

LEFT SIDE

Society Column

One grizzled old grouch commenting in a tavern on a much-publicized international wedding in October: "Such as them might as well go to Haight-Asbury with the other folks who don't work and don't plan to."

* * *

A very angry lad with a violin case, which he carried light as though it had a violin instead of a machine-gun, waved the society page of the News, with its spread about how the head man of the enterprise had opened the symphony season, wining the invited fat cats and thanking Mayor Daley for saving the city from the demonstrators.

The lad wondered if those fat cats knew that Richard Wagner had been arrested in 1848 for participating in a similar demonstration, and that his letters were filled with attacks on the moneyed set—however sadly he had twisted his contempt for them into anti-Semitism.

When they soothed their distressed paunches with the intermezzo from *Cavaleria Rusticana*, did the fat cats recall that the man who wrote it had backed the workers' 1920 effort to seize Italian industry with a move for musicians, actors, composers, and playwrights to take over the theatres and opera houses?

When their wives paraded them to a performance of *Aida*, did they realize that for Verdi to bring out this opera during the Italo-Abyssinian War was about like producing a pro-Viet Cong opera in America today?

Did they stop to think that Beethoven's republicanism was about as far Left as a man could go in those days? Or know of the warm and wide human sympathies of Mozart and Schuman and Puccini and almost every creator of beauty? If those who wrote the music they listened to could have been there, the lad wanted to know, was there any doubt which side they would have been on?

* * *

Now the painters have decided that it is more effective to stage a show lampooning Mayor Daley at the high-class Feigen Gallery than to boycott Chicago, Sample: a barbed-wire construction called "Lace Curtains for Mayor Daley" or a framed

(Cont. on p. 2)

★ EDUCATION

★ ORGANIZATION

★ EMANCIPATION

Industrial Worker

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

VOLUME 65, NO. 11 - W.N. 1268

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NOVEMBER 1968

10 CENTS

New Wobbly Branch Set up in Canada

There Is Power



JOE HILL

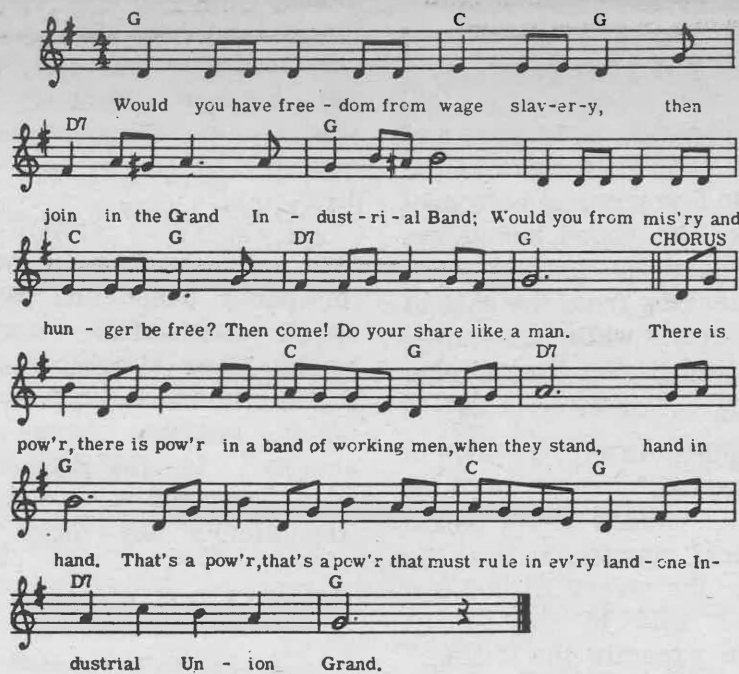


1879
-1915

Murdered by Authorities of the State
of Utah, November 19, 1915

THERE IS POWER IN A UNION

BY JOE HILL



'Chain-In or Strike-Out'

by Dorice McDaniels

"The court won't recognize why I did what I did. It won't listen to the facts of the Nuremberg trials when Nazis were executed for participating in a war they knew was wrong. I came to a church because I thought a church might listen."

Thus spoke 19-year-old Gregory Nelson when he took sanctuary in Grace Episcopal Church instead of appearing in court on charges of failure to register for the draft.

While awaiting certain arrest Greg had his wrists firmly chained to those of a pastor and another non-registrant seated on either side of him. In compliance with dedicated declarations of moral support and complicity in the crime of draft resistance, ten fellow resisters also were padlocked to the heavy 30-foot chain. 40 other unchained supporters clustered around Greg's chair.

The customary Thursday evening service was in

(Cont. on p. 8)

Waterloo Students Plan Cross-Continent Organization Drive

There's something besides location that distinguishes the University of Waterloo (in the city of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada). It's the first—and so far the only—institution of its kind that has an IWW branch on campus. There are Wobblies in colleges throughout the length and breadth of the Continent, but Waterloo is the first with a Wobbly branch charter and a really growing membership which is diligently searching out the best way to line up student discontent and yen for fruitful action with rebel workers already on the industrial front line of the class struggle for a better world. You'll be hearing more about Waterloo.

Left Swede Union Holds Congress - IWW Attends

Guest of the Swedish Workers Central Organization (SAC) and IWW representative at its Congress now in session, Fellow Worker Evert Anderson in a letter dated October 25th announced his arrival in Stockholm and promised some reports on the proceedings. Meanwhile, along with first impressions and some discussion of plans, he had one bit of sad news to report. He wrote:

"Secretary Herbert Ankar of SAC passed away from a heart attack and is being buried today, here in Stockholm, by his fellow workers. He was only 63 years old. Sune Blom is taking care of his official duties until a new secretary can be installed.

"From talks I've had with those close to him, I must conclude that Herbert Ankar's duties were considerable. His international connections kept him busier than I am sure he wanted to be. Let's say that he will be missed, not only in Stockholm and throughout the whole of Sweden, but in many other lands as well."

Certainly the IWW and all

(Cont. on p. 8)

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" • One Union One Label One Enemy



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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Carl Keller, Editor

CARL KELLER, 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.

LEFT SIDE

(Cont. from p. 1)

telegram "Re-Do Chicago Fire of 1871". Is this their reaction to what Julian Beck calls "the containment of art by money", with the rich making "art their property by putting a price on it and thereby making it serve an elite who can pay for it"?

(Upton Sinclair wrote an encyclopedic book entitled "Mammonart" on this 40 years ago.)

—F. T.

Let's Be HUMAN

BLIND JUSTICE

We never thought that the draft would get jealous of Justice, but apparently it has decided that if Justice can be blind, so can Selective Service.

Harold Krents, a 23-year-old Harvard Law School student who has been totally blind since he was nine years old, was classified 1A last spring by his Mount Vernon, New York draft board.

Krents, who had been classified 2S (student deferment) by the board each year, wrote regularly to change the classification to 4F. When he was declared 1A and ordered to report for a pre-induction physical exam, he said: "I'm particularly anxious to take the eye test. I'll go—as long as somebody aims me."

But Krents didn't really object. "I'm very glad you classified me 1A," he told the draft board. "It's probably the only 'A' I'll get this semester."

AIR POLLUTION

"Presently emitted pollution into the US air is estimated to amount to 142,000,000 tons annually."

—SAE Journal

Alliance Takes Chemists' Union

The Chemical Workers Union meeting in New Orleans voted unanimously to join the new Alliance for Labor Action after an address by UAW President Walter P. Reuther.

Before calling for the vote, ICW President Walter L. Mitchell read the delegates a Wall Street Journal article reporting the AFL-CIO Executive Council's action warning affiliates that supporting or joining the Teamster-UAW alliance would lead to suspension or expulsion.

A Dime for the Victim

In Montreal, a lady fasted 10 days in protest against the Canadian Government policy on Vietnam. She hoped her action would "point up the hypocrisy of profiteering from the sale of war materials while pretending to send aid to the Vietnamese people".

"Canada's official record in this regard," says a Left reporter, "stands at 10¢ worth of medical supplies to heal the wounded for every \$1,000,000 of arms sold to the United States to expedite the killing."

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

We Americans feel things very deeply. Unfortunately, we often mistake it for thinking.

—Mark Twain

CHICAGO FORUM LOOKS AT ELECTION

For the last Friday in October the IWW Forum Committee had invited a proponent of each major Presidential candidate to a panel discussion on the question: "What effect, if any, will the Election have on American life in 1969?" All invitations were courteously declined, but the audience managed a lively discussion on its own. Among views expressed and questions asked:

Was each major party trying to run a losing campaign to hand the embarrassments of Government to its opponent?

Might not Ho Chi Minh pick the next president of the USA—if he preferred Humphrey, by offering a face-saving deal on the War; and if he preferred Nixon, by simply standing pat—with both sides recognizing that the Vietnam War is simply a skirmish in a struggle for control of Asia by force or other means?

Or is the most effective election promise to a bunch of overtime-hungry cannibals the promise to keep the War going?

If, as some said, it all made no difference, why were such large sums being spent by folks who usually demand rich returns on their money? One answer: Job-holders wanted to hold onto their jobs, and those who sought favors from job-holders wanted their friends in those jobs, no matter who had to face world problems.

Is labor-leader support for Humphrey based on fear that social legislation may be repealed, or simply on desire to keep in office those to whom labor leaders have ready access? Is history in any way reversible, and are Republicans any more likely

to repeal Democrat legislation than British Tories are to repeal Labor Party innovations?

Most discussion centered on the Wallace phenomenon. Some said that Wallace had at last cracked the two-party system and that this might later help the Left. Some expected that the Wallace movement would continue after the Election building up in various communities through misdirection of racial and other discontent. Some felt that Wallace is an incipient Hitler. It was generally agreed that his candidacy made it look to most as though Nixon had shifted from the Right of the road to the Center—and thus shifted the whole range of Election talk and promises to the Right.

The more optimistic participants parried the gloomy forecasts of fascism pointing to the campuses where a new working class being exposed to some more logical systems analysis, and where many are showing a determination to build a socialist future.

One took an anthropological view of the election process considering it of the same general order as puberty rituals, rain dances, and potlatch ceremonies, all of which either serve some practical purpose or express some communal wish; and in this sense the practice of having elections is a recognition that many of our problems are collective rather than personal and require collective decision to permit collective action to cope with them—and if we find that the ritual does not fulfill its purpose, we will have to find other ways to make effective collective decisions.

* * *

These discussions are held the last Friday of each month at 2422 North Halsted starting at 8 p.m. (admission free). The pattern followed organized discussion, panel otherwise, with no long speeches. The discussions are always lively.

CREDIT TO OAK

The photo of Joe Hill and the music to "There Is Power In A Union" on the front page of this issue of the Industrial Worker are reprinted from "The Songs of Joe Hill," edited by Barrie Stavis and Frank Harmon; Oak Publications, 121 W. 47th Street, New York, NY; 1960, 48pp.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23rd, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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7. Owner: Industrial Workers of the World, 2422 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

General Executive Board: Carlos Cortez, Chairman, 2422

North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614; Allan Just, 2422 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1% or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.

Added General Executive Board members: Dorice McDaniels, 11130 Truro Avenue, Inglewood, California 90304; W. M. Corbin, 2422 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614; William Goring, 210 West 109th Street, New York, New York 10025; Ted Powell, 7659 South Essex Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60649; Ruth Sheridan, 2237 North Clifton, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

9. The purpose, function, and

non-profit status of this organization have NOT changed during the past 12 months.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: No paid advertising.

(In Items a through g below, the first figure presented is the average number of copies of each issue during the preceding 12 months, and the second figure presented is the actual number of copies of the single issue published nearest to the filing date of this data.)

a. Total number of copies printed (net press run): 2,000; 2,000.

b. Paid circulation:

(1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 470; 415.

(2) Mail subscriptions: 945; 985.

c. Total paid circulation: 1,415; 1,400.

d. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier, or other means: 200; 200.

e. Total distribution (sum of c and d): 1615; 1600.

f. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 385; 400.

g. Total (sum of e and f): 2,000; 2,000.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.—W. H. Westman, Business Manager.

Can't Blame Unions for Inflation

Figures cited recently by the Wall Street Journal show that the biggest price increases are showing up where unions are weakest or where labor costs are not an important factor. For example, the Journal notes that in the strongly unionized automobile industry prices have stayed about level with the rest of the economy for 10 years. But

physicians' fees have jumped up 40%. Admissions to movie theaters have gone up a startling 101% in 10 years, though only about 10% of movie attendants are unionized.

Price rises generally are found to be high where skilled professionals are needed to meet a rising demand for services or where outside factors (like rising real-estate prices) force them up. In unionized industries, rising productivity generally keeps pace with rising wages.

* * *

As prices rise, living standards of millions of our people go down. Some of them blame the unions, but the charge won't stick; and if they want to do something about their growing distress, they'll have to look elsewhere for the culprit.

OUR EASTERN FRONT

Fellow workers Mike Kaciban, Louie Gance, John Buzai, and John Kozan, all of the Cleveland area, have put up \$100 each for the IWW's organization drive in Eastern industrial centers. The drive will shove off following the spring thaw, about May 1st. Meanwhile, preparations are underway.

LEARN ABOUT THE I.W.W.

The IWW: Its First Fifty Years
cloth cover..... \$3.00
paper cover..... \$2.00
(203 pages, one-third discount on order of five or more)

Battle Hymns of Toil (Poems by Covington Hall)..... \$1.00

Song Book (new edition).. \$.40

One Big Union..... \$.35

The IWW in Theory and Practice..... \$.25

General Strike..... \$.20

Unemployment and Machine
..... \$.10
(40% commission allowed on lots of 10 or more copies)

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

2422 North Halsted Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

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.

Once There Was a City

An account of the death of Casas Grandes in the August National Geographic may sound like a parable for modern times.

Over 40 acres of this great city in the center of Mexico have been explored. It contained multi-story apartment buildings, temples, sewers, a city water supply, and other conveniences. Doctor Di Peso, the archaeologist in charge, explains that it was started about a thousand years ago and died about 1340. He also explains its death:

The original inhabitants conquered their neighbors and brought them in as slaves. "The laborers were forced from a rural way of life into an unfamiliar urban pattern, which may have led to a breakdown of the internal social and religious structure. Toward the end these urbanites let their apartments fall into ruin and took refuge wherever they could....The sewers were allowed to clog up."

About 1340 what was left of the city was burned in what may have been a war or a riot.

Industrial Worker Fund Drive

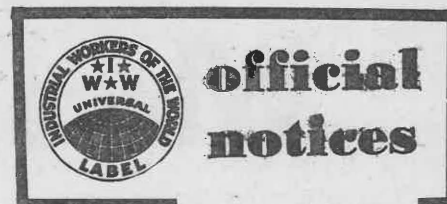
This ends the official Fall Fund Drive of the Industrial Worker. Readers will note that we fell a little short of the \$3,000 total we hoped to collect—but came within reaching distance of it. We thank all friends and fellow workers once more for their generous support.

Otto E. Schaefer.....	\$ 5.00
Martin Kattnig.....	\$ 8.00
Louis Tarcai.....	\$ 4.00
Wm. DeGuerre.....	\$ 10.00
Vernon A. Beck.....	\$ 5.00
J. Rascan.....	\$ 5.00
Vic. Niemi.....	\$ 10.00
James Bassak Family.	\$ 25.00
Old Timer.....	\$ 5.00
E. R. Noldin.....	\$ 10.00
Julian G. Saldivar.....	\$ 5.00
J. A. Davis.....	\$ 3.00
J. W. Connaway.....	\$ 6.00
Frank Mead.....	\$ 5.00
O Hendricks.....	\$ 50.00
Lee Worley.....	\$ 5.00
Ed Strause.....	\$ 5.00
Helen Zara.....	\$ 5.00
Mike Kaciban.....	\$ 10.00
George Underwood.....	\$ 5.00
Anonymous.....	\$ 6.00
CTKL Club Port Arthur	\$ 10.00
Robert Cook.....	\$ 10.00
Leonard Tarka.....	\$ 5.00
Lawrence Valle.....	\$ 5.00
J. B. McAndrew.....	\$ 1.00
Joe Ruby.....	\$ 10.00

Total..... \$233.00

Acknowledged Before \$2,109.75

Grand Total..... \$2,342.75



BERKELEY: The Branch Secretary is Robert Rush, 1723 10th Street.

BOSTON: Write to Branch Secretary Dan L. Tilton, New England Resistance, 27 Stanhope Street.

CHICAGO: Branch general membership meetings are now being held on the first Friday of the month at 2422 North Halsted Street. Write to Branch Secretary W. H. Westman.

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.

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 (phone 607-273-0535 or 273-1899).

LOS ANGELES: Write to IWW Stationary Delegate, Post Office Box 46583, or phone Dorice McDaniels (OR 7-8397).

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

PHILADELPHIA: Write to Jarama Jakm, Post Office Box 17161 (19105), or phone MA 7-1896.

SAN FRANCISCO: See Michael Mack, Branch Secretary, 425 Presidio Avenue. Get involved in the action. Keep informed. It's been done by others.

SEATTLE: Call H. M. Edwards, Stationary Delegate, after 5 p.m. for information (WEST 7-2513).

VANCOUVER: Write to IWW Stationary Delegate J. B. McAndrew, 1896 I Avenue, Basement, or phone 738-7864.

WATERLOO: IWW Student-Teacher Branch at University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Cyril Levitt, Secretary, c/o Federation of Students.

YAKIMA: Write to George Underwood, Post Office Box 2205, Yakima, Washington 98902.

Why a New Unionism is Needed

(sixth and last of a series)

BY FRED THOMPSON

We need a new unionism to give the term "we" as used by union members a rational meaning. Gray old unionists can recall talk of "we" and "they" when it meant us working stiff as distinguished from the hierarchy we dealt with on the job, usually from straw bosses up, and often including our ill-paid fellow workers in the front office.

If we were discussing larger issues, it meant us working people generally, especially in our own area, as opposed to the parasite set. Craftsmen often meant practitioners of a specific craft.

'We' In the '30s

In the mid-'30s organization on a plant-wide basis tended to replace craft unionism, non-unionism, and company unionism, and the term "we" often regressed to the company-union sense, meaning the workers and management of one company as set apart from the workers and management of a competing firm, or even another plant of the same firm organized by the same union.

At that same time, at a meeting of pattern-workers, "we" and "they" meant the workers versus their employers. Most workers could still chuckle at the cartoon of the tall hobo telling the short hobo: "We've got two thirds of the world's gold, and we're going to keep it."

Then came World War Two, "national unity", and a host of regulations that detoured union demands through government agencies for an okay, and thus shifted many functions from the shop to the regional office of the union. Since then, in talk on the job about union matters, "we" and "they" have come to be used more and more often to distinguish us working stiff from our union functionaries.

'Black Power'

This change has occurred only because the action involved in unionism has shifted from something we undertake to do together to that of a collective-bargaining agent we retain, much as we retain Blue Cross for hospital bills or the insurance company to pay us something if the house burns down.

Sometimes the implication is even less flattering to modern unionism. In Chicago recently,

bus drivers stopped work in a scrap with their union officials. This was spoken of as a racial "Black Power" move, but the simple fact is that a change in the skin color of the majority of the workers had made the lack of union democracy highly visible: from almost lily-white policies before the war to a present 55% Negro force, but with no Negro officers in the union.

In many a union situation the gripes about the age of the union officers reflect the same sort of "lack of representation"—but without a color distinction to make plain how long it has been since their officers punched in to work.

The old idea of alternating between work at the bench and work as a union official is about gone. Wrote J. B. S. Hardman in "Labor History" last spring: "Top leadership in any union is a multi-directional battlefield: with the employer, with secondary leadership echelons, and with membership at one time or another....The leader is a politician in the broadest sense. His job is a dead end, in that he has nowhere to go if not re-elected. He might be mercilessly jeered if he returned to the shop. But a position with management as a personnel man would be considered a step down. So he must always be re-elected." That means dead-end unionism.

Agency Idea

The agency idea of unionism carries with it a recognition of a separation of interests between workers and their union as a business concern. Books advising management on how best to get along with unions regularly instruct the boss to distinguish between what his employees want and what the union or union officials want, and recommend trading some union security provision—preferably a check-off of union dues—for something it would cost the company money to grant to its workers, and point out how much easier it is for the company to handle the union when union organizers do not have to come around pleading with workers to join or to pay their dues.

Now just as one can't walk away from the North Pole without walking toward the South Pole, so the polarization of interests between workers and employers makes it impossible to have union

interests farther from those of the workers without having them nearer to those of the employer. That is why one will find so many business agents, coming to settle some trouble on the job, hunting up the worker involved to ask him "What have you done wrong now?" when he should be asking "What are they trying to do to you?"

About the turn of the century Mark Hanna called certain labor leaders his "labor lieutenants", and they were men of generally good repute in union ranks (and there have been crooks...and there have been scandals...); but all of this is superficial compared to the basic union inadequacy disclosed when union members talk about their union in terms of "we" and "they". A union should be "we" collectively, and not merely our agent. Yet today most sincere and dedicated unionists speak and think as though "good representation" by the union as an agency were the highest of union ideals.

Nationalism

There is a tie-in between this talk of union officers as "they" and this nationalist patter of the hobo to his equally impoverished brother that "We own most of the world's gold...." So long as workers use "we" to mean those subject to the same government, they are likely to think of a union not as a means of acting collectively, but rather as an agency that may or may not do them some good.

In this age of a world market, in which we repeatedly need to take collective action across oceans and boundary lines, we cannot take such action unless we act independently of the national power structures that have steadily been absorbing the unions as part of their apparatus.

No Parasites

Conversely, once we start thinking that "we" means all of us who do the world's work, united by a common interest in doing the work that will do us some good and doing it for our common benefit—we will have to insist upon union procedures that make unionism "the institution of the working class", the means through which we act collectively to make the world safe for people. This leaves no room for subservience to parasites, or obedience to those who keep

on our backs by using us to fight each other.

Unionism grew out of the Industrial Revolution to face a new set of facts: machinery, marketing practices, land enclosures, and so forth had turned our forebears into wage workers, trying to make a living by doing what others told them to do to create what these others would own. It was a gyp. Never since have we been able to buy what we produced. Nor usually would we have wanted it—for we did the work that they decided.

In this new age of space travel, atom bombs, and multi-national corporations, we heirs of the old union pioneers are left with some unfinished business. Impelled toward world-wide unity by the economics and technology of this new age, we must quit being used against each other. We must refuse to destroy our world—or ourselves—either by mass cremation or by turning what should be men into pawns.

The new unionism must be a world-wide effort aiming at enabling us collectively to decide what work will be done, what will be produced (and where, and how, and to what specifications), and where products will go. Doing that will change the world. To aim at less would be superficial and futile.

A Giant Step

Building the new unionism will have these consequences: a change in the plans that get followed and in the basis and method of planning; the growth of shared understanding about daily work between workers the world over; an end to being used against each other to weaken each other in bargaining or to slaughter each other in war; the replacement of unionism as an agency by unionism as a democratic collectivity. Building the new unionism is today's giant step in the progress from slaves to serfs to cotters to wage workers to autonomous free men.

GET YOURS YET?

The average pay raise negotiated this year through September was 18.2¢ per hour, according to the Bureau of National Affairs. The comparable figure for the first nine months of 1967 was 14¢ per hour. Largest settlements this year were in Midwest states, averaging 22.5¢ per hour.

Who's Anti-War? Not the Slaves!

Dear Industrial Worker:

Your letter to the Swedish workers about the "American attitude" was really good, especially in its answer to European wonderings about Vietnam. Like you, I have no sympathy with the liberal fantasy that this is an "unpopular war".

I know whereof I speak; I work in an aerospace plant, in daily contact with workmen and technicians who provide a fair cross-section of the Great Society. From the very start these people welcomed America's "commitment", and their enthusiasm has paralleled the various "escalations".

However, I do indeed think the War is becoming unpopular in a certain sense. The masses think it is time for the USA to finish off Vietnam and "bring the boys back home". Hence the appeal of Wallace to the clock-punching capitalists. The worker assumes that the big paychecks will continue during the interlude of peace; beyond that, there will surely be other Vietnams.

I think you are too hard on the middle class, though. You blame THEM for deceiving the workers into accepting Vietnam. Not so: the proletariat is rotten-ripe for warmongering; overkill means overtime, and you can't sell humanitarianism to a worker who is devouring a big plate of porkchops.

In fact, the opposition to this war has come almost exclusively from the middle class. The peace movement, and the New Left generally, draws its numbers from Vance Packard's Status Groups One and Two. What their beef is, considering their comfortable position in society, is a problem that requires a great deal of "exploring". How about a little research from the Industrial Worker?

I can't do much inquiring myself, for in the genocide industry little thought is given to such matters; in this compartmentalized world there is not much besides blueprints, sex, and booze. But I know that outside the industrial parks there are happenings. One reads about France, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Mexico City, Berkeley...and Chicago.

And there are times when one almost hopes that one of the vilest of human institutions is breaking up—the family. Old Dad may be losing his grip. At least the middle class seems to be relinquishing its authority in the sacred home.

Another puzzle. The youngsters must be dissatisfied indeed to give up their secure lives for the uncertainties and abominations of The Road, the

crash pad, and the inevitable police "busts". Why do they do it?

The proletariat, my own class, is a hold-out area for the Old Man's dictatorship. With most reason to rebel, the working-class kids are the most submissive. (Sure, that's what we have been griping about all these years—the

submissiveness of the wage slave.—Editor)

Dad may hate his sons to pieces—Freud says he does—and he may express his hatred by ruining their lives, by seeing that they grow up like he is. He may crave his daughters—Freud says he does—and he may satisfy that craving with his beat-up wife's sad consent. So does this dreadful scene produce rebels? It does like hell. It produces draft-acceptors for Vietnam. It produces fashion-acceptors, prostitutes, and god-awful wives with father-fixations.

Whoever said the working class has a historical mission? Wow.

Please accept three lousy bucks to help overthrow everything. It's all that

Ah so, Amigo...so you tell me that the Latins are not quite as ready for the democratic way of life or understanding of democratic processes as you Anglos are. No doubt you come to that conclusion from our more or less long history of revolutions and military dictatorships as well as some of the lousiest economic conditions in the World. And I can see why you would think that way.

But when you say that we have no conception of democratic processes of action you cause me to wonder if you know as much about the Latin people as you say you do.

You remember some years back when they first started installing parking meters around the country? You weren't spending enough on gas, oil, upkeep, licenses, and insurance, you know. I remember everybody bitching when they had to reach down into their trousers to get a nickel to feed to the one-armed bandit—as it was called then. And that's all you guys did, was bitch, and not too loud if a cop was close by.

Well some years back they did the same thing in Caracas, Venezuela; they installed parking meters. You might remember about that, since it was shown on the television

Folly of Fighting

Dear Friends:

I am a bit puzzled. Some months ago we noted the not-very-prominent news that a place called Iwo Jima (or something like that) and a number of other islands were being given back to Japan.

I wonder why some of the anti-war groups haven't made

mind, were sacrificed to the war god.

And now, how many private soldier survivors of that murderfest had any part in the making of the peace treaty? How many had any part in the deal that gives the islands back, perhaps to again be made a battleground for a future capitalistic war game?

Apparently overlooked, also, is the Pueblo spyship case. To some of us that looks like a plain case of frame-up.

There is plenty of room for conjecture that it is the cue for the next (continuing next) little business-stimulating war "to keep communism away from our shores". It could also have another purpose. So far the masters of mainland China have not been drawn into direct interference in Vietnam. Should they be, this would furnish the excuse to try to bomb their infant nuclear industry to death before it grows up. Perhaps another invasion of North Korea would turn the trick.

It is doubtful that US capitalism can stand more than a very short intermission of peace without a depression.

On the other hand a war cannot be prolonged too far, lest it provoke a real awakening.

John Davis

Martin O'Connor

LETTERS

a lot of propaganda hay from that example of the folly of fighting the capitalists' wars.

There on that little spot of land, at the behest of leaders, the lives of thousands of US "patriots" and thousands of Japanese "patriots", with different flags flying and different national anthems in

remains after giving three grand to General Motors for a new truck. I seem to perceive a lack of balance in my expenditures—and in my ethics. What's good for General M. is just plain hell for me and you and everything else.

Wisdom of Cactus Charlie

news here in the States. Well, you know what crazy drivers the Latins are. It seems when those Caracas drivers were trying to park their cars, they couldn't manage to keep from driving over or backing over the curb. So there was that whole main drag of Caracas with nothing but busted parking meters on both sides of the street. I thought to myself when this was being shown on television for all America to see: Holy Cucarachas, are these TV guys a bunch of undercover agitators or are they just plain stupid? Well, it didn't make any difference, because all most of you Anglos up here said anyway was what a bunch of goof-ups those spigs were.

Ah, but you tell me, Amigo, that here you have a democratic election system where you vote in your duly-elected representatives to serve the interests of the people. That is the same kind of BS the Latins get from their politicians, so what's so different? How are you up here so much better? You listen to some guy tell you to vote for him because the other guy's a lousy insincere crook who will get you into war, and when he gets elected he does all the things he accused the other guy of. Or else, when he's looking

for your votes, he complains loud and clear about how high taxes and the cost of living are and how it is a shame the working man has to put up with such things, and he sounds like a decent sort of guy; so you and all the other fish take the bait and you vote him in, and I don't have to ask you what happens.

Well now I see you're getting ready to tell me the Latinos are no damn better off with their politicians, and you are quite right; but in the interest of preserving my racial pride I have to give a few little historic examples of recent passage—just to show you that we are not completely asleep.

Just last year down in Chile some town by the name of Picoaza was having what was going to be just another election for mayor. About the same time there were a lot of billboards and advertising. Si, Amigo, we got the same crap too, you know, that said vote for any candidate, but if you want well-being and hygiene, vote for Pulvapies. (That's Spanish for foot powder if you're curious.) But do you know what happened? Maybe the constant BS from the

(Cont. on p. 6)

Gives Credit Where It's Due

Warren K. Billings, co-defendant of Tom Mooney, was in the Northwest recently for the purpose of selling and promoting the sale of "Frame-up", a book well written and appropriately named by Curt Gentry. About 160 books were sold during the time he was here (a month), and more could have been sold had he not run short. However, orders for more books are coming in since he returned home to San Mateo, California. Though needless to tell those who have met the game little man with an unassuming intelligence and a store of knowledge, it must be said that his genial personality was an asset to him wherever he went.

Now past 74, Billings shows little sign of having spent more than 23 years of his life in prison. Undoubtedly, his knowledge of being innocent of that terrible crime, and his ambition to have all who can read know about it, helped him to overcome the effects of those long...long...years.

The most cheering aspect of Billings's sojourn in the Northwest were the friendly reception and generous co-operation by labor organizations and individual union members. Just off the plane, he was brought to the office of the Boilermakers Local 104 of Seattle, and there met by Secretary Joe Clancy and a reporter from the Times; and later, thanks to the progressive policy of Local officers, he was treated as an honored guest.

But the opening of his "campaign" was at the Convention, in Spokane, of the Washington State Labor Council. The Executive Board of the Council, headed by President Joe Davis and Secretary Mervin Williams, had invited Billings to speak and to sell the Book, and they had also provided money for his expenses. With honesty compelling, however, it must be stated that, as the once world-known case of Mooney and Billings has gone into the limbo of history unknown to most new-generation union members, it took somebody who knew the case to introduce the speaker, as well as to prompt union officers and members to provide the necessary expense money.

This was done in a superb and matchless performance by E. M. Weston, President Emeritus of the State Labor Council and long-time member and officer of the Boilermakers Union, whose record as a union man goes back to the

time he started work in the coal mines as a boy. Though appreciated is the generous co-operation of all, to Weston must go special credit for the success of the book sale. And having been ambivalent in my feelings of confidence and apprehension after I had convinced Billings that his trip would bring fair results, I found the general and exceptional co-operation truly heart-warming.

Weston, in introducing Billings, traced the militant labor struggle back to the turn of this century and beyond, and gave unstinted and unreserved credit to the IWW for their numerous and ceaseless efforts to establish the right of free speech and the right to organize at a time when no such rights existed for the workers. He also named places and industries where the IWW conducted strikes and improved conditions: Lawrence, Patterson, Colorado mines, Northwest Lumber, et cetera.

West also pointed out that the same undemocratic and sadistic mentality which resulted in the judicial murder of Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti, the lynching of Frank Little and Westley Everest, and the bloody massacre at Everett, Washington brought about the fantastic frame-up of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. The applause which followed both Weston and Billings was, in the words of "Rough House Pete", sweet music to my ears.

But, as usual, there is an epilogue to this story.

All but one of the union locals which had been solicited for permission to get Billings before them to speak responded favorably, with varied success. The exception was Local 440 of the Laborers' and Street Payers' Union. The request by the undersigned to appear before their executive board or membership meeting was politely denied by the president as he came outside their hall to let me know that they would "see about it and let you know". That time never came.

Why, you may ask, waste time and space to bring a petty scandal into an IWW publication? Simply because it brings to mind a lesson in unionism which is a minor tragedy. It is a reminder of the biblical proverb that you can't make a silk purse of a sow's ear.

Briefly as I can relate it,

here is part of the history of "440":

The Union was reorganized from practically nothing after the Depression by a McDonald, who was also the business agent. Though not a member of the IWW himself, he invited members of the IWW to come in and "make a good union" out of it—although nothing was said about CHANGING the union right from the top of its racket-control "international" to the contractor-collusion program of the local.

But the footloose and unemployed members of the IWW who flocked in there made a militant and progressive union out of it—for a while. And it could be fairly said that this group of members were, on the average, as well informed and active as any group of equal number in our organization. They made Local 440 a by-word of militant unionism in this community.

But time passes. The former members of the IWW have now become ex-members (even as I and many others!), and no new members are coming in to stir up those who have settled down to a modicum of home-guard affluence. Since most of them have even dropped their subscription to the Industrial Worker, there is no breath of the fresh air of Industrial Unionism coming in—if you will pardon my metaphor—and any mention of it is all in the past tense.

Some of the ex-members die. Others get old and retire. Some go into other industries or leave for other places. Soon there is hardly a trace of the IWW left in "440". Nor, to use another metaphor, could there be any "footprints" in muddy water where contractors and scissor-bills are slushing around for control.

Obviously, without a plan or a program fitting in with the process of Evolution—SOCIAL that is—failure is the result in the long run. All the IWW need is more members. The AFL-CIO have millions of members, but without a working-class program, aye, a UNION program, they are still whooping it up for the War in Vietnam and for a modern Munchausen liar. So in the long run, or as a matter of principle, a good program comes before a large number.

Verily, I say unto you, men should never sell their birthright for a "mess of pottage" or even a "silk purse"!

—H. M. Edwards

Cactus Charlie ...

(Cont. from p. 5)

politicians and the overdose of advertising had some kind of crazy effect on the Picoazans, but anyway Footpowder became the duly-elected Mayor of Picoaza. But I guess it just goes to show you how much confidence those people have in politicians.

And also some years before in a LARGE city in Brazil (no little town in the hills), there was a big election for Mayor where the incumbent and his challenger were snowed under by a write-in vote for the new rhinoceros at the city zoo. When the city officials got over their shock they informed the people that they could not permit the rhinoceros to take over the Mayor's office because he was not a citizen of the country. They said it with a straight face, too; but the main thing is they were shown what their constituency thought about politicians.

But I think there is a little hope up here too, come to think of it. It was just a short time ago when a bunch of politicians were having a big convention here in Chicago down in the stockyards to see who they wanted to put up for President. Downtown in the Loop a bunch of kids brought a pig to nominate him for President, but the cops lost no time in chasing both the kids and the pig. Maybe the cops read the papers, too; or maybe the Mayor was jealous of the pig's good looks; but I think they thought the politicians wouldn't look so good alongside the pig.

Come to think of it now, a pig or a rhinoceros would be a hell of a lot better as Mayor, President, or what-have-you than what we've been having. They couldn't do as much damage as a human politician.

You know, I am going to start a write-in campaign for the cockroach under my kitchen sink. I think he would like living in the White House better than living under my kitchen sink. I would like him better to be there than in my kitchen. Sure, Amigo, I will let the waterbug in your basement run for Vice-president.

—C. C. Nuberoja

REBEL VOICES

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

AMERICAN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENTS ...Book Review by CARLOS CORTEZ

"American Anti-War Movements", by Joseph R. Conlin, published by The Glencoe Press, 8701 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, California 90211.

★ ★ ★

This little volume received recently by your reviewer sans price tag presents a brief but comprehensive history of opposition and resistance to all the wars in American history from pre-Continental Congress days through the present increasingly unpopular War in Vietnam. It is a history not only of interest to the ideological anti-militarist, but also of value in pointing out to literate non-ideological persons that there has always been opposition to participation in military conflict, regardless of the particular historical epoch.

This vindicates your reviewer's refutation of the often-repeated assertion that the human race is inherently hostile and militaristic. The very fact that no major military venture was ever embarked upon with volunteers alone speaks for itself.

Every war engaged in by this country has had some vocal minority opposed to the coercion of military servitude for either partisan, religious, or ideological reasons with, in most cases, the backing of an underlying humanitarian reason. Not all the resistance cases given in this book were humanitarian - inspired. The compiler's intent is to present all phases of war resistance, including those that were outrightly sympathetic to the position of the enemy. For this reason the book has been divided into four chapters to cover the various categories of war resistance.

Chapter One, "American Pacifists", covers those war opponents whose opposition is principally on humanitarian grounds and those who would not participate in any war, whatever the ideal, as an unequivocal matter of principle. These viewpoints are based largely on traditional religious convictions, or need religious convictions to sustain them.

This chapter covers the early Quakers, who decried maltreatment of American Indians and had to relinquish their secular control of colonial Pennsylvania because of increasing military dominance; and such present groups as the Catholic Workers, a religious anarchist group, and Jehovah's Witnesses, who deny

espousal of pacifism, glory in the gory battles of the Old Testament, and talk about Armageddon, but nevertheless have been persecuted internationally for their opposition to all military conflicts.

The most outstanding article in this chapter is A. J. Muste's "Pacifism and Class War", written in 1929. Though an

preserving national integrity as a necessary step in the Class War.

The US Socialist Party at that time took an unequivocal class position on all armed conflicts engaged in by national powers, and advised the Working Class to take no part whatever in such conflicts. Brief mention is made of the

sentiments during the Civil War, and some domestic fascist writings up to the American entry into the Second World War.

These items were included to give a comprehensive view of all forms of war opposition, but also serve the far-more-important function of giving an irrefutable example of the great difference that exists between a bona fide war objector and an enemy agent. This I consider one of the outstanding features of this book.

The last chapter is devoted exclusively to the present military venture in Vietnam, because in the estimation of the editor of this book, this war is unique insofar as it has brought about the largest popular opposition to war in American history and given an unprecedented impetus to the traditional anti-war movement.

All in all, this is a worthy anthology to add to one's library. Whatever its shortcomings, they are largely compensated for by its worth as a document of war resistance. The editor, Joseph R. Conklin, is to be commended for refraining from editorializing and letting the entries in the anthology speak for themselves. It is in your reviewer's estimation most fortunate that the class struggle position has been included along with the others.

★ ★ ★

As noted, the price of this excellent little book is not mentioned—but keep an eye peeled for it at your favorite book shop.

—Carlos Cortez

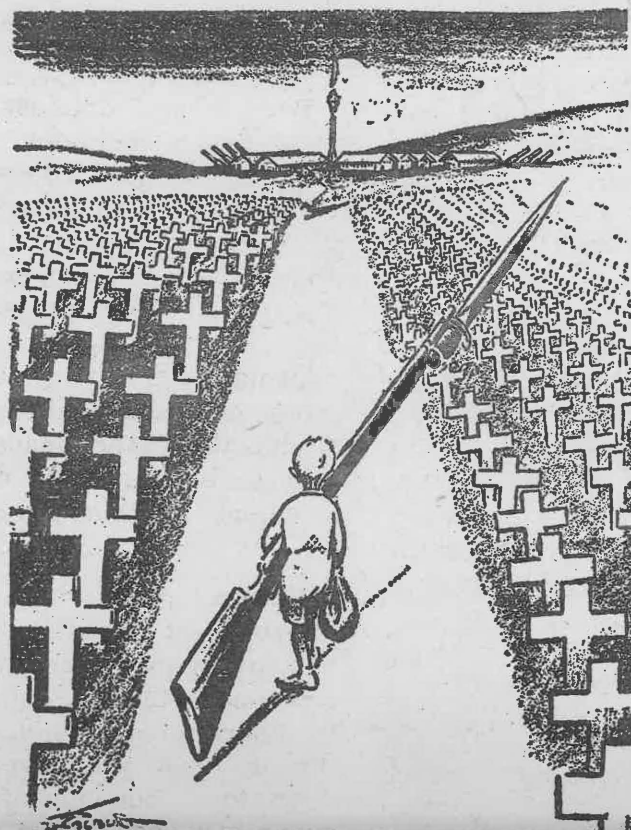
Man of the People?

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno—who died recently—first gained recognition as director of defense in the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case in 1920. The world, of course, remembers him as the presiding judge at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial.

Musmanno, son of Italian immigrants, began his career working in coal mines and steel mills. But eventually he worked for and got seven degrees from five universities, and a steady job for the capitalist class.

I think there may be more in this than the conventional success story. But you figure it out.

—Mike McQuirk



平和の到来「産業労働者」より

自由連合

avowed pacifist, Muste does not deny the resort to violence of an oppressed people whose ruling class leaves them with no other means of resistance.

He clearly states that it is the oppressors who initiate the violence and not the oppressed. This article is followed by an essay by H. C. Englebrecht, a contemporary of Muste, who states that the Pacifist and War Resistor is the true patriot.

★ ★ ★

The second chapter, "Opponents of Wars", consists of writings and speeches by various opponents of the wars in American history. These cover reasons not traditionally pacifist, but ranging from opposition to aggressive expansionism, as in the case of the Mexican War and the Spanish-American War, to questions of tactics, as in Eisenhower's speeches on Korea. Included is a pithy commentary on the Spanish-American War by Finley Peter Dunne's famed creation, Mr. Dooley. Notable also is the Socialist Party's official statement during the First World War that refuted the positions of European Socialists who took the expedient of first

IWW opposition to that war and the persecution we suffered at the hands of the Government. The editor of this book, like many other "historians", mentions our "passing on", but has included as our contribution that classic from "The Little Red Song Book", our parody of "Onward Christian Soldiers".

Chapter Three, entitled "Fifth Columnists", is briefly devoted to the expressions of those whose opposition to war was based on a partisanship toward the nationalistic interests of the other side. These include Tory sentiments during the Revolutionary War, Copperhead and pro-slavery

Labor Cost and Price

General Motors, the world's largest manufacturer, told the Senate Small Business Committee that the labor cost in the production of the average automobile was \$1,000. This figure contrasts sharply with the finding of business critic Frank Nadar, who previously had estimated the labor cost figure at not more than \$300.

Nadar submitted figures showing that auto manufacturers had no valid excuse for raising the price on 1969 models.



Long ago before the God of the Blue Eyes
Was known by the Tribe,
The Tribe knew many Gods and Spirits:
Earth Spirit, Water Spirit, Sky Spirit, Corn Spirit,
Buffalo Spirit, Fish Spirit, Moon Princess, and many others
Who were believed in and loved by the Tribe.
Only one Spirit was feared, and that was Disease-Giver,
Who terrorized everyone.
Everyone but one crazy young man named Tall Coyote.
Tall Coyote laughed at Disease-Giver
And said he did not believe in him.
So why should he be afraid of him?
The rest of the Tribe shook their heads sadly, for they knew
For such defiance, Disease-Giver would punish
Poor crazy Tall Coyote.
Sure enough, one day Disease-Giver accosted Tall Coyote
In front of all the Tribe, and said to him:
"Tall Coyote, I have come to kill you!"
That crazy Tall Coyote, he just laughed and said:
"Disease-Giver, I don't believe in you; you cannot hurt me!"
Disease-Giver, he got red in the face and told him to die;
But Tall Coyote kept on laughing.
Again Disease-Giver told him to die;
But Tall Coyote kept on laughing.
After long hours Tall Coyote still laughed;
And Disease-Giver said: "Tall Coyote, please die!"
But Tall Coyote kept on laughing.
Disease-Giver said: "Please, Tall Coyote,
At least have a headache! You are making me lose face!"
But Tall Coyote laughed harder than ever.
It was then Disease-Giver decided
To leave the village of the Tribe
With his tail between his legs,
And was never seen again.
The mind can be a jail, but it can also be a mountain.
Ey — Yaa!

Carlos Cortez

Left Swede Union... (cont. from p.1)

others in a world revolutionary labor-union movement will miss this man who has worked so hard to strengthen lines of communication that have worn thin in recent decades.

We had hoped that Fellow Worker Anderson would be able to spend some days in France to renew old contacts and establish new ones with friends of the IWW there. But this, he said, will not fit into his pre-arranged travel schedule. However, a meeting with the delegate of the Syndicalist Federation from London had already been arranged, and he expected also to meet Augustine Souchy of Germany, who, like himself, was invited to Stockholm as a guest of SAC.

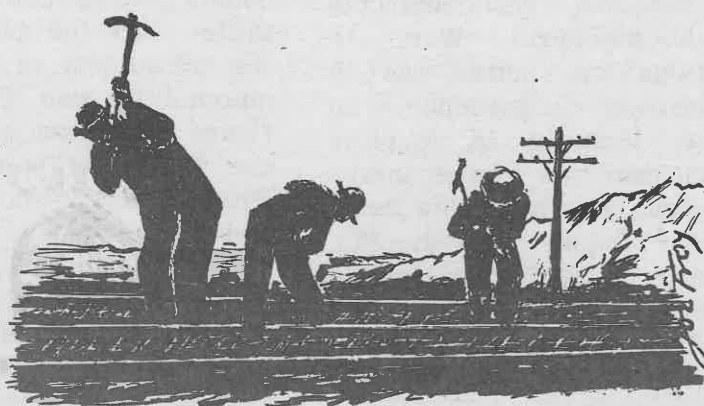
Anderson will be back in

New York November 12th. If possible on such short notice, a meeting for him will be arranged there. In any case he will visit old-timer Dick Brazier and GEB member Bill Goring. Also, he would be especially happy to meet the young Wobblies of the new Boston branch and to speak for them in Boston. Every effort will be made to put this plan into effect.

Of course, when Anderson gets to Chicago on his way back to Twenty-Nine Palms, California, he will have every opportunity to "tell it like it is" and to exercise his once well-known talent as a speaker.

Spock on Draft

I think it worth noting that on Pages 475 and 476 of Benjamin Spock's "Baby and Child Care" he counsels parents to keep a child away from drafts.



Chain-in... (cont. from p.1)

progress when two US marshals wielding two-foot metal shears stumbled over our bodies and cut the links binding Greg's wrists. Grasping the young man roughly by the wrists, the marshals dragged him over the bodies of his chained fellow resisters, down the main aisle between rows of startled worshippers, finally permitting Greg to get to his feet when they paused to open the church door.

Three days later, Gregory Nelson was sentenced to three years in a federal penitentiary.

On October 1st Los Angeles witnessed its first chain-in, a dramatic event with tremendous symbolic significance. We foresee a rash of chain-ins. The next one will iron out some of our tactical errors, but its moral significance will greatly diminish through repetition. Subsequent chain-ins will deteriorate into ritual events like the old May Day parades.

The modern radical-actionist movement has grown out of a reaction to state and institutional conformity. A refreshing insistence on personalized, humanized, face-to-face relationships has developed in this fraternity of the New Left. Draft counselors feel a warm, human concern for clients seeking legal advice. Young friends flock to the courtroom to give moral support to the victims of the draft.

Simultaneously a particular type of dress, hair style, and lingo accents every Leftist gathering. The banjo is its stock in trade. Probably the most effective way to dispose of the odious draft card is to burn it, but the identical stance assumed by every rebel as he flicks his cigarette lighter and tips the card to the flame is already passing into the realm of tradition. This extremely self-conscious reliance upon exaggerated modes and devices of rebellion belies the very flexibility which gave voice to that rebellion. The chilling thought occurs to us that we are witnessing the congealing of a new subculture.

The aim of Greg, and of most modern war-resisters,

is to recognize the right of conscience on an individual, ethical basis. They don't aspire to revolutionize society, or even seriously to stop the war in Vietnam. Their message is personal and deliberative. Hence their protest loses some of its validity when it becomes formalized and stereotyped.

The aim of labor-oriented radicals, on the other hand, is to mold a new society. Their protest is collective; their motives are pragmatic; their objective is concrete change of the economic institutions of men. In their case, repetition of dramatized or standardized methods (distribution of leaflets, picketing, et cetera) is justified on the ground that they are forging weapons to be used again and again in waging the class war and ultimately in re-shaping society.

War resisters, though proud and happy to lend moral support to individuals like Greg Nelson, must recognize that they fall far short of bringing an end to the Vietnam War or to the system that breeds warfare. It's a banal but still valid observation that labor provides the sinews of war.

■ ■ ■

The peace of my home is hourly shattered by the thunderous roar of the engines of death rising from several local aircraft factories. Their offensive turbulence serves as a constant reminder that defense workers, here and in the steel mills, in the weapons factories and the great shipyards, are substantially supporting the War. The ugly fact is that they are aiding and abetting the fighting arm of the nation far more effectively than individual pacifists are supporting their handful of brave objectors.

The war workers as a class are a brainwashed lot who listen far more attentively to Nixon and Humphrey and Wallace than to any Wobbly. They hear little, and care not at all, about individual acts of conscience. Their ears are attuned to the jingle of coins. Peace represents poverty to them in a society that has not learned to gear its economy to productive ends. The very last action they would consider taking would be a strike to cripple the war machine. Yet the international working-class loyalty of these men and women must somehow be won if we fellow workers are ever to succeed in building a warless world.

How can we get our message across to these defense workers?