demand. Though the Government has surrounded it with a cloud of doubletalk, to hide its real meaning, this policy amounts to an effort to take money out of the pockets of the working people by raising taxes and destroying jobs. If the people have less to spend, so the theory goes, the demand for merchandise of all kinds will go down. And this will force businesses to lower their prices in order to be able to sell.

But no such outcome can be expected. Prices are fixed

REVOLUTION



by monopoly arrangements. The rise in prices that has been building up since World War II has not been seriously slowed down by any of the several recessions that have taken place in the interval.

Replacement of economic competition by all-pervading monopoly has not only generated inflation. It has put the control of our lives into the hands of a vast management bureaucracy—a bureaucracy overwhelmingly incompetent. Though it organizes co-operative labor on a large scale, it has kept the profit motive and selfishness of competitive capitalism. Though the production machinery demands co-operation, the economic system instead creates rivalry, hustling, and back-stabbing greed.

The now-defunct form of “free enterprise”, which is still praised by all red-blooded Americans, entailed unlimited competition regardless of the consequences. Its basic principles could be roughly summed up as everybody’s inalienable right to flush his toilet into the public drinking water. As soon as typhoid epidemics went out of fashion, this approach had to be modified. Between the toilet and the drinking water has been erected a sewage-treatment plant, staffed by civil-service bureaucrats. In fact, as the millions of hustling small businesses of yesteryear have given way to a handful of giant corporations and government agencies in every walk of life, the open sewer of free competition has now been replaced by the septic tank of bureaucracy.

But as everybody knows who has studied water pollution, that sewage-treatment plant hasn’t been working too well. Its equipment is outmoded, unable to cope with the exotic chemical and nuclear poisons modern industry is dumping into the water; and the “responsible” civil servants are inept, corrupt, and incompetent.

A wide variety of institutions share in the governing of society: courts, police, schools, churches, corporations, labor unions, legislatures. All of these institutions are run by management bureaucracies which, though they may be large or small and vary widely in style of operation, are essentially the same as that running the sewage plant of our example. All such bureaucracies operate in much the same way.

Every section, clique, and faction of these bureaucracies is trying to build up its own power and influence, at the same time avoiding as much work as possible and, by the way, collecting as much graft as it can. Wherever you look, from the biggest corporation to the smallest city hall, it’s the same story: inefficiency, waste, ineptitude, corruption, and incompetence.

This is all created by the profit motive, or in other words greed: the all-pervasive, sordid money-grubbing that is the essence of our economic system.

We depend, therefore, on a production system which demands co-operation while following an economic system that cultivates back-stabbing. The result is that you can no longer depend on this society to provide such things as schools, medical care, safe drinking water, or a regular supply of electric power. The contradiction between the economic greed system and the ever-growing need for productive co-operation is tearing our civilization apart.

Economic Revolution

We need to abolish this economic system—otherwise it will probably abolish us—and set up a new one in its place. In other words, we need an economic revolution.

But former revolutions have been notably unsatisfactory. They have often led to the wholesale slaughter of innocent bystanders and to the formation of police states. Those that haven’t—like the American Revolution of 1776—have made very few basic changes in society, and certainly no changes as drastic as the abolition of the profit motive. In fact, it is doubtful that our lives would be very different at all if we, like the Canadians, still paid lip service to the British crown.) Great social changes, it seems, generate vast bloodletting and suffering. And though there are a few “revolutionaries” around who find that an enticing prospect, it is repulsive to all decent people.

But there is no need for either a bloodletting or a police state. As the people who do all the necessary work, we, the hired hands of the world, have access to all the centers of economic power. We can take control of the production machinery which we operate and reorganize it as we see fit—if we will only organize ourselves to do it.

Control of the economy—of the actual work of production and distribution—is the key. All the previous revolutions (all those in modern history, at any rate) were fought for the control of the government. And governmental power is invariably backed up by the military. As Mao Tse-tung is often quoted as saying with reference to governmental power: “Power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

In every revolution which has been fought for control of the government, the group in power has been able to line up

an army to defend its position. The group trying to take that power away naturally lines up its own army, and soon they are busy shooting each other full of holes.

But every army is an economic enterprise. In the modern military, there are at least ten people behind the lines providing supplies—entertainment and medical treatment, weapons and ammunition, repairs and fuel—for every soldier in the field. The fighting can go on only so long as all these hired hands keep on doing their jobs. Also it can go on only so long as the hired hands in the field—the front-line soldiers—are willing to do their job. Let the soldiers stop following orders, and the fighting stops fast.

Power! The power to control society—and to build a new society fit for human beings to live in! We have it, we who do the work; it is right in our hands; we have only to wake up to the realization that it is here!

One Big Union Of All Workers....

So we believe that all the working people—of all races, backgrounds, and nationalities—should join together to take control of the work they do.

What we have in mind is a unifying workers’ organization—what we have often called the One Big Union—in which the employees of every industry elect their foremen, their supervisors, and their managers and decide what work they will do and how they will do it, by democratic discussion and vote. This entails the abolition of the whole profit system; of private, corporate, and governmental ownership of the machinery of production; and, incidentally, of all the laws and all the law-enforcement agencies that back up such ownership. The employing class will be most upset. But they will not be able to stop it, because as soon as we stop following their orders, their power will disappear.

By joining in one big union we can take control of the economy and stop the disasters it has been bringing us. We can end unemployment by cutting the hours of work to create jobs for all who need them. A union of all workers

running all the industries can easily provide a new job for anyone who is unemployed by means of technical progress or economic reorganization. It can also support those people who, because of accident, sickness, age, or family responsibilities, cannot work; and so it can end poverty forever.

With an organization like this we would not have to keep expanding industry to make more jobs. We could stop the disgusting and dangerous destruction of the environment. And, with no more profit motive urging us to keep the war industries going, we could reach an understanding with our fellow workers in Russia, China, Vietnam, and everywhere else in the world to stop murdering each other and to get rid of all those bombs.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Those of us who hold to these ideas have an organization called the Industrial Workers of the World. Its goal is to become that One Big Union. It has spent much of its time building solidarity among working people in the struggle for such benefits as the right to strike, the right to bargain collectively, and the eight-hour day. (It was, after all, set up in a time when these things were considered very un-American.) People who are familiar with the history of the American union movement know the IWW as the one labor organization that never sold out the working people. Since, under the profit system, such a record is rare, the IWW is worth looking into for that reason alone.

But, more important, it is a group of men and women (some with long hair and some with short) who have united in a determined effort to build a society of, by, and for the working people of the world. We urge you to join this effort, which is, quite literally, an effort to save the life of the world.

THE LETTER I

I
am
tall.

I
am straight and upright, down from
the trees and up from the dirt.

I
have no knees to crawl on.

I
don’t believe in genuflecting,
shoe shine boys, or Ash Wednesday.

I
have had a steel beam named after me.

I
have built those skyscrapers,
superman leaps in a single bound.

I
stand on the dot of my lower case,
a ball bearing underfoot, at first
a monkey on a roller skate, but
quickly no, just a new letter
from the shell of the old.

I
am the bearer of infinite possibilities.
I
will defy anyone or anything who tries
to stop me from bearing even one.

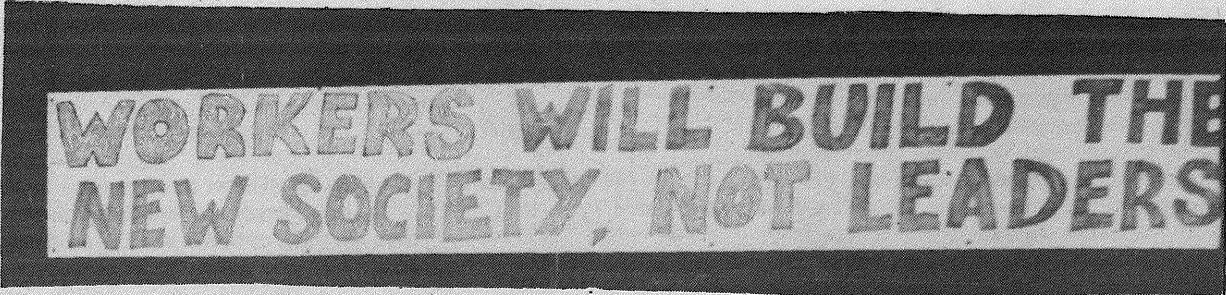
Through no fault of my own
I
must hate in order to be
in love
with myself.

I
will pick my friends who are
I’s
like me.

No one else qualifies for this
select circle of dignitaries,
and there will be no exceptions
as to easy entry due to race,
religion, national origin, family,
relation, age, or sex.

I
can be an
I
early in my life (puberty sets
me to thinking) and
I
say the earlier the better.

—Robert Rohr
X 326626





RESISTANCE TO REPRESSION

A Summary For 1970

This piece has little news. It is mainly an attempt to assemble elementary facts about a number of court cases typical of this year's fight against repression.

As we go to press, the trial of the Seattle 8 is scheduled to start in Tacoma, Washington on November 23. The charge is that the Seattle 8 conspired to demonstrate in Seattle on February 17, 1970 to protest the contempt sentences handed out in the Chicago 7 trial as the jury went into its deliberations.

The Chicago 7, in turn, were being charged under the same Rap Brown law with conspiring to bring people across state lines to urge ending the war at the 1968 Democratic Convention. The Seattle prosecution has moved the case to Tacoma hoping to find a more-conservative jury. Defense attorney Tiger says his defendants are on trial chiefly because their ideas are getting through to the thousands of laid-off Boeing workers.

In the same hope of a more-conservative jury, the case against the Soledad Brothers has been moved from San Francisco to San Diego. George Jackson, John Clutchette, and Fleeta Drumgo are charged with killing a guard in Soledad Prison last January. That event is one link in a chain starting with the murder of three prisoners by Soledad guard O.G. Miller, and continuing through the attempt to kidnap the judge in a San Rafael courtroom August 7 and through the October 14 arrest of Angela Davis to the current trial.

Miller had shot into the prison yard at Soledad, killing three black prisoners and wounding one white one. In mid-January the courts called this justifiable homicide. But the black prisoners called it planned assassination. Some prisoners, supposedly in retaliation, seized another guard, John Mills, and threw him over the railing of an upper tier of cells. He died. The three defendants usually referred to as Soledad Brothers say it was not them, but that they were singled out for the charge because they refused to be subservient.

One of the defendants, George Jackson, has spent 10 of his 28 years in jail. On August 7 his 17-year-old brother Jonathan Jackson went armed into Judge

Haley's court in San Rafael and attempted to take the judge and others as hostages so as to demand the release of the Soledad Three. The outcome: Eleven shots were fired by the law, killing the judge, young Jonathan, and two black prisoners who had been brought to court that day, James McLain and William Christmas. Jonathan certainly did not shoot the judge, since kidnapers have no use for dead hostages.

Young Jonathan had tried other ways to fight the frame-up of the Soledad Brothers. He had gotten some of his friends to form a committee for their defense headed by the popular philosophy instructor Angela Davis, a declared Marxist that the UCLA Regents had unsuccessfully tried to stop from teaching. (There was an illustrated article on her in the September 11 issue of Life.)

The law claims that the guns carried by young Jonathan had belonged to Angela. She left the state, and the police traced her to Chicago, where she was living with David Poindexter, the son of a black Communist leader of the '30s; then to Sarasota; then to various places in New York; and finally on October 14 they decided to arrest her as a fugitive from justice. Her release is a recurrent demonstration demand. Another case, that of the Soledad Seven, shapes up from the death of another Soledad guard in July.

One indirect consequence: Convicts in San Quentin demanding a court hearing are no longer taken to San Rafael, but get a private hearing in a small room in the penitentiary.

But back to the trial of the Seattle 8. There are so many cases that are publicly identified by the name of a town and the number of defendants that when one lad was recently asked what he thought of the Indianapolis 500 he said he didn't know much about the case, but he'd bet they weren't guilty.

Of the Seattle 8, only seven defendants are in court; for Mike Justensen, the one Weatherman indicted, did not show up. Four of them had come from Cornell (Chip Marshall, Jeff Dowd, Joe Kelly, and Mike Abales), all in their early twenties, for they liked what they had heard about the Seattle Liberation Front, a coalition of

collectives consisting chiefly of street people.

When Judge Hoffman in Chicago handed out his heavy contempt sentences to the Chicago 7, he included their attorneys: a year and 8 months for assistant defense counsel Weinglass, and 4 years and 13 days for William Kunstler, for such offenses as observing Moratorium Day in the court or asking questions that the judge didn't like.

In Seattle 2,000 indignant people gathered in front of the Federal Building February 17 to protest this injustice. Quite naturally the defendants and others in the Seattle Liberation Front were there. So they are charged with crossing state lines to create a riot.

Could they have foreseen back in Ithaca that Judge Hoffman would give them the occasion for this demonstration? This "Rap Brown Act" is a menace in this age of highly-mobile young people who are as likely to travel to a rally as to a football game. Any unionist visiting a picket line in a city located outside his home state is vulnerable if something happens on that picket line.

Between that February 17 demonstration and the April 17 indictment, an uglier situation came to light in Seattle March 3. What has been described as a "firecracker bomb" was exploded in broad daylight at the University District Post Office. Jan Tissot, John Van Vennendahl, and Mike Reed were indicted, and somehow three counts were made out of the same act: damaging US property with a bomb; failing to register the bomb; and using the bomb to commit a felony.

According to testimony by the defendants and other evidence, the bomb had been the contribution of police agent Jeff Desmond to their protest. On this ground they sought dismissal, citing two California cases (US Versus Chisum and US Versus Freed and Sutherland) in which federal courts held that where police supplied the dynamite or means of the alleged crime, there could be no prosecution.

Entrapment and provocation by police agents comes to light quite often in this fight against repression. The Puget Sound Partisan of September 15 gave a picture of Jeff Desmond, and the San Diego Street Journal of September 25 gave pictures of three such exposed police agents: Richard Carasco, Jay King (or John Murray), and Terry McAdams. The same method shows up in the Seale - McLucas - New Haven Nine case.

The trial of Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, started in New Haven on November 17. His face is well known to the American public from his days in the Chicago Conspiracy trial, when Judge Hoffman had him bound and gagged for his insistence on questioning witnesses for his own protection since his attorney, Charles Gerry, was ill in San Francisco.

Seale's insistence on this right was such that the judge finally separated him from the case and handed him a four-year contempt sentence. The law has since then decided that he should never have been indicted in that case; but his contempt sentence still holds, and he gets out only to go to other trials.

Seale is charged with murder, kidnaping resulting in death, conspiracy to murder, and conspiracy to kidnap. The Panthers call it an FBI - CIA - Department of Justice plot. The prosecution's contentions came out in the earlier trial of Lonnie McLucas, the first of the New Haven Nine to be tried. The Nine consists of Seale and eight others charged with kidnaping and killing Alex Rackley in May of 1969.

Three of the Nine are women: Erika Huggins, Peggy Hudgins, and Rose Smith. They have been locked up since May 1969 and complain of severe mistreatment. Peg Hudgins, Rose Smith, and Edwards had

their sentences reduced to assault and pleaded guilty. Mrs. Huggins is the widow of John Huggins, a Black Panther who was shot and killed in Berkeley a few years ago. One of the Nine, Sams, supported the prosecution's contention that the Panthers had kidnaped Rackley to find out whether he was a police informant, and had killed him. Sams is a former mental patient who admitted he was working with the police and had been set up to bust the Panthers. McLucas said he had put a bullet into Rackley's body, but only because Sams had terrorized him into doing so.

After the longest deliberations in the history of Connecticut, the jury found McLucas not guilty on the three charges of murder, kidnapping, and criminal binding, but found him guilty of conspiracy to murder. He drew 12 to 15 years. The jury's disbelief in the kidnapping story undermines the charge that Seale, as the chairman of the Panthers, had ordered it.

A side issue in the McLucas case which ran through the summer is the question of whether or not it helps the defense to mass hundreds of demonstrators at courthouses. Some attribute the partial defense victory in this case to this tactic; some say it is better to secure good coverage and present a tight case.

The Seale case and the Black Panther story are only outcroppings of the fact that 12,000,000 blacks refuse to stay down in the ghetto, where 35% of their youth are looking for jobs but getting none, while those who get jobs get only those no one else wants. The Panthers have occupied themselves with free breakfasts for hungry children, free health clinics, liberation schools, and shoes for kids who need them — but the paper give the impression that the Panthers are chiefly engaged in the gun business. (They are to the extent that they advise their members to know how to use one, and warn that black experience shows it is not safe to be harmless.)

The story of the Panthers' fight against repression would fill one very large book. The Party was founded by Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, and Bobby Hutton, a lad who was killed by the police at the age of 17. Huey Newton is Minister of Defense, and Eldridge Cleaver, now in Nigeria, is the Minister of Education — titles that reflect the Maoist influence of the Party's early days. The Mao paper People's Voice now laments that this influence is gone.

Newton was released on bail August 5 after three years in jail while attorneys appealed a 2-15-year sentence for the alleged killing of Oakland policeman John Frey. The verdict has now been thrown out, and Newton, out on bail, goes to trial again January 11.

Currently in New York City, the New York Twenty-One are now on trial after having been kept in jail over a year on the charge of having planned to bomb some department stores and such. The evidence against them includes such seized items as a red book of Chairman Mao's thoughts, a spear, and a bow and arrow.

In South Carolina Cleveland Sellers, the former director of SNCC, was convicted of the "first one-man riot in history" this fall after dismissal of conspiracy charges, all growing out of the killing by police of four black students at South Carolina State in the Orangeburg Massacre of February 8, 1968.

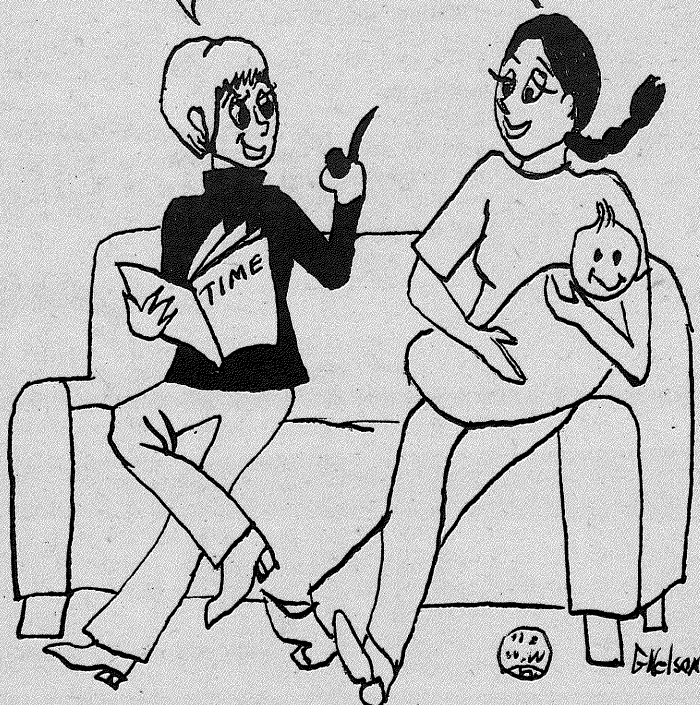
On September 18 the police raided the Panther Headquarters in Toledo, and now John McClellan is charged with murder for defending it. At the same time two of the Milwaukee Three were sentenced to up to 30 years for an alleged attempt to murder a cop who was the only witness against them. (The third skipped bond.)

In some places Black Panthers function from offices of the NCCF (the National

(continued on Page 9)

In speaking of New Feminists, this renowned politician says he would NOT want to wake up NEXT to a pipefitter!

Do you suppose he'd like waking up next to the cleaning lady any better?



IWW

is the
working class
organized
in its own
interests

How To Ward Off A Depression

If we get a depression it is because those who have the least get the least.

Furniture manufacture is a low-wage industry, and received the lowest wage increases of any industry this year. Half the increases for the first nine months were less than 16.5¢ an hour, and half were that much or more. In the construction industry this median wage boost was 90.4¢ an hour. For industry as a whole it was 27.9¢ and for non-construction industry it was 24.3¢.

Even with their increases those furniture

workers will not be able to buy as much as they did last year. No wonder folks get laid off: the boss can't keep them making overalls for furniture workers who haven't the price to pay for them. Those workers who got the bigger increases this year already had most of the houses, furniture items, appliances, and clothes they were thinking of buying, and felt it was time to start saving for a rainy day.

The count of the unemployed that was released immediately after the election ran 1,636,000 men, 1,491,000 women, and

1,133,000 teen-agers. (Don't let that statistical breakdown fool you: teen-agers are not sexless.) In September 17.7% of white youths and 34.9% of black youths were looking for jobs and not finding them. The national overall unemployment rate was 5.6%, but in the inner cities it was 6.6% for white men and 10.8% for black men. There is not much puzzle as to where some money would do the most to ward off depression.

If a company has to lay off folks to keep within its income, it is much better to lay off one \$300,000-a-year executive than a hundred \$3,000-a-year hired hands.

This is the time for gloomy forecasts about an inevitable depression — arguments that the longer the period of inflation, the deeper the depression. A depression is quite likely, but certainly not inevitable: it depends entirely on what people do about it.

If we win big boosts for those who have nothing, and lay off only those who have lots, we won't have as big a depression as we would if we do things in the customary cockeyed way.

In the big depression of the Thirties the IWW helped turn the tide, and initiated the re-invigoration of the labor movement for the first time in a period of massive unemployment, by its message to the jobless: Assure your fellow workers who still have jobs that if they strike, you will come around not to bust their picket lines but to reinforce them. In this present situation the tide can again be turned by doing all that can be done for those with the lease incomes.

A lot of people get less than two dollars an hour. That is too little. There is where wage increases can do the most good. Where you expect workers are earning less than that, ask them what they get and tell them a lot of people realize that this is not enough and that something should be done about it.

If you go to the movies, ask the ticket taker or popcorn girls what they get, and if it is less than \$2 tell them it is time for a concerted move to bring it to that minimum. (Federal wage and hour laws do not apply to these workers.) This comes to mind because here in Chicago we have been making this a systematic effort ever since we made \$2 the minimum in a chain of

movie houses. We are not trying to sell these workers union cards or give them the notion we can raise their wages for them. We are telling them to get backing from their friends and neighbors and go after it themselves. It might initiate a movement that can turn the tide again.

BRITAIN FEELS YANKEE RECESSION

America's recession is hitting workers in Britain. The American-owned Singer plant at Clydebank laid off 700 workers, and their 4,000 fellow workers staged a protest strike. There was a lay-off of 450 at the American-owned Burroughs plant at Strathleven. Both plants are in an area where the decline of Clyde shipbuilding has already produced extensive unemployment, and both layoffs attributed to a drop in the American market for sewing and business machines. In the Northern England mining area an Unemployed Union was launched in the late summer.

A well-attended annual conference on Workers' Control was held at Birmingham in October. Its three main themes were "furtherance of the campaign for workers' control, democracy within the labor movement, and the Government's plan for anti-trade union legislation". The Tories are talking of adopting something like USA's Taft-Hartley.

The Imperial Chemical Industries is preaching another variety of "workers'

control" to its fellow capitalists, publicizing the results of its own experiments that show it pays to let workers have more control over their own work. ICI achieved substantial gains in productivity by putting more workers on salary and letting them plan and direct their own functions. This of course is detail planning of how to do what the top management decided to have done. What would be the increase in productivity with genuine workers' control, including the decisions about what we will make and where it will go?

Anno Domini

Early in November in Santa Ana, California, a sadistic judge offered a prisoner the choice of 45 additional days in jail or being lashed with a cat-o-nine-tails. Prison conditions were such that the man chose the lashing, but the sheriff told the judge shortly afterward that none of his deputies would administer the punishment.

News Agents Wanted

The Industrial Worker is in need of added news agents and news boys to sell the publication with other IWW literature.

The Industrial Worker sells for 15¢ a copy and the commission to the agents or news boys is 10¢ per copy. The commission on song books and other literature is 40 per cent.

Anyone interested in the offer please communicate with "Industrial Worker, 2440 Lincoln Ave. Chicago, Illinois, 60614."

W. H. Westman,
Business Manager

Resistance To Repression - 1970

(continued from Page 8)

Committee to Combat Fascism). October 25 the Detroit NCCF office was raided for nine hours. Community leaders induced all but three of the occupants to surrender, and these were brought out with tear gas, but all face murder charges.

The jails of the nation are filled with blacks waiting for months without bail for trials for which they cannot muster the evidence they could muster if they were out. The background of each trial includes memories of Cairo, Illinois shootouts, the police murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, the police murder of Carl Hampton in Houston...an almost endless skein of blood-drenched injustices.

Charles Gerry, attorney for Bobby Seale, proceeds to New Haven from the 19-week trial of "Los Siete de la Raza", a parallel outcrop of Chicano discontent. In New Mexico Chicanos form 27% of the entire population and provide 69% of the draftees. Throughout the entire Southwest the infant mortality rate for them is double that for whites. They constitute 3% of the overall population, but 20% of Vietnam casualties. In 1969 they formed La Raza Unida Party in Texas, and a year later they formed a similar party in Colorado.

Demonstrations against drafting more Chicanos were scheduled by a National Chicano Moratorium Committee for August 29. Peaceful demonstrations were held in many cities, but in Los Angeles hundreds of police gathered in order to harass the demonstrators. The community told police it would be better if they stayed out on that day, and the police replied with helicopters and tear gas. The community faced them

with garbage cans and two-by-fours, and went down Whittier Avenue "trashing" 180 non-Chicano stores, throwing the bills of a finance agency into the air. Police killed news reporter Ruben Salazar as he sat in a cafe, and fatally wounded Gilberto Diaz; two weeks later a third police victim, Lynn Ward, died of burns.

The trial of Los Siete de la Raza stems from May 1, 1969, when policeman Paul McGoran, according to those who were there, shot his fellow officer Joe Brodnik in a drunken rage. The police arrested six young activists and prosecuted them on the contention that a burglary was in progress when Brodnik was shot, so that under the California law, without contending that any of them shot Brodnik, they could charge all six with murder. Many such cases aimed at repression will appear in the form of ordinary criminal trials.

Currently there is an investigation into tampering with the jury in the Chicago Conspiracy case to force it to agree — a complaint made also in the McLucas case. There have been investigations of how the police murders of Hampton and Clark covered their traces. In Kent, Ohio a grand jury whitewashed the National Guard for shooting four students last May and the judge charged the 300 witnesses, including faculty members, to say nothing about this bizarre whitewash.

The FBI had destroyed the original Guard excuse that there were snipers, for it settled it that there were none. The Grand Jury said they fired because they were attacked by rocks and 58 of them were injured. The FBI ascertained that

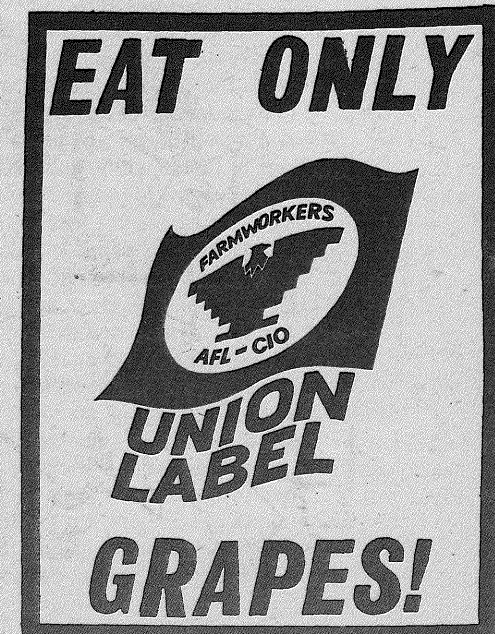
only four persons reported any injury. But the new state law provides for the suspension of any arrested student or faculty member until he is acquitted — including anyone disregarding the judge's order to remain silent.

In mid-October two members of the White Panther Party, Skip Taube and Jack Forrest, drew one to five years for having helped Pun Plamondon, the underground chairman of their party, hide out.

On September 22 Nixon asked Congress for \$14,000,000 to hire a thousand more members for the FBI to bring it to 8,000, greater than its wartime strength; and in the October 7 issue of the Nation one can find out about the files on 5,000 agitators on microfilm with computerized retrieval in the Hoffman Building in Alexandria. (Back on July 20 Attorney General Mitchell claimed that the right of the Government to protect itself was sufficient ground for the "collection and computerization of dossiers on protestors".)

Eight top-level Social Security officials have been studying since February whether the best way to keep tabs on all of us is by our Social Security numbers, or assigning everyone a different number at birth, or consolidating the fifty state systems for assigning the numbers for birth records. These men must be nervous or something. It is salutary to remember that most of those Hitler bumped off were people who had decided it would be safer not to stick their necks out. The IWW recommends: Continue to read, speak, and write openly, and organize!

—Fred Thompson



Add To I W W Reading List

The University of Washington Press has published a book on the murder of IWW champions of free speech who came to Everett, Washington November 5, 1916 to put the First Amendment into practice there. It is primarily a social history of the city of Everett, climaxing with this atrocity and entitled *Milltown* (priced at \$7.95). Its author, Norman Clark, published some of his research results earlier in an article on Everett in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* of April 1966. We will have a review of the book in our January issue by H.M. Edwards, who hopes for an assist from some of the participants in that 1916 tragedy.

Labor History Magazine (Fall 1970) has just come out with several articles which touch on IWW history and a 10-year cumulative index. It devotes 30 pages to the first complete reprint of the infamous Chicago indictment against 165 Wobs, with notes by Philip Foner, who stresses its current relevance: "Once again authorities are resorting to 'conspiracy' doctrine."

The current relevance of IWW history is stressed also by Professor Robert Zeiger in a review of Conlon's "Bread and Roses". He says:

"A few years ago...we would have written off the Wobblies as an aberrant, albeit colorful, group of wanderers (who)...did not fit into the pattern of job conscious, pure-and-simple unionism which Perlman, Commons, and others identified as the dominant theme in American labor

history....But since 1964 there has been a renewal of interest. Library shelves have expanded to accommodate books by Foner, Kornbluh, Renshaw, Tyler, Dubofsky, and Conlon....The Wobblies' involvement with the poor and the black and the alienated, together with their early concern for civil liberties and their practice of confrontation tactics, lend them at least a superficial resemblance to today's movement." (Professor Zeiger seems unaware of how many of those from whom the current movement draws its spirit are members of or have been members of or in some way connected with us Wobblies...or even that we have ceased to be an assemblage of Everett veterans.)

This issue of Labor History has other items related to Wobbly history: De Leon's old argument with Gompers of 1891, Wobs in Passaic (1912 to 1926), and references to Wob activities in maritime industry.

A rewarding winter activity: form a group in your own town to study the labor history of this country with a full treatment of the Wobs. We mimeograph a free six page list of worthwhile books and articles about the IWW that you can use as a basis. Of such books we currently stock Kornbluh in paperback at \$4.95, Dubofsky's history at \$12.50, and Smith's 1970 biography of Joe Hill at \$7.00, but we suggest that you try to arrange that your public library "expand its shelves to accommodate" such books, including that outstanding magazine Labor History.

WINE AND WATER

There sat two glasses, filled to the brim,
On a rich man's table, rim to rim;
One was ruddy and red as blood,
And one as clear as the crystal flood.
Said the glass of wine to the paler brother:
"Let us tell the tales of the past to each other;
I can tell of banquet and revel and mirth;
And the proudest and grandest souls on earth
Fell under my touch as though struck by blight,
Where I was king, for I ruled with might.
From the heads of kings I have torn the crown,
From the heights of fame I have hurled men down;
I have blasted many an honored name,
I have taken virtue and given shame;
I have tempted the youth with a sip, a taste
That has made his future a barren waste.
Greater, far greater than king am I,
Or than any army beneath the sky.
I have made the arm of the driver fail,
And sent the train from the iron rail;
I have made good ships go down at sea,
And the shrieks of the lost were sweet to me,
For they said: 'Behold, how great you be!
Fame, strength, wealth, genius before you fall,
For your might and power are over all.'
Ho, ho, pale brother," laughed the wine,
"Can you boast of deeds as great as mine?"
Said the water glass: "I cannot boast
Of a king dethroned or a murdered host;
But I can tell of a heart once sad,
By my crystal drops made light and glad;
Of thirsts I've quenched, of brows I've laved,
Of hands I've cooled, and humans I've saved.
I have leaped through the valley, dashed down the mountain,
Flowed in the river, and played in the fountain;
Slept in the sunshine and dropped from the sky,
And everywhere gladdened the landscape and eye.
I have eased the hot forehead of fever and pain,
I have made the parched meadows grow fertile with grain;
I can tell of the powerful wheel of the mill
That ground out the flour and turned at my will.
I can tell of manhood debased by you
That I have lifted and crowned anew.
I cheer, I help, I strengthen and aid,
I gladden the heart of man and maid:
I set the chained wine-captive free,
And all are better for knowing me."
These are the tales they told each other,
The glass of wine and the paler brother,
As they sat together, filled to the brim,
On the rich man's table, rim to rim.

— Din Crowley

TWO RECOLLECTIONS

Mack Reynolds is preparing a book in which each of the major radical movements in America will have a chance to state its own history and its own objectives. In his correspondence seeking material, two anecdotes have come up — each too good not to pass on to our readers.

The first anecdote relates to an experience when he was a young lad back in 1940:

"Years ago, when I was a member of the SLP, I held an open-air meeting from the steps of the post office in Klamath Falls, Oregon (or was it Bend?). There was only one other Socialist Labor Party member present. Those were the good old days when the American Legion thought it necessary to lynch radicals. About 20 or 30 carloads of them drove around and around the block, honking their horns and flashing their lights on the meeting. When they left their cars and rushed me, I figured I'd had it. However there were about 15 Wobblies

there, whose median age must have been about 60: big men, old-timers (lumberjacks and miners, I suppose). Without a word they just stood shoulder to shoulder, facing me as a barrier. The Legionnaires pushed and shoved and yelled, with absolutely no results. They couldn't get through. After a while they must have realized what was going on, and didn't want to get through. After the meeting, one of the old-timers came up and said: 'You Verne L. Reynolds' boy?' I said 'Yes.' He said 'We knew your dad!' and off he went.

(Verne Reynolds, an IWW member before World War I, became an SLP speaker, running on that ticket for President when party candidate Frank Johns was drowned in a rescue attempt at Bend, Oregon.)

The second anecdote relates to a time when Mack's job writing travel articles had taken him to Spain:

"Franco had passed a law forbidding the children of radicals to go to school. One day my wife...went looking for our maid, whose father had been shot after the Malaga debacle because he was a union member. We were on a very close and informal basis with the girl, who was living with relatives, and Jeanette burst into the front room of the house with only a brief rap on the door — she had heard that Carmencita was ill. She barged into a room crowded with about 15 youngsters of all ages, and several adults. It was obvious that they were studying. A cold silence fell. One of the adults, a touch of defiance there, explained to Jeanette that this was an underground school. None of the adults were teachers, but they were doing their best to teach the children the fundamentals. Jeanette told them she was a member of the movement in the United States, and the atmosphere changed. She was invited to say a few words to the class, and she did. From then on in the village we seemed to have another status, which rather mystified the other members of the foreign colony...."

How It Works

More rice from the green revolution makes 100,000 jobless sleep at nights on the open streets of Calcutta. The November 21 issue of Business Week, in a feature on how the improved strains of rice have increased food production, explains that only the richer farmers had the seed or fertilizers or equipment for the green revolution, and this put the poor farmers at even a greater disadvantage than before. Another consequence: The price of rural land in India has doubled in recent years, making all land-reform plans much harder to put across.

In This Movie, Palefaces Bite The Dust

"Flap", a Warner Brothers production directed by Carol Reed, starring Anthony Quinn, adapted from the novel "Nobody Loves a Drunken Indian"

As a kid I used to see all the Indian movies that I could, and as I grew older I found myself getting madder with every movie that I saw because the Indians were always getting screwed. I understand that now, because as a boy who loved his father very much and always slid his feet under the old man's table, the face that I looked at across that table could never have been mistaken for General Custer's. In this particular movie that is being written about things haven't changed too much, since the Indians are still getting screwed; but it's the first Indian movie I've seen that comes close to being a real Indian Indian movie.

The usual formula for Hollywood Indians was either the bloodthirsty savage or the childish-minded noble savage — always stoical and inscrutable. But here it's the paleface who gets himself stereotyped, and beautifully so. Indians here are for once being depicted as having a sense of humor, as well as having other traits that identify them as members of the human race.

Briefly it's the story of a boozing World War II veteran living on some reservation in the Southwest who always runs afoul of the law, but in Chaplinesque style always sends the law sprawling ass over teakettle, and eventually initiates an Indian militant movement. Flap has an older relative who has taken a correspondence course in law and spends his time looking over the old treaties, and there the fun starts. The film is basically a comedy, and the loopholes in the old treaties provide the opportunity for such outrageous acts as routing an entire construction crew, driving a bulldozer over a cliff, and diverting a freight train full of livestock onto the reservation spur line sans engine and caboose. One of the most

beautiful moments is when the hero sends a cop sprawling face first into a pile of manure.

The movie ends tragically as Flap is ambushed by that same cop while leading a demonstration of his fellow tribesmen at the courthouse steps of the nearest city; and on this point many professional critics indict the movie, as they maintain that comedy and tragedy cannot successfully be interwoven. But this unprofessional critic disregards all such objections, as life for most people is a mixture of tragedy and comedy, and for that reason the movie has a true-to-life quality that lends plausibility to some of the way-out stunts depicted.

Anthony Quinn, one of the great artists — if not the greatest artist — to come out of Hollywood, presents the audience with a magnificent performance in the title role. He had long been neglected by Hollywood in his earlier years, since, being Mexican Indian, he was always sluffed off into the most-stereotyped roles. It took the foreign directors to give this artist the exposure he needed, as in the case of Carol Reed in this film. His acting sustains the film very well, and he has an excellent supporting cast of both Indian and white actors, one of whom is Victor Jory, who hasn't been seen in a long time, who plays the role of the Indian barrister.

The cinematography is superb, and the location gives the feeling of authenticity that is needed. Granted, the movie-makers have been using various movements for commercial exploitation, and now they have gotten around to the Indian movement; but it's becoming more and more apparent that even in America movies have been steadily gaining a high level of adult entertainment.

Making allowances for certain biases on the part of this writer, readers may rest assured of an enthusiastic recommendation for this movie.

— C. C. Redcloud

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Chicago, Illinois, 60614

WORLD CAPITALISM

Last year the European Economic Community (Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, and the Netherlands) supplied more capital to developing countries than did the USA for the first time. While US capitalism supplied \$4,600,000,000 to the developed countries, the European Economic Community supplied \$5,200,000,000, and with Britain included \$6,100,000,000. The world capitalist class exploits the world working class. In order to facilitate their supranational operations they are planning a Common Market currency and a unified legal framework for the benefit of the supranational corporations.

INTERCOMPANY BULLETIN

FROM: Management

TO: All Personnel

SUBJECT: New Sick Leave Policy

It has been brought to our attention that the attendance record of this company is a disgrace. Due to the lack of consideration for your job with so fine a company, as shown by such frequent absenteeism, it has been necessary for us to revise several company policies. The following changes are in effect as of today.

SICKNESS (NO EXCUSE): We will no longer accept your doctor's statement as proof, as we believe that if you are able to go to the doctor, you are able to come to work.

DEATH (OTHER THAN YOUR OWN): This will no longer be considered a valid excuse. There is nothing you can do for them, and we are sure someone in a lesser position than you could make all the necessary arrangements. However if the funeral is held in the late afternoon, we will let you off of work one hour early, provided that your work is far enough ahead to assure that all jobs will be kept going in your absence.

DEATH (YOUR OWN): This will be accepted as an excuse, but we would like a two-week notice, as we feel it is your duty to teach someone else your job.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE (FOR AN OPERATION): We are no longer allowing this practice. We wish to discourage any thought that you may have about needing an operation, as we believe that as long as you are employed here you will need all of whatever you have and you should not consider having anything removed. We hired you as you are, and to have anything removed would certainly make you less than what we bargained for.

ALSO: Entirely too much time is being spent in the restroom. In future we will follow the practice of going to the restroom in alphabetical order. For instance, those whose names begin with "A" will go from 8:00 to 8:05, those whose names begin with "B" will go from 8:05 to 8:10, and so on. If you are unable to go at your time, it will be necessary to wait until the day when your turn comes again.

— The Management

(This little lampoon found its way into one of the local plants the other week and was subsequently posted on the company bulletin board. Many of the workers, no longer able to distinguish between satire and the usual run of management communiques to company employees, made panicky inquiries to the stewards. The Management, on the other hand, failed to see the humor in this "harmless" bit of satire and are now conducting a diligent search for the miscreant who trespassed on their bulletin board.)



Part I
by Patrick Murfin

Two young Wobblies beat their way to the September Convention of the IWW in a traditional way—they rode the freights from San Francisco. It was not the first such trip for either of them, as they had been working their way from job to job for quite a while, and they reported that this unauthorized rail travel was again thriving

Unorganized Youth

"Of the 45,000,000 young Americans between the ages of 15 and 29, roughly 21,000,000 are neither students nor college graduates", and about one quarter of union membership comes from this age group, according to Tom Kahn in the Federationist. This means that of the 21,000,000 young people at work, only about 4,000,000 pay union dues.

POSITIVE FORECAST

One economic forecast for the '70s is certain: The teen-age portion of the labor force will decline, and there will be a sizeable increase in the 25-34 age group. Of the new teen-age labor force, an increasing portion will be black, for a 43% increase in black youth aged 16 to 19 is now starting. The rest involves guesswork. At present about a third of the labor force is under 35.

On The Road Again:
The Hobo & The Hippie

despite the greater difficulties provided by modernized cars, faster trains, and fewer routes.

An 18-year-old Texas runaway recently hitchhiked north to Chicago. All along the route he was told by old and young, straight and freek, to "go to the hippies, they'll take care of you." This boy with his tightly rolled Stetson, his tight faded jeans, and his scruffy Western boots certainly didn't either look or talk like a "hippy", but still his restless traveling identified him with some element of "hippy" lifestyle in the same way he would have been identified as a hobo 40 years ago.

These are two instances of an increasing merging of the "hippy" and hobo myths—and the realities. In examination of this we should first take a close look at the terms "hippy" and hobo.

I use quotation marks on "hippy" because it is not, like hobo, a term used by those it supposedly describes. Although the word was coined by them several years ago, its exploitation by the media and association with the brief "peace-love-flowers" period of the mid-'60s have made it unpopular with the young people, who prefer to call themselves freeks, hairs, or other regional names. "Hippy" has also become a derisive word used by others in much the same way "nigger" is used, and is indiscriminately applied to all those who have long hair, or use drugs, or advocate radical action. Still, for want of a more-universal word, I will use "hippy", but only with quotation marks.

The "hippy" I am describing is not a student, though he may recently have been one, nor does he live with his parents on an almost-unlimited income. He is on his own economically, living in the hip ghettos found in almost all American cities or on a rural commune, or, increasingly, he is rootless and traveling.

The hobo is, of course, the American migratory worker—builder of bridges and dams, harvester of grain, feller of forests, layer of railroads, jack of a dozen trades. Hard traveling from place to place in his search for work, he more often finds cold, hunger, and distrustful local citizens.

Some of the "hippy"-hobo parallels are obvious—alienation from the society that they reject or, more commonly, have been rejected by; simultaneous vilification (the anti-hobo editorials and political speeches from the 1880s on bear a remarkable resemblance in form and content to recent anti-hippy ravings) and mythification (the happy-go-lucky wanderer and homespun philosopher of Charlie Chaplin's "Little Tramp" and the wild but carefree people of "Hair"); and tendency to direct action and a non-dogmatic, anti-intellectual brand of radicalism that frightens not only the Establishment, but also the doctrinaire socialists.

There are, of course, some important differences between the hobo and "hippy" which make it difficult for some to see any connection. The most-important of these differences is in economic background. The hobo came, as Big Bill Haywood said, from "the gutter mass of the workers" and from the failing farms of America. The majority of hobos started traveling out of a desperate necessity to find work, and only a comparatively-small number out of simple wanderlust (although many men became infected with this urge to travel after being exposed to the experience by economic need). The "hippy", on the other hand, tends to be middle-class in origin and rejects the material benefits available to him out of his growing sense of the contradiction between his own wealth and the poverty of those who are excluded from participation in the system. The rejection

also comes from a sense of guilt about the middle-class existence of conspicuous consumption. The result of this rejection means for many a poor life.

Some of the development from hobo to "hippy" can be seen as linear. The hobo books and stories of Jack London can be easily seen as ancestors of Jack Kerouac's "On the Road", the book that with "Catcher in the Rye" (itself about a young runaway) had perhaps the most-profound influence on this generation's "hippies". Similarly, Richard Farina's post-beatnik, pre-hippy "Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up To Me" set the tone for so many of the succeeding generation of black-humored and rambling college dropouts in much the same way that Thomas Wolfe heralded the flight of the small-town boy in the Thirties.

In the days when the "hippy" myth was being formed in California, Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters set off across the country bound for adventure in a beat-up old bus named "Further". And a tradition of American "hippy" wandering was firmly established and virtually institutionalized by Tom Wolfe's account of those days—"The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test". True, the Merry Pranksters were surely a very non-political group, but it would not be long before embittered civil-rights workers and anti-war agitators would join forces with the "peace-love-flowers hippies" and would transform the so-called youth cult into a radical force. In much the same way, both blacklisted unionists and persecuted radicals were forced into hoboism, and helped to transform hobos into militant revolutionists.

Perhaps surprisingly, the music of the "hippy" demonstrates his relationship to the hobo. Rock music is basically an electrical combination of folk, Black blues, and country music—and all those forms have dealt heavily with the pathos and the comedy of the rambling man. Bob Dylan, surely the most-phenomenally-influential musician of the last 10 years, is a direct musical descendant of Joe Hill and, most especially, Woody Guthrie, who was his hero. It was Dylan in his "free-wheelin'" days who revitalized the folk tradition of the topical song and sang of the lone-some road with a familiarity that struck a chord with a whole generation. It was Dylan who literally electrified folk music and brought it into the mainstream of rock and roll, and who later introduced country music, with all of its mournful songs of freight trains leaving home and never coming back, to the youth audience. And they responded to it. At first, perhaps, they responded because it was a romantic dream, but later they responded because those lyrics reflected part of their experience.

The lyrics of one Tom Paxton song—"Early Mornin' Rain"—illustrate the hobo influence:

In the early mornin' rain,
Big 707 starts to fly;
But I'm stuck here on the ground
As cold and wet as I can be.
You can't hop a jet plane
Like you can a freight train,
And I'd best be on my way
In the early mornin' rain.

The books and songs mentioned above demonstrate at least an interest in the themes of hoboism. Some of them, if they did not mirror the reality of the moment, perhaps at least influenced future reality. But whatever the circumstances, there can be little doubt that a sizeable portion of America's "hippies" are on the move in an old, revered tradition.

(to be continued)

ABOLITION OF THE PROFIT SYSTEM ?

Many fellow workers are wondering just what we in the IWW mean when we talk about the abolition of the profit system (sometimes called the wage system). We are glad that they are concerned enough to ask for an explanation, and we are happy to fill them in. It is basically this:

We recognize the basic fact that there is a conflict of interest between the owners of industry, whose interests are best served by paying workers as little as possible so that they can maximize their profits, and the people who work for them, whose interests are best served by receiving the highest possible wages for the work they perform. We have observed many times in actual practice that a struggle goes on between these two classes of people in a company until the workers in the company become the owners of the company and democratically control the business for their own good — thus resolving the conflict of interest between the working class and the owning class (also sometimes called the employing class).

Recognizing the simple fact of the conflict of interest between these two great classes of people and the nature of its ultimate resolution, our organization also recognizes another fact — the role of labor unions as agents of this resolution. Labor unions have begun to organize working people in such a way that workers have begun to exercise some power over company policies, wages, hours, hiring and firing practices, et cetera. As workers' organized power erodes that of their bosses, they are slowly changing the pure profit system into a system in which they exercise virtual veto power over the decisions of their employers. The pure profit system has been eroding very slowly for some time now due to the influence of organized labor, and as the people continue to gain strength through organization this trend will continue. We believe that total workers' control of industry is the end result to this evolutionary process, and we welcome it.

Thus, what we are talking about when we talk about abolition of the profit system is that we would like to see the present system of production for the purpose of making profits for a few rich stockholders replaced instead by a system of industrial democracy — industries controlled by the workers for their own use, instead of for the profit of a few. In this way we hope to eliminate the dangers of stock market

crashes, unemployment, depressions, recessions, exploitation, and other such catastrophes which constantly threaten us under the present "profit" system.

To some people, our goal of industrial democracy may seem to be very far off; but some workers have already succeeded in turning some businesses into worker controlled co-operatives, and there are several worker-controlled co-operative

print shops in our organization right now. How you proceed is up to you; but wouldn't it be nice if instead of your working for a company, the company worked for you? You have the power to make this dream come true by simply organizing a union you yourselves control — the Industrial Workers of the World.

Larry Cornett

The Cry Of The Hungry

"I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers." — Thomas Jefferson

An industrial union without rank-and-file rule, instead of a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers, is an industrial stockade wherein workers are herded or regimented like sheep or cattle in a stockyard corral. Despite the fact that all attempts of labor to organize a Labor Party have proven to be labor's undoing, all "wings" and "splinter groups" of the Communist Party, together with the CIO fakers, have been assiduously brewing this diabolical concoction for a number of years in order to drug the minds of the workers to accept the dictatorial decrees of the political messiahs.

In the first place so-called Labor Parties are never controlled by labor. And the record of labor parties in other countries is nothing but a sad story of sell-outs and betrayals of the workers on the economic battlefield for temporary advantage, or pelf and place for political leaders on the political stage. We only have to look to England and James Ramsay MacDonald and Harold Wilson's Labour Parties for confirmation of that fact. Yet every country in Europe has had its MacDonalds and Wilsons. Men who sold the heritage of their class for a stinking mess of political pottage.

Also, business people who live directly,

or politicians who live indirectly, from profits should not be consulted on any grave economic problem such as that presented by the poverty of millions of Americans here at home at a time when all could be enjoying life with abundance. Wealth, the opposite of poverty, comes from labor, and from no other source. To acquire economic, social, and political independence, we must prevent leaders from loading us with perpetual debt. By running into such debt, we are taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and in our comforts, in our labor and in our amusements. Under the present system, it is impossible to keep the government from wasting the labor of the people and in the meantime pretending to care for them.

No matter to what extent the intelligence and energy of the working class increases production, no matter how much the wealth of the world grows, it is the purpose and intent of employers to allow workers just barely enough to live on. Whether the toilers' share is doled out as starvation relief or as little better than starvation wages, the principle remains the same. Like machinery and material the labor force of the world has to be kept in a condition of efficiency required to meet the needs of the profit system; beyond that it is supposed to require nothing.

From the Mediterranean to the China

Seas you hear the cry of cumshaw, the cry of the hungry beggars for something to eat, or you are besieged by a horde of hungry beggars holding up dirty lottery tickets. The main sources of food for unfortunates such as these are the garbage and swill cans and buckets and the dumps. Also in China you'll see a mother at a little hillside shrine, beating a child's dress with a stick. Upon inquiry you'll learn that the baby is sick and has devils, but soon the baby will get well. In Calcutta a little girl will be dying with at least a hundred candles burning around her. (The high priestess was trying to drive a badger out of her emaciated body.) At night the poor are cuddled together in the side alleys and streets for sleep. In South America you'll see hungry and ragged poor people, crawling up to shrines on their bellies for some kind of relief.

These are some of the conditions and circumstances, including some of the welfare scandals here at home in the USA, that have brought on revolutionary uprisings and revolutionary organizations to secure a change from the Capitalist System to a sane world for the survival of the human race; and they will continue to enlarge that ideology until these unlucky people are educated and treated like human beings with food, clothing, and medical care.

— Din Crowley

