

Harris Plans On Navy Vote

(These are excerpts from a tape made when David Harris was rapping with some members of the Srafpint Co-op, an IWW unit at Mountain View, in August. Future excerpts will deal with why he does not like to call himself a pacifist; how he and his fellow workers in a print shop had come to join the IWW in the first place; changes in the working class; and what sort of social arrangements he would like to see.)

PRISONS

I went into prison with certain specifics in mind about what I wanted to do in there, and one of them was to make it difficult for the prison to function. So I was in four strikes during the time I was in, one in the county jail and three in Safford. That's why I ended up in La Tuna. Sixty per cent of the La Tuna population were there for having crossed the border without a green card — illegal immigrants.

There's an incredible graft system in the prisons. One fellow would sell prison property to the cops. They'd come in and give him cash. You're not supposed to have any kind of cash in a penitentiary. And he'd be walking around with a wad of bills, like two hundred bucks, in his pocket. And the two hundred bucks would go for dope. All the dope that's sold inside one of those places is sold for cash.

VOLUNTEER ARMY?

I think the Government's in a very bad situation with conscription. They publicly admit having to draft two people to get one, which means it's got to be four to one at least. This means they're completely unable to enforce the law. There are at least 50,000 draft criminals walking around the San Francisco Bay area, people who have violated the Selective Service Law and have yet to hear anything about it. Those who do get to court generally get their cases dropped, even without an expensive lawyer....

I think it's gone too far for Nixon to buy resistance off with a volunteer army.... The American military formula is to consistently try to use the weight of equipment and manpower against the natural logistics system of a guerrilla activity. When you're involved in that kind of strategy you have to have massive numbers of troops. And I don't think they can raise massive numbers of troops even if they raise the pay....

SAN DIEGO PLANS

There's a general repugnance not just to the idea that the Government is going to draft you, but also to the whole notion of a Military. There's a tremendous amount of discontent in places like the Air Force and the Navy, which are both enlistment services.

I'm going to be going down to San Diego in August with some people to do a project around the Navy down there. There's an aircraft carrier sitting in the harbor called the USS Constellation which is supposed to sail back to Vietnam around October 1. The Tonkin Gulf raids were staged off the Constellation, and it's been doing that kind of stuff for a long time. There are 70,000 sailors in San Diego, and we're going to organize a vote on whether the Constellation should leave or not.

It's a very simple, straight tool used in a very unsimple, unstraight context. We see it as a way that we can crack open the Military down there. I think it will work, too. The question for us is not whether we win or lose the vote down there, although we think we'll win. It's a very available proposition that's going to get us contact with those 70,000 sailors like there's never been contact before....

It's going to be a tremendous amount of work, pure informational kind of stuff. We aren't going to be able to get into the military base through the gate, but the harbor's open. So we're going to rig up barges with sound equipment and pull

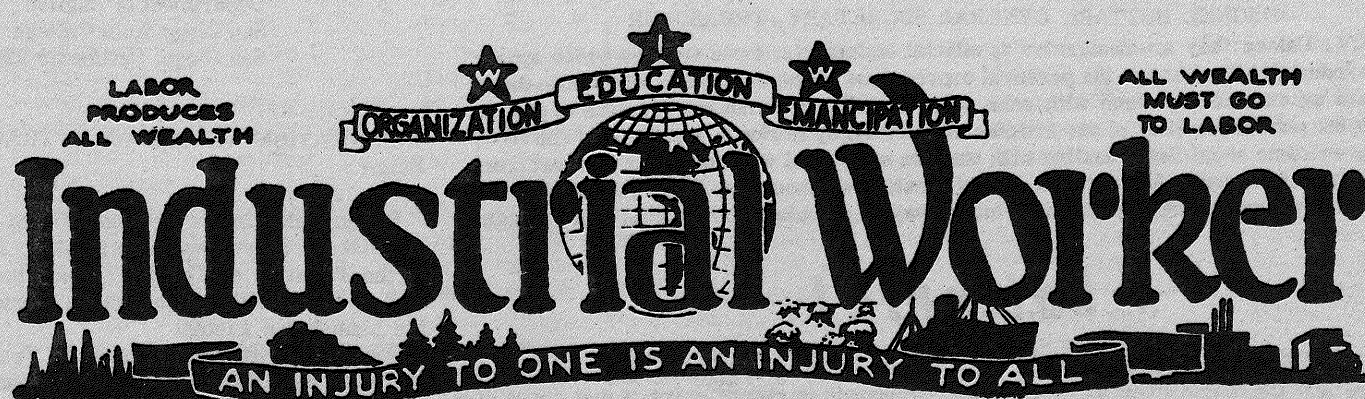
(continued on Page 8)

Operation Strikebreaker !

Nixon has at least made some union heads talk like union men. Here is what the Machinists' executive council said on the freeze:

"The President is engaged in strikebreaking on an unprecedented scale. No other administration in history has ever demanded that every American on strike return to work on the terms that drove them to strike in the first place. In effect the nation's chief executive has become the nation's chief strikebreaker."

George Meany gave one resounding no. The only major official to the contrary was Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters; his salary had already been raised to \$125,000. At the time of the freeze, the Federal Mediation Service alone was involved in 363 strikes of 150,000 workers.



VOLUME 68, NUMBER 9 — W. N. 1302

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 1971

15 CENTS

NEXT STAGE IN BARGAINING

Collective bargaining in a controlled economy — that's what you see when the steel companies lay off half their employees, sign new pattern contracts, and raise prices 8% all at once. On the old free market the conditions that resulted in layoff were not the conditions that permitted price boost or wage boost. The free market was gone long before the mid-August freeze.

The bargaining pattern was very uniform; for railroad workers 42% in a 42-month period; for steel workers 30% in a 36-month period; for telephone workers 31% or 32% in three years with a walkout to raise it 1%; for telegraphers 19% in two years; in short 10% per year with slight variations, and for steel and most other workers a large chunk of that just to catch up with price increases in a period in which contracts did not retain escalator clauses. The general re-establishment of cost-of-living factors was the main outcome of this summer's bargaining. An average of 224 new construction settlements were for 10.4%.

This does not mean that collective bargaining has become some empty ritual. It would not have gone as well as it did if it had not been for growls and grumbles among the rank and file and evidence that any offer below pattern would be tossed back. Some major losses: 20,000 diesel firemen lose their jobs.

Since we have reached this stage of patterns widely followed regardless of situation, why not rationalize collective bargaining in a controlled economy still further? Why not assess what can be produced, what work needs to get done, and what standard of living and leisure is technically possible, and as an organized working class bargain for a free hand to make rational use of our resources?

Should Reporters Elect Editors ?

Reporters should elect editors, says Bryce Rucker, professor of journalism at Southern Illinois University. He says this will help newspapers tell the truth, and asks if we can expect a publisher who owns a paper mill, as many publishers do, to attack the pollution problem raised by his mill?

The professor presented this argument to a Conference of Canadian Managing Editors at Kitchener, Ontario. They did not take kindly to the idea, and said that it might imperil news judgment. To this one may answer, as Robert Cirino points out in his recent book on the press "Don't Blame the People", that newspapers have given little heed to emerging problems at the time it might be easy to do something about them. (Problems are not newsworthy at that stage.)

Campus friends warn not to jump to the conclusion that SIU is a liberal university because its journalism prof advocates industrial democracy in his own field, or R. Buckminster Fuller keeps track of how we may make better use of the world's resources there. Its course in penology attracts experts in repression from all over and its Center for Vietnamese Studies is an aid to our warlords.

No Assessment

The recent referendum on whether to provide for a compulsory \$2 assessment lost. There is no compulsory assessment. However there is a variety of voluntary assessments, in all different colors and designs, and all for good purposes, so ask your delegate about same.

WHERE DO FOLKS WORK ?

Distribution by Occupations (Per Cent)

Field	1919	1969
Manufacturing	39.9	28.8
Trade	16.7	20.0
Public Utilities *	13.7	6.2
Government	9.9	17.4
Services	8.3	16.0
Mining	4.2	0.8
Finance	4.1	5.0
Construction	3.8	4.8

* Including Transportation

LET 'EM OUT, LET 'EM IN !

It is accepted now that America was hoodwinked into a war in Vietnam. Those who first took that position and acted on it either landed in jail or left the country. Let them out. Let them in.

Clydeside Resists Liquidation

On July 30, to quote the United Press, "Workers who seized two British shipyards to stop 'faceless men' from shutting them down said they could keep the business going.... Workers seized the two yards in defiance of government plans to shut down part of the financially troubled shipbuilding group. They said they would take over the firm's three remaining yards when they reopened after summer vacation."

This is on the Clyde River, center of shipbuilding from the Industrial Revolution on, where the whole countryside depends on shipbuilding for a living.

In the USA Lockheed, in a similar pinch, got a quarter-billion-dollar handout from the Government, and unions rejoiced that their members could continue making whatever useless things they were making there.

In Scotland the Upper Clyde Shipyards (UCS) had asked the government for a million pounds, about 1/16 of the Lockheed handout, as working capital to tide them over to what UCS management was assured would be a profitable 1972. This trouble did not come from lack of orders, for 90 million pounds sterling of unfilled orders are on UCS books.

The British government, on June 14, refused to guarantee interim financing, and 7500 shipyard workers saw their jobs in peril. They staged such demonstrations as had not occurred since 1919. They sent a delegation to visit Tory Premier Heath in Downing Street, who told the workers that "rationalisation must take its course". So then they started talking about taking over the yards and running them themselves.

The June 14 announcement of the UCS management pointed to the dozen ships it had turned out last year, and to growing productivity and anticipated profits for 1972 "frustrated by a current shortage of working capital".

Why didn't it get this working capital from private investors? The London Socialist Leader of June 26 explained how money was to be made by wrecking this

(continued on Page 8)

"An injury to one is an injury to all" One Union One Enemy



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Official Organ of The Industrial Workers of the World

OWNED AND ISSUED MONTHLY BY
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
2440 NORTH LINCOLN, CHICAGO 60614 (549-5045)

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT CHICAGO
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES LOCATED
2440 NORTH LINCOLN, CHICAGO 60614 (549-5045)

NO PAID (COMMERCIAL) ADVERTISING ACCEPTED	SUBSCRIPTION RATES 36 ISSUES..... \$5.00 24 ISSUES..... \$4.00 12 ISSUES..... \$2.00	REMITTANCES PAYABLE TO INDUSTRIAL WORKER
--	---	---

FRED THOMPSON, EDITOR THIS ISSUE
WALTER H. WESTMAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
LIONEL BOTTARI, GENERAL SECRETARY - TREASURER

POLICY: Unless they are designated as official statements, those articles which appear in the Industrial Worker are the personal expressions of the individuals who wrote them, and can be expected to clash with each other at times. It is not our practice to pay for any items published. Most of our articles are written by workers, members of the IWW, but we welcome short items dealing with matters of general working-class interest from non-members as well. All material except flash news should be in by the 15th of the month so that typesetting, layout, and printing may be completed by the 20th of the month.

Editorial

That Internecine Left

Here and the world over there has been a regrowth in recent years of that sense of a "movement", a social struggle over and beyond all specific organizations. Recently this essential need has been threatened in many places. Conflict between different types of communist power seems to be back of much of it: the fights between Communists and Naxalites in India; the Chinese instructors who accompanied West Pakistanis in their hideous slaughter in East Pakistan; the Communists in Okinawa who beat Machida Munehide to death with a steel pipe for tactical differences; the "Trotskyite" government of Ceylon in its repression of young rebels there; or, fortunately on a smaller scale, the protest by Communists, Trotskyites, and other groups about physical attacks by Progressive Labor on those with whom PL disagreed in a demonstration in front of a hotel harboring Nixon.

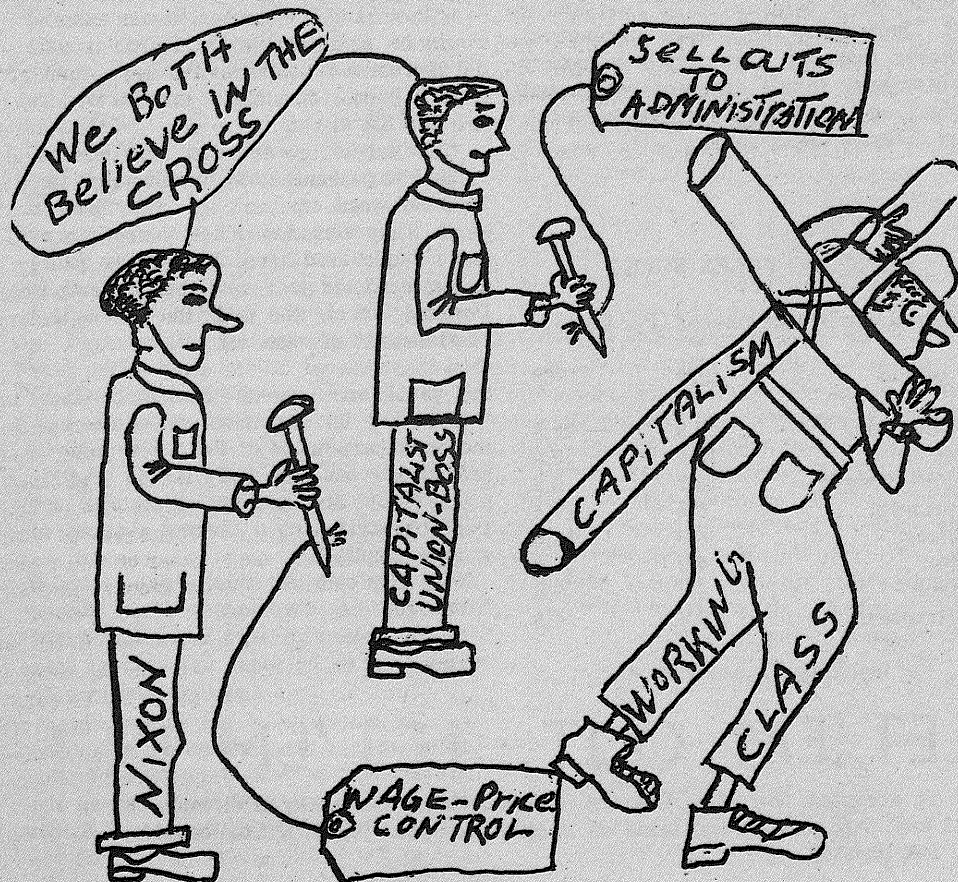
We still hear the obsolete reasoning: Program X is right, and therefore deviations from it are wrong and wicked and should be punished. No one has any way of knowing that Program X is so right that all departures from it must be wrong. Centuries of experience with that sort of thinking provide its best refutation. The need for change and adjustment in any program can be met only by diversity and deviation. There is no likelihood we rebels will ever all agree. We are far more likely to get a sizeable chunk of what we are after by accepting diversity and planning how to maintain a workable solidarity among all who attack the System. Solidarity on the job and in the economic struggle lays a sound foundation.

Eating During Dislocations

The UAW proposes that the Government provide funds for workers laid off because their plants have to be closed to prevent pollution — funds for maintenance, retraining, and relocation if needed. If that were done it should make those workers feel more free to join with the public against their polluting employers. Now they tend to fight pollution control if it means their job.

We need to plan some massive dislocations, not merely expect them. The Nixon prosperity program for expanding the economy with frozen wages ignores the package of problems with which we have to deal as a package, and the outside one shaping any workable solution for the others is that of keeping this earth inhabitable. We do not need an expanding economy. We need to stop doing harmful and useless work and confine our efforts to work that should get done. Plans for expanding economies are inherently plans for imperialism and international conflict, and a stepping up of the rate at which we turn precious resources into pollutants. We simply need a switch to production for use.

How flexible and free we are for these changes hinges on how good the arrangements are for eating during dislocations.



Reader's Soapbox

RALPH CHAPLIN INFO SOUGHT
Editor:

We spent the last few weeks in the Northwest area conducting research for a Ralph Chaplin biography. We went through manuscripts and other materials at the Washington State Historical Society, the University of Washington, and Gonzaga University, and interviewed a number of people who knew Ralph in his later years. Would the Industrial Worker mention that we are engaged in this project and would much appreciate hearing from Wobblies who knew Chaplin during his IWW years? We'll both be doing the best we can to publicize the San Diego CS case this fall.

R. W. and Mary Redding
Department of English
San Diego State College
San Diego, California 92115



INFORMATION WANTED ON B. TRAVEN
Editor:

Do any old-timers remember that the novelist B. Traven was at any Wobbly Hall in the Twenties or Thirties? I have heard that he gave lectures and was a friend of the pianist von Liebig.

I am now writing a book about B. Traven trying to show that he was a Wobbly and an American workingman, and not a Bavarian Stirnerite as is now claimed. Please send me any information about Traven or von Liebig.

Robert Goss
445 West 49th Street
San Bernardino, California 92407

(Editor's note: Is the reference to pianist von Liebig possibly a reference actually to Rudolph Liebig, who wrote or arranged accompaniments to many IWW and socialist songs? FT)

CLOTHING WORKERS
NEED ONE BIG UNION

Editor:

On a recent broadcast Walter Cronkite quoted the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as complaining that the "import of men's suits from the Orient, where tailors work for nine cents an hour, is killing the men's clothing industry". Right after World War I, Amalgamated Clothing Workers got busy organizing banks and then went into the real-estate business. Some of its younger and more militant members suggested it would make more sense if we taught the members of the union the meaning of unionism. The officials ignored this demand except to bribe some of these young workers with office jobs to keep their mouths shut. Had they followed the advice of the young there would have been real internationalism and support to organize workers in the Orient and everywhere so those workers would be living better and not providing this sort of low-wage competition.

Instead, to keep these suits out, they hire Columbia graduates to buttonhole US Congressmen, and Jinx Falkenberg and Doris Day to appear on TV with President Potofsky. There's a story about a peasant who went to the big city and saw a circus. He told his village friends he had seen all sorts of very small animals, some as little as fleas. "Did you see an elephant?" asked one friend. "No, what does an elephant look like?" "An elephant is as big as a mountain." "No, I didn't notice any elephant."

Mr. Potofsky notices Jinx Falkenberg and Doris Day, but not the tailors in the shops. Cheap contractors are getting work from somewhere, and the men's clothing that is getting made here is being made in old rat-infested shops. So wipe your tears, Brother Potofsky, forget the banks and real-estate ventures and the college dames you sent to influence the politicians, and look to the clothing workers of all countries. Organize them all for better conditions wherever they are.

A Worker in the Industry

UNPRINTED KROPOTKIN

Fellow Workers:

I would like to share with your readers the news that MIT Press has come out with some heretofore unpublished, untranslated essays of Peter Kropotkin. The title is "Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution". The price is \$3.95.

There is also a periodical from the individualist anarchists—The Abolitionist. Write for a free sample copy to PO Box 14, Verona, New Jersey 07044.

F. B. S.

SLANDER ON TV

Editor:

Communication workers, steel workers, railway workers, and members of other unions have recently been much slandered by press and TV. During the CWU strike especially, cameramen focused on the bodies of female workers while reporters asked misleading and foolish questions and reporters raid union offices with questions inviting "inflammatory remarks". A word of caution: Newsmen can be dangerous.

X 327266

BETTY FURNESS QUILTS

Betty Furness gave up her \$31,000-year job as chairman of the New York State Consumer Protection Board. She said it was useless with big business blocking all legislation she proposed and running the State Legislature.

Donations to Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund Since Last Listing in These Columns

Jack Ujanen.....	\$30.00
Susan Hering*.....	\$25.00
Tom McEnroe.....	\$ 5.00
Conrad Goeringer.....	\$ 2.00
Otto E. Schaefer.....	\$10.00
Abraham Wuori.....	\$11.00
John Desiderio.....	\$ 1.00
Cam Oberman.....	\$ 5.00
Robert T. Gross.....	\$ 5.00
William F. Johansen.....	\$ 3.00
Hungarian Wobblies*.....	\$82.00
Ray DeNault.....	\$ 2.00
W. Thorn.....	\$ 2.00
Louis Tarcai.....	\$ 1.50
Joe Ruby.....	\$10.00
Robert Rossi.....	\$ 1.00

Total..... \$195.50

Previously Acknowledged..... \$2,924.08

Grand Total August 16..... \$3,119.58

* Donated in memory of Louis Lefkovits.

Many thanks to all of the Fellow Workers listed above for their generous financial aid to keep the Industrial Worker going.

I.W.W. DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR: Ask for any Wob at the Gene Debs Co-op, 909 East University Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104 (761-1237).

AUSTIN: The IU 450 Branch is at 1312 West 42nd Street, Austin 78705. Fellow Workers of the Armadillo Press may be reached there.

BUFFALO: Contact IWW Delegate Henry Pfaff, 77 Eckhart Street, Buffalo, New York 14207 (377-6073).

CAMBRIDGE: Write to IWW, Post Office Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: For IWW delegate information see Bill Murphy at the Red Herring, or write G. C. Graves at Box 2249, Station A, Champaign, Illinois 61820. Honor the boycott! Stay away from all Heublein products and Eisner-Osco stores.

CHICAGO: The Chicago Branch meetings are now being held on the first Friday of every month at 2440 North Lincoln, LI9-5045.

DULUTH: Phone IWW Delegate Patrick J. McMillan, 419 East 4th Street, Duluth, Minnesota 55805 (727-4827).

HONOLULU: Mervyn Chang, IU 450, Box 352, Haleiwa, Oahu, Hawaii.

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

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

LAWRENCE: Contact John Weismiller, 1343 Tennessee #22, Lawrence, Kansas 66044 (843-8770).

LOS ANGELES: Mike Dale, Secretary, 1419 North Fairfax, Apartment 6, Los Angeles 90046. Dorice McDaniels, Member Executive Board (677-8397). Van Nuys: EWIU 620, Sraprint Co-op, 14133 Gilmore, Van Nuys, California 91901 (781-7589 or 782-6185).

MADISON: Julia Vea, Secretary, 114 West Gorham, Madison 53703 (or see the people at Riley's Liquor Store on State Street).

MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL: Write Jim Cain, Post Office Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

NEW JERSEY: The IWW delegate for North Bergen is Stuart J. Levine, #6-A South, 8900 Boulevard East, North Bergen, New Jersey 07047.

NEW YORK: The Branch Office is in Room 500 at 400 West 23rd Street at the corner of Ninth Avenue, New York 10011 (phone 212-255-8891).

OAKLAND: Richard Ellington, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609 (658-0293).

PORTLAND: Write IWW Post Office Box 3022, Portland, Oregon 97203. Anyone interested in organizing campaign in this area please write soon.

PULLMAN: Jerry Calvert, Post Office Box 2331, CS, Pullman, Washington 99163.

PHILADELPHIA: Telephone Jarama Jahn (724-4895) or drop in at 2054 South Salford, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143.

SAN DIEGO: Contact IWW Delegate Arthur Miller, Post Office Box 1332, San Diego, California 92112.

SAN FRANCISCO: Bay Area Membership Branch: Contact Mike Mack at 20 Sanchez Street, 84114, or Jim Bumpas at 909 Covington Road, Los Altos, California 94022.

SAN JOSE - PALO ALTO AREA: Contact IWW, Box 4091 Mountain View Ca., 94040 or phone 967-7718

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

SEATTLE: Contact Branch Secretary Bob Horsley at San Vito Press, 501 19th Street East, Seattle, Washington 98102. Stan Iverson is the Wob contact at the ID Bookstore, 1408 Northeast 42nd Street, Seattle, Washington 98105.

TACOMA: Contact IWW Delegate Ottalie Markholt at 714 South 16th, Apartment 4, Tacoma, Washington 98405 (272-8119).

VANCOUVER: Contact J.B. McAndrew 1555 Woodland Dr. Vancouver 6 B.C.

VANCOUVER: Contact Secretary M. C. Warrior, 427 East 20th Street, Vancouver 10, British Columbia, Canada.

WHITETHORN: Contact Delegate Darryl B. Van Fleet, Post Office Box 311, Whitethorn, California 95489.

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

YELLOW SPRINGS: The office is located at 102 Dayton Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Ken Freedman, Branch Secretary, 305 West South College, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OVERSEAS BRANCHES:

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

GREAT BRITAIN:

SURREY: The IWW Stationary Delegate for Surrey is David Pickett, c/o Syndicalist Federation, 259 Hillcross Avenue, Morden, Surrey, England.

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 or phone Shelby at 746-2114 (nights).

SWEDEN: David Sund, Harpundsavgen 44, 124-40 Bandhagen. Phone 47 45 32

READ ABOUT THE I.W.W.

We stock the following:

Clothbound books:

Dubofsky: We Shall Be All (550 -page account of the IWW)..... \$12.50
 Gibbs Smith: Joe Hill (290 pages on rebel songwriter)..... 7.00
 The IWW: Its First Fifty Years (200 -page history, 1905-1955)..... 3.00

Paperback books:

Kornbluh: Rebel Voices (418 -page IWW anthology)..... \$4.95
 Turner: Sydney's Burning (WWI Trails of IWW Australia, 264 pages)..... 2.00

Pamphlets:

IWW Songbook..... .40
 World Labor Needs a Union..... .25
 The General Strike..... .20
 Unemployment and the Machine.... .10

Leaflets:

Economic Revolution (50 copies).... \$1.00

HER CRIME: NOT SORRY

Jane Kennedy has been in a Michigan jail for allegedly thinking wrong thoughts. She used to be assistant director of nursing at Billings Hospital, Chicago. She got out in August after being locked up since June 1970 on a one-to-four-year sentence for participating in a raid that destroyed Dow Chemical Company's tapes on defoliants. They made this raid because they knew what harm in Vietnam and elsewhere these defoliants were doing. The other seven were released at the end of their minimum term, but Miss Kennedy was kept in jail because she would not say she was sorry she did it.

Remember those arithmetic questions about rowing upstream? By the same sort of reasoning she served the minimum the same as the others for destroying the tapes, but the rest simply for not feeling sorry she had done so. It is silly enough in the ordinary sort of case about the fellow who entered a house and stole and ate a porkchop, to require that he say he is sorry he ate the porkchop—but to require "repentance" in these anti-war cases is both stupid and vicious.

Consider the morality of Establishment people who want women like Jane Kennedy to say they are sorry. Marine Corps procurement officers have enjoyed the unrestricted use of credit cards furnished by the Diesel Electric Company from which they were buying generators so defective they resulted in the deaths of American servicemen in Vietnam. This is only part of the bribery between buyers and sellers, both of whom will say we should be glad to die for the protection of the women and children of America.

Theirs is the morality that thinks of Hiroshima as an act of piety. A survey this year of the 209 children who have been born to the 216 who survived the A-bombs of August 1945 shows a quarter of them to have the kidney, lung, and blood diseases common to the first generation of A-bomb victims, and 12% of the first-born children to have handicaps.

Theirs is the morality that puts three quarters of federally supported research and development into aircraft, missiles, and studies related to war, wasting human abilities and channeling research so that our ecological problems grow faster than our answers to them.

Thanks for not saying you're sorry!

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

In the September Atlantic there is an article "Talking It Big: A Memoir of C. Wright Mills" in which Dan Wakelfield has this to say of the famous sociologist: "His real home was outside any government or group or intellectual clique and his favorite political heroes were 'The Wobblies' (the Industrial Workers of the World), the homegrown American radicals who opposed nearly everything and everyone and valued most of all their independence. Whenever he liked someone, he'd say: 'That guy's a real Wobbly.'"

LAWYERS BENEFIT

Workmen's Compensation in the state of New Jersey is increasingly for the benefit of insurance company lawyers and doctors, the UAW contends. The benefits received by injured workers per premium dollar have dropped from 62¢ in 1966 to 57 1/2¢ in 1970. In the same period, fees earned by lawyers and doctors rose from 11.9% to 16%, with insurance-company lawyers fighting the workers' claims gaining the most, and physicians earning half a million more out of it than in 1966.

Somehow SACB in a newspaper always looks like a typographical error. But that's how Subversive Activities Control Board turns out. For years it has been a \$500,000 annual boondoggle for five board members at \$36,000 each and ten staff members at \$14,000.

Columnist Carl Rowan wrote: "When Lyndon B. Johnson wanted to favor one of his secretaries, he named her bridegroom to a seat on the Board. When Richard Nixon wanted to curry favor with Right Wingers, he named one of their favorites, Otto F. Otepka." Otepka had been fired by the State Department for leaking documents to the Right Wing. It is in line for a government that names the major polluters to take control of pollution, and makes a lobbyist for the drug industry the general counsel for the FDA, to put Right Wingers in charge of the hunt for subversion.

On July 2 Nixon gave these boondogglers a new assignment. A new executive order empowered the SACB (sic) to "determine whether any organization is totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or has adopted a policy of unlawfully advocating the commission of acts of force", and so forth. In advance of their investigations, a staffer tells the press that they expect to drop some 200 dead organizations off the "subversive list" and add on 25 or so more names. They have been nosing into the Black Panthers, Peace Action Coalition, Young Workers' Liberation, Center for Marxist Education, SDS, Young Socialist Alliance, and so on. The old listing process tapered off and died out as one court decision after another voided its arbitrary procedures, and SACB (sic) was restricted by Congress to investigating allegations of Moscow control. Last year it was idle, hearing only three witnesses, but kept on drawing pay.

Senators who had disliked this annual boondoggle hesitated at the idea of setting these characters out on a general witch hunt, and questioned the legality of setting up such authority by executive order. They held up the OK on the \$450,000 budget request. Later, to get the budget through, this was approved, but without approving the fishing expedition proposed by Nixon.

In mid-July two Quaker groups, the American Friends Service Committee and the Philadelphia Resistance, brought suit against the FBI asking that it be enjoined against harassing them. The suit charged the FBI with 30 specific acts "for the sole purpose of intimidating and harassing the plaintiffs for engaging in constitutionally protected activity of free speech, assembly, press, movement, and petition".

On the heels of acquittals or split juries and declared mistrials in several cases (Black Panthers, Seale, Newton, and others) comes some fundamental probing into an inherent unfairness in the way juries are ordinarily impaneled. In Chicago, soon after leaders of the Black P Stone Nation faced a new jury selection after a mistrial, an entire panel was dismissed while the judge pondered defense arguments that poor persons and black persons are not as likely as others to be on the panel or serve on the jury, and that no new panels should be drawn until the jury selection system is overhauled.

U Thant warns that the UN is likely to drown in its own mass of documents. Its record experts say "the point of saturation has been reached and passed". Delegates are supposed to read an average of 600 pages every single day of the year to keep abreast. All this should cheer up those who fear that Social Security records, school records, medical records, job records, credit records, auto license and violation records, and general and special snoopy records may some day all be put together on one unified print-out record whenever some agency with the power of subpoena orders it. It is likely to be much too much. Just to figure the July back pay for those getting old-age benefits, Social Security had to run its data kept on 165,000 reels of tape for 33 work days at 5,000 reels a day.

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM A SORDID HISTORY

It is axiomatic to anyone of radical or revolutionary orientation that the legal processes of a society are but an extension of the interests of the ruling classes. All too often laws are but a means of stifling dissent and repressing those without power.

One of the modes of expression that legal repression has taken in the United States is Criminal Syndicalism. Minnesota passed the first CS law in 1917, and many other states quickly followed suit.

CS is defined in California law as "any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, or aiding or abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which is hereby defined as meaning wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change". (West's Annotated California Code, Penal Section 11400-402) The statute further precludes membership in an "unlawful" organization; organizing such an organization; any attempt to justify, orally or in print, any doctrine constituting CS; or having in one's possession any literature that advocates any type of CS doctrine. Of course, what acts are illegal and fall within CS are left for the courts to determine. The framers of this statute knew what they were doing by making it vague, thereby bypassing many protections of the Bill of Right.

Attempts to invalidate this statute on constitutional grounds have been singularly unsuccessful. The most recent, and most nearly successful, was made in 1968. A federal district court found California's CS law "impermissibly vague and overbroad as to be unconstitutional". (Harris Versus Younger, 281 Federal Supplement 507, 1968) However last March the US Supreme Court overturned the district court decision as having been made without exhausting state remedies, and the CS law is in force again.

The CS law did not really come into its own until the early 1920s. Then, in a massive crackdown, all in the name of Criminal Syndicalism, Wobblies were arrested literally by the droves, indicted, convicted, and carted off to the penitentiary for between one and fourteen years. By this time the state prosecutors had refined their technique to the point at which the courts became a glorified conveyor belt that led the Wobbly from arrest to a penal institution with scarcely an interruption. Some of the legal gymnastics the courts turned make interesting reading.

For instance, when Fellow Worker Steelink was indicted and convicted for CS, the California Supreme Court overruled Steelink's contention that CS interfered with free speech, piously stating that the right to free speech does not include the "right to advocate the destruction or overthrow of the Government, or the criminal destruction of property". (People Versus Steelink, 187 Ca. 361, 203 P. 78, 1921) The Fellow Worker was not even accused of a specific crime. The Court held that as a matter of law all the State had to prove for conviction under CS was membership in the IWW. The IWW was held to be an unlawful organization under the CS act.

What the State of California went through to prove the "unlawful" nature of the IWW ranks high in the annals of legal oppression.

In the case of People Versus Flannagan (65 C.A. 268, 223 P. 1014, 1924), the prosecution dredged up a witness that claimed—as did most of the prosecution witnesses—that he had been a Wobbly organizer. He left his home because his wife gave him a choice between herself and the IWW. He hit the freights. He said that he became disenchanted with the IWW because they advocated that all homes be abolished, that children be taken from their mothers at the age of two and a half, that each person be allowed only three or four years of education, that all farms be confiscated, that all penal institutions be

razed, that "free love" rule the land, and that all religion be abolished as an enemy to the radical cause. Furthermore, he testified that he had heard Fellow Workers state that the only difference between themselves and Christ was that they rode the freight cars and Christ rode a jackass. Moreover, the Fellow Workers were in the habit of calling Christ "Jerusalem Slim".

The judge further instructed the jury that it could not take into consideration the fact that Flannagan was a member of the IWW only one day when he was arrested on the picket line and could not know much of IWW theory. The jury swallowed all of this and returned a conviction.

However, the best examples of the lies, half-truths, and distortions that the State used to show the "illegal nature of the IWW" appeared in the persons of Townsend, Arada, and Cuitts. These three individuals were paraded before jury after jury giving testimony in a great many CS trials. Their testimony was usually the same.

Arada testified that one evening while he was working the potato harvest someone had poured acid into his shoes, severely burning his feet. He felt that it must have been the IWW because some workers had left the job that evening leaving behind Wob literature. The prosecution never managed to establish a connection between the IWW and his burns, yet his testimony was allowed.

Coutts claimed membership in the IWW as an organizer. He said that he had participated in several barn burnings instigated by the IWW. Again, he was the only one the prosecution was able to produce to so testify.

Townsend was by far the most voluble, claiming special access to Wobbly ideology. He mouthed his lies and distortions at CS trials all over the state, and is often mentioned in appellate and supreme court opinions. In fact, in People Versus La Rue (62 C.A. 276, 216 P. 627, 1923), the court upheld Townsend's testimony as to the nature of the IWW, even though Fellow Worker La Rue offered proof to show that Townsend was chronically insane and had spent time in various mental institutions.

The Third District Appellate Court allowed Townsend's testimony in convicting Fellow Workers Cox, McGrath, and Kuilman (People Versus Cox, 66 C.A. 287, 226 P. 74, 1924). The court upheld Townsend's competency as a witness even though he had testified at the trial that he had never told the truth in his life, and had shown himself, in the court's own words, to be one of the "most reprehensible characters thinkable". id at 76.

TO WHAT GOOD END

Fortunate indeed is the American who survives to the end of his days without seeing his country through several wars. And we are said to be a peace-loving people! Oh, that we are not. This observer has read the latest news from many a battle front in half a dozen wars during eighty-five years of life in this troubled land.

Governments quarrel and young men go out and lay down their lives in battle. And to what good end? Only that wealthy, ambitious, and unprincipled men may add pomp and glory to THEIR lives.

As to this horrible war in Southeast Asia that we are now pursuing, is not Vietnam made credible by that which we call the American way of life? Indeed, is not the frequency with which the nation is called to arms itself our real way of life?

There is, too, an element of fear that enters into our readiness to fight out the nation's differences on the field of battle.

There is now a pattern. The American Establishment dreads direct confrontation with the communists, so we are running scared, fighting big wars with little countries, lest big Russia or bigger China face up to us in a world-destroying

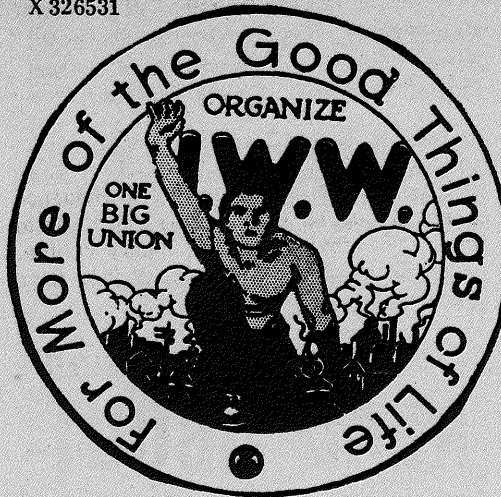
These are small examples to show how far the State and courts of California were willing to go to suppress the IWW. As CS case law developed, a Fellow Worker could be convicted on possession of a Wobbly membership card, possession of Wobbly literature, or any testimony he might give during a trial of another Wobbly as to his membership in the IWW. The fact that the IWW had repudiated all forms of violence was no defense. In People Versus Malley (49 C.A. 597, 194 P. 48, 1920), the court found that mere possession of Wobbly newspapers constituted an act of sabotage sufficient for conviction within the CS statute.

It got to the point where about the only way that an IWW could beat a CS bust was for the State to make a mistake and not prove that the defendant was a member of the IWW, as in People Versus Thorton (63 C.A. 724, 219 P. 1021, 1923). This sort of thing happened more than once. Some indictments and informations were so poorly written as to be criticized by the higher courts as being unintelligible.

Membership in the IWW came to be considered by the courts as constituting participation in a criminal conspiracy (People Versus La Rue, supra). This made the prosecutor's job all the more easy, as joining in a conspiracy is a crime in itself, and no other act need be proved.

Today people are still being prosecuted for CS, although not in the quantities of the 1920s. The CS statute, in spite of many attempts to eliminate it, is alive and well on the books in California in almost the same form as the 1919 original. And considering that it was used to indict Wobblies in groups of 18s and 20s, it is small wonder that the Fellow Workers in San Diego once again find CS used to oppress them.

William A. Delaney III
X 326531



Britain Adopts Taft-Hartley

On August 5 the Queen signed the British counterpart to America's Taft-Hartley. The Industrial Relations Bill was passed on the last day of a bitter session of Parliament, and signed at once and made law. (The following day was to be the last day for which the laid-off Upper Clyde shipyard workers were to be paid—see separate story.)

The chief purpose of the new Industrial Relations law is to end wildcat strikes. The bill is a reminder of Taft-Hartley not only in its provisions, but in the way it is being put across. American unions planned to void Taft-Hartley when it was passed by simply refusing to sign the affidavits required in its early days. But one union and then another did sign up, thus winning the right to raid "non-complying" unions whose names could not appear on the ballots in the raiding NLRB elections, thus pushing them into compliance.

British unions are taking a "we won't sign" stance too, and Victor Feather, the secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, told the press "It would be wrong to believe that now that the act is on the statute books, trade unions will co-operate."

At the time British labor is perhaps even more concerned with Tory pressures to get Britain into the European Economic Community in October. Unions anticipate that this will mean fewer jobs, higher food prices, the de-nationalization of coal and steel, and the forbiddance of government subsidy to any industry.

But despite these big issues, what really got folks mad in Britain was the 15-month sentence for obscenity to the young editors of the underground publication Oz, for an issue they arranged to be written by school kids for school kids.

Southern Resistance

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) announces that embracery charges against two of their field workers, Mike Honey and Martha Allen, have been dismissed in Kentucky. Embracery means trying to influence a jury. The trial was that of the Louisville "Black Six", accused of conspiring to blow up an oil refinery during turmoil in the city in May 1968. The two white field workers had sent out 1200 letters asking recipients to protest the treatment given the Six, and four got into the hands of prospective jurors. The Six were dismissed a year ago, and the two field workers have been dismissed now.

SCEF advises that 16 Black Panther Party members were to go to trial in mid-August in Memphis for trying to move ten poor black families into housing left vacant by the Memphis Housing Authority last January. The ten families were huddled in buildings with no plumbing or heat last winter, but are now in low-cost housing.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, protest mounts against the murder of Frankie Dunlap, a black youth, by a city policeman on June 24. The policeman frankly admits it, but claims that he shot because Dunlap threatened to attack him with his Afro hair comb.

In Tallahassee a trial is scheduled in August for the remaining three members of the Quincy Five, charged with killing a deputy sheriff in a store robbery last September. Two of the group were tried by an all-white jury from which all opponents of capital punishment had been removed, and one of them, David Keaton, was sentenced to death in the electric chair. The inconstancy of witnesses and the lack of fingerprints in a store where they are alleged to have spent 20 minutes handling many things makes the verdict suspect.

J. F. McDaniels

CONSPIRE TO FOBID FARM BOYCOTT

Big Farm Business has now definitely switched from its old position of no unions ever to a disposition to accept unions if they can be controlled.

It was farmers sitting in swivel chairs in skyscrapers who kept field workers out of the provisions of the Wagner Act and its modifications to date, so they could not demand elections and the right to bargain. But because they were exempt from the "benefits" of the National Labor Relations Act, they were also exempt from its ban on boycotts. To date it is the boycott power of friends of the Farm Workers, rather than their striking power, that has won concessions in California. So now some agribusiness heads ask: "Can't we extend them the right to hold elections and thus take away their boycott power?"

Current scheming is on the state level. The Farm Bureau in Oregon drew up a bill to the liking of its big business members, all filled with the language of the NLRA coupled, they said, with "recognition of the perishability of farm products", and got it passed. It provides that if a strike should threaten agriculture, there shall be a cooling-off period for fact-finding of such length that the strike would be useless at the end of the period, state elections to certify farm unions, a ban on boycotts, and exclusion from bargaining issues of all such substantial things as a voice in the control over pesticides to be used. Boycott power killed the bill. Governor McCall got calls from many points in the US and Canada urging a veto, and "said he had never seen such pressure against any measure in his 22 years in politics."

That Oregon bill was vetoed July 2, but the pressures it indicated still exist. On that occasion Jerry Cohen, attorney for the Farm Workers, assured farm workers from the Capitol steps that farmers should not worry so, and that "growers would not find the union unco-operative." The forces that have molded the labor movement into an accommodation to capitalism are at work here too. We may yet see three-year contracts in return for no boycotts, and a recognized union to ward off attempts to change the actual conditions of life. But in much of agriculture the needs for workers will remain seasonal, and apart from an arrangement whereby a farm worker sells his year to a mobile contractor working a series of crops, these farm workers will be mobile and the conditions under which they work will reflect the obligations and understandings which they develop among themselves. This understanding with one's fellow workers is the essence of unionism and remains the primary thing to build.

WOBBLY HIT IN WASHINGTON FOLK FEST

Utah Phillips, singing Wobbly and other labor songs at the Folk Song Festival in Washington DC, received front-and-center treatment in the Washington Post coverage of the event July 3, with several photos.

According to the Post hundreds joined in singing "There's a power, there's a power in a band of workingmen." Some of Utah's own songs plainly made a hit, most especially the one about "Little Ernesto, just turned two, who died in the fields where the warm fruit grew" (just outside Chicago a few years ago, in fields sprayed with parathion).

"Iron workers are building a two-story structure during the festival," reports the Post, "and they are also dispelling some myths of hard-hats. It's beautiful," Michael King of Birmingham, Alabama said of the festival. An iron worker for five years, he had wandered over to listen to the music of Utah Phillips and others."

Utah gave a benefit concert for the IWW in Chicago while passing through the city in June, and without the chance for us to let all our friends know. We are looking forward to his trip through town this fall again.

STEEL - MAN BLUES

If I was a steel-man, I'll tell you what I'd do
I'd roll up my fist and give it back to you
I'd throw you in the furnace and turn the heat up high
For the way you got me slavin' I'd gladly see you die.

If I was a steel-man, I'll tell you what I'd do
I'd get my steel brothers and go to fight you few
We'll take you from your office and put you on the line
I know that honest work will make you feel just fine.

If I was a steel-man, I'll tell you what I'd do
I'd raise up my steel voice to make it all come true
I'd gather up my brothers in lumber, oil, and coal
And we'd all come rollin' until we reached our goal.

If I was a steel-man, I'll tell you what I'd do
I'd take my steel body and dance upon the dew
All of my brothers and my sisters too
Dancin' all the night away to be free of you.

The Irish Cowboy

Take The Shame out of Welfare

The slump is pushing millions more on relief, and custodians of relief funds are coping with this by clamping down on expenditures of all sorts. By pushing a few off relief onto the less desirable jobs, they bring onto the relief rolls those who would otherwise have taken those jobs, but hope to gain a few weeks delay in feeding them. Accompanying all of this is continuous debasement of relief applicants.

Illinois orders that if the youth in some family on relief manages to make it to college, relief is cut. And the Federal Government backs this up in a brief to the US Supreme Court by Attorney General Griswold in which he admits that this policy "may have the unfortunate effect of perpetuating poverty and of discouraging some of the most able children of deprived families from realizing full potential."

This sort of issue unfortunately has not yet come up often, but it will. Some may say that if the kid can go to college he could take care of his family instead. If he did get a job he would simply put someone else out of work. The father of the better off student gets an exemption for the student, while the student on a summer job gets the same exemption for himself.

About 1200 delegates from the 800 locals of the 125,000-strong National Welfare Rights Organization convened in Providence early in August. One of their objects is to make "the invisible poor" highly visible. They figure the more visibility they have the less poverty they will suffer.

Los Tres Deffence Fund

The Criminal Syndicalism case against Ricardo Gonsalves, David Rico, and Carlos Calderon in San Diego has been postponed till October 18. In this issue is a piece on the past history of the Criminal Syndicalist Law by Bill Delaney, who has made a serious study of it. Support for the case by way of checks made out to Los Tres de Santiago Defense Committee should still be mailed to our IWW delegate there, Arthur Miller, Post Office Box 1332, San Diego, California 92112.

HARAST OLD TIMER

After his 42nd arrest, Robert Simpson, 81-year-old retired minister, asked the United States to protect him against the Sacramento police and against the State of California. He had been arrested 42 times for parading around the state capitol building with signs critical of Governor Reagan. Each arrest resulted in either dismissal or acquittal, but since his income is \$120 a month, and it costs him \$315 in bail each time he is arrested, he felt he needed the Federal Government to protect his rights under the 1st and 14th Amendments.

POWER PROFITS

The 100 largest power companies in the US reported after-tax net profits of 15% or more last year.

They do not believe that receipt of welfare is something to hide in shame. When Amtrack consolidated passenger runs on railroads, provision for those whose job was destroyed was negotiated, and there is no shame to this. When the cotton picker eliminated a lot of jobs in US agriculture, nothing was negotiated for those whose way to earn a living had been destroyed. Relief is often simply a belated and inadequate way to compensate for that neglect, and it need not be shameful.

Thinking on this situation is now being shaken up by Piven and Cloward's book "Regulating the Poor". The two professors from the Columbia University School of Social Work choose that title because history shows this is what relief work aims to do; that it is not designed to relieve the needs of the poor except so far as this relieves the fears of the rich. They are not worried about "the explosion of the relief rolls". They trace this to the cotton picker and a range of similar changes that have produced a large number of people for whom there are not jobs, who should have been schooled years ago, and to the way in which poverty reproduces itself in the urban ghetto. They say we should plan, for a steady expansion of the number on relief. To cope with ecological problems this society is quite likely to wind up providing absent-from-work pay for large numbers whose plants are shut down to cut down pollution. After all, John Wayne draws thousands of dollars of welfare.

Organizing Costs

The UAW financial statement in August Solidarity confirms that unions find it costs around a hundred dollars to organize each member. In 1970 organizational expenses of the UAW ran to \$3,310,567. The UAW participated in 400 recognition elections, and won 254, with around 32,500 potential members in the plants where it won out. This included its biggest victory in many years at National Cash Register.

Old Friends Pass On

C. B. Cowan died recently in Oakland at the age of 69. He had been in the Veterans Bonus March of 1931; active among the unemployed in Ohio, and with Revolutionary Workers' League (their candidate for president); on the Odell Walker Defense Committee; and in recent years in Bay Area anti-war demonstrations. Though not a Wobbly, he is known to many old-time members and some newer ones, who plan to sing Joe Hill songs at his August memorial meeting.

Several Wobs attended the funeral of Al Wysocki, old friend of the IWW, August 19. For years he had held the Charles A. Kerr Company, recently revived, together and had been the Secretary of the Proletarian Party. In the '30s, with the Machinists, he had been active in their Chicago stay-in strike.

James Revisited

Around fall of the year some fancy "educational" ad of a major corporation often revives the old stories about the first English colony in America, Jamestown, in the years 1607-1612. The story runs that these people played at bowling or slept in the sun instead of doing the work necessary to sustain themselves, and thus almost starved to death so long as they ate out of a common store. Then each was given his own little piece of land, and they became industrious and prospered.

Since they had come over as servants of the London Company with food and lodging to be provided by this employer, there was nothing more communistic about their eating out of the common store than there is about lumberjacks eating in the company mess hall; but to explain that might have undermined the intended moral.

A new look at this old story is taken by Edmund S. Morgan in the June 1971 issue of the American Historical Review. Morgan verifies that they did sleep in the sun, and when they had enough ambition got up a game of bowls, and did go hungry. In fact the marshy country and their poor food account for much of their behavior, just as they account for a lack of get-up-and-go for many with low-protein diets today here and there throughout the world. But with the equipment furnished them, and in their situation, there wasn't very much they could do.

Their past training in England, so far as they had any, was in some specialty not serviceable in this wilderness where each needed to be jack of all trades. Most of them had been drawn from either army or servant retinues unaccustomed to useful work. Further, the diligence of the modern working class had not yet been invented; people in England then expected to work only about half the time. Still further, they were not in command of themselves, but were to do what overseers arranged for them to do.

What got them out of these doldrums was an unexpected burst of prosperity when in 1612 they found that the tobacco they had raised sold at a high price in England. The technique used then for cultivating tobacco made the small garden idea for each man appropriate, but this was rather incidental in the transition from idleness and hunger to diligence and prosperity.

Thus there is no doubt a rather different moral from that which the corporation ads intend us to find in the early history of Jamestown: one with practical application in ending the benumbing poverty which afflicts alike urban ghettos and millions more in developing areas.



GENERAL CONVENTION

Our October issue (about September 20) will tell what happens at the General Convention which meets September 4 at the IWW Hall, 2440 North Lincoln, Chicago. There is much more basic than the wage freeze or devaluation of the dollar facing this convention, readying this organization for struggles ahead.

STOVER CASE

Ed Stover, charged with causing almost everything but the Los Angeles earthquake, is scheduled to go on trial September 23 in Department One of the Alameda County Courthouse at 12th and Fallon in Oakland. His friends suggest attendance to show concern and solidarity.

PICKET BALACLUTHA

An informational picket line has been maintained at Pier 43 near Fisherman's Wharf, San Francisco by Wobs explaining that Fellow Worker Tom Caputo was fired from his job on the Balacutha, historic old sailing ship moored there, for talking organization to his fellow workers.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE NORTHWEST

We left San Francisco on the night of July 2—Fellow Worker Jim Shawvan, myself, and Boxcar Juana (the latter a bit out of place in our old Ford)—on a trek through three states during which we were destined to exchange both friendship and organizing ideas with many wonderful fellow workers. We were loaded down with food, camping equipment, and Wobbly literature and stickers, which we posted generously along our route.

Even traveling at night through Northern California boondocks—land that had once been heavily forested—we were unable to forget the class struggle. At Ukiah (that's haiku spelled backwards) we sat next to several workers drinking coffee at a cafe who were on strike at Masonite, which makes wallboard. Gun thugs had just been called to terrorize strikers after a scab foreman was hurt in an industrial accident.

Singing Wobbly songs, we headed north along the coast, which was fast becoming inaccessible to the people through growing land purchases by developers and wealthy individuals. Noon of the next day in Coos Bay, an Oregon lumbering town and deep water port, we were told that the ILWU had things so well under control in the current longshoremen's strike that they didn't even bother to picket. It's spectacularly beautiful through here, with Scotch broom everywhere among fantastic rock shapes along the seashore, but not so beautiful further inland, where rednecks attack hippy communes. Scanning a newspaper over our coffee, we learn that the Oregon Governor has just vetoed a repressive compulsory bargaining law for farm workers, but it looks as though an almost equally bad law will soon be on the books anyway. Also we learn to our dismay that the longshoremen in Vancouver, British Columbia have been unloading ships diverted there and not supporting fellow workers in the States—a situation that could not exist if the One Big Union had the docks organized.

Greatly exhausted from driving all night—traveling Wobs can't afford to stay in luxury motels—we refreshed ourselves by wading for cockles in a shallow bay, and gathered up around 60 of these small shellfish in an hour or so for our dinner.

Then we headed inland, and soon were in view of John Reed's city, Portland, and were overwhelmed by the sublime sight of snow-capped Mount Hood to the east, reminding us of man's aspiration not only for bread, but for soaring love and beauty. But beauty is little consolation for the poor and unemployed who wander the streets of the city where the late Arthur Boose, veteran of the Mesabi strike, not so long ago was selling the Industrial Worker. (Boose was referred to in a 1946 magazine article by Stewart Holbrook as "The Last of the Wobblies"!)

Here we stamped up old-timer Elmer Anderson and went on to spend the night under the stars in the back yard of Fellow Workers Mike and Tricia Brown. Next day we had an encouraging and enlightening get-together with the Browns, FW Alvin Stalcup, and four of about a dozen members who are organizing a small factory where they work. FW Ellen Heard (the others didn't want their names mentioned for obvious reasons) said that good progress had been made at the plant and that there was growing interest in an IWW newsletter that is issued regularly to the employees. Members wishing to know more about this should write to the Portland address listed in this paper's directory of delegates or see the May GOB: The Portland members are asking for help in organizing and researching other plants of the same corporation in the vicinity of Los Angeles, Toledo, and some other areas.

A couple of days later we were in Tacoma, last home of Ralph and Edith Chaplin. The author of "Solidarity Forever" died there in 1961, and his wife a few years later. Here we visited Otilie Markholt, a most remarkable woman with a thorough knowledge of the labor movement and one of Chaplin's closest friends. Otilie told us IWW activity in Tacoma in recent weeks had included demonstrating for peace, leafleting the unemployment office, and of course recruiting members. Otilie has been closely involved in the struggle for racial equality for several years, and has had articles published in Negro Digest and other publications.

In Tacoma we also met Fellow Worker Fred Beauchamp, an ex-logger who joined the IWW in 1914. Beauchamp said he was the stationary delegate in Wenatchee when the hall was raided in 1917, and spent 14 months in jail following the raid. Two days after the invasion of the IWW hall in Centralia in 1919 Beauchamp went there to investigate the tragedy personally, and after a thorough investigation he became convinced that Wesley Everest was the only Wobbly to fire in self-defense at the attacking mob; yet eight other fellow workers spent long years in confinement for merely being present when Everest defended his life.

On to Seattle, brooded over by another fantastic snowy mountain, Rainier, picking up a lone hitchhiker in this state in which hitchhiking is illegal. "I've been busted ten times for hitchhiking," he told us, "but I'm too poor to buy a car—and I don't think I'd want to add to pollution even if I could afford one." So we gave him an IW to show him how we can all change this state of affairs.

In Seattle we visited FW Stan Iverson at the ID Bookstore, and the brilliant anarchist writer Louise Crowley. That night we were guests of a wonderful old Norwegian-born Wobbly, Herb Edwards, who spent 3 1/2 years in San Quentin on a Criminal Syndicalism rap in the 1920s, was run out of Eureka, California with Elmer Smith by a mob of Legionnaires, and at 77 is one of our most dedicated members.

Seattle, scene of the 1919 General Strike, where President Wilson was stunned in a 1920 parade when he was greeted by icy silence for block after block of Wobblies with folded arms, today is a prize exhibit of the cruel follies of capitalism. With one of the highest unemployment rates in the nation and large sections of the huge Boeing plant closed down, the king's agriculture department has just said no to a request by the City Council and state legislators for surplus food for hungry workers. Let them eat mercury-poisoned fish.

How much more reasonable it would be to continue working to produce some useful product without making the payoff to the capitalist Mafia, while guaranteeing all these coupon clippers work along with other unemployed persons. Some Wobs here have leafleted workers driven out of their work places. Seattle could be the beginning of the Wobblies' Big Work-In, Teach-In, Love-In in all the factories and fields—a modification and extension of the General Strike.

Next day we headed east over the north slope of beautiful Rainier to Yakima. To round a turn at 6,000 feet and see this frozen colossus blazing upward through scintillating icy mist is breathtaking—and suggests there must be something more noble for man than to slave so that a privileged few can destroy themselves, and others, by extravagant self-indulgence. By nightfall we were sloping down into the apple, cherry, and pear orchards of Yakima to stay with FW Lord.

The next day we drove 15 miles south through the heart of Yakima Valley to visit long-time delegate George Underwood and his part-Indian wife Ruby. George let us tape his reminiscences of riding the freights and living in Wobbly jungles (which we're sending to IWW headquarters) and filled us in on the farm labor situation. UFWOC won contracts at some of the hop ranches here last year, and wages have improved, but farmers still seek and get far more workers than they need in the area, causing unemployment and hunger for many, low pay and bad conditions for many, and top pay of \$2 an hour for a few.

After many years of working in the crops, organizing, and helping stage a number of small Wobbly strikes that have resulted in pay increases, FW Underwood has an expert knowledge of the area, and he directed us to an orchard paying the top rate of \$2. (After working thinning sugar beets with a short-handled hoe for 70¢ an hour when I was 20, I resolved that whether I had to or not, each year I would spend at least a few days at a similar job to retain a more realistic perspective on life.) We found the orchard, and a foreman told us to be there at 7:30 the next day. Yes, they pay at the end of each day's work.

When we got to the orchard early next morning, however, we were told that we wouldn't get our pay until noon of the day following, which would throw us off our schedule. This is one of the ways John Farmer makes life miserable for migrant workers. We decided to go to work, though, and soon were high on precarious ladders thinning pears. Our fellow workers, about 15 in number, were divided about evenly between Chicanos and Anglos. FW Shawvan and I belted out a few stanzas of "The Popular Wobbly", "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum", and a couple of other Wobbly songs as we worked.

We both found working in the fresh warm air not unpleasant, and it gave us a good feeling to know that a useful contribution to society was being made. At least this was the feeling I had for the first two or

three hours. Later on, when I was more tired and figured I was into the surplus value part of the work day, I felt a lot less enthusiastic.

At 10 a.m., a little weary in the growing heat, I asked the foreman when we would get a rest break. "At noon," he said. "You mean we've got to work 4 1/2 hours right through?" "I've been doing it 15 years," he says. (Walking around spying on the workers, he means.) "You can work a hell of a lot better with a break now and then," I got in the last word as he walked off. So I walked leisurely to the farm house a quarter mile away for a drink of water, and he either didn't notice or didn't dare object.

At noon we munched sandwiches and chatted with our Chicano and Anglo co-workers. One Chicano fellow about 18 seemed particularly interested in our IWW literature, and agreed to come visit us in town after work to learn more about the Wobblies.

By 4 p.m. we amateur farm workers were pretty pooped and I had a headache, and as a matter of pride we decided to express a little independence by taking off an hour early. The foreman didn't object openly, but didn't seem too happy, either. Tough. The fellow slaves all waved at us as we drove off through the orchard.

After a bath and dinner we felt better, but I won't forget the day's hard work and low pay for awhile, and I feel my class consciousness has received a valuable shot in the arm. Our Chicano fellow worker arrived and spent a good hour with us learning about the IWW and teaching us what it had been like to do farm work at starvation wages since the age of 12. Later we visited and stamped up another Wobbly old-timer, Pete Miller, and felt we had done a decent day's work, both to feed society and for the organization.

Next day we got our checks and were off on the road to Leavenworth (Washington, that is), a small town nestled at the bottom of beetling snow-capped cliffs. Here we visited Fellow Workers Dixie and Neil Logan, who helped organize the town of Bishop, California in the 1940s, when the IWW swamped the local Fakeration in an election at a large vanadium mine, and went on to line up all of the town's cafe and tavern workers and the like. Then on east through some level wheat country and a night of sleeping on pine needles in the Spokane jungle—now a city park where they soak you \$1.75 for the crime of being sleepy.

Next morning we visited a local Wobbly hangout, pasted up some stickers, and then headed on east to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, the scene of many hard-fought, violent strikes involving the Western Federation of Miners and Wobblies. From there we headed south to Potlatch and Moscow and back west to nearby Pullman, Washington. Moscow is the location of the University of Idaho, and Pullman of Washington State. Unfortunately the local delegate, Jerry Calvert, who had signed up around 40 members in the area, was out of town, but FW Ingrid Stevens filled us in on some of the activity. The Wobblies, who, among other things, played a vital role in picketing the WU cafeteria until they started using UFWOC lettuce, had lined up a number of off-campus workers, and were contemplating sharing the work of the oppressed and underpaid school janitors.

Later we visited two loggers who are PhD candidates from Bavaria. They not only have a large library of valuable books on syndicalism and related topics, but are continually promoting their IWW ideas at work and on campus.

The next morning FW Shawvan left us to hitch to Glacier Park in Montana, and Boxcar Juana and I headed back west to Olympia to visit friends. The next evening I appeared on a television show in Olympia to discuss the IWW. I don't know what effect I had on the viewers, but I did sign up the lovely gal who interviewed me,

(continued on Page 7)

PREAMBLE

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

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

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping 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 everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

(continued from Page 6)

Naomi Duke, who had been fired from her secretarial job shortly before, the day after her boss saw her dancing with a black man.

I did my best to present the principles of the IWW, discuss what we were doing now, and comment on current problems: (1) Hunger in Seattle: We can easily provide for free food for everyone. (2) Welfare: The paper shufflers and the clients should get together, elect a job committee, and produce something of value at the illfare offices, with a four-hour day and equal pay for all. (3) Evergreen College, the new experimental school in Olympia: Students should all share in campus work instead of paying full tuition, and money saved could provide part-time work and courses also for the people who would have been hired. Evergreen didn't line up as a body, but two more workers did take out red cards after the show.

Next day, the 14th (Bastille Day), I went back to Tacoma to do some work on the Centralia tragedy for an introduction to a reprint of Ralph Chaplin's "The Centralia Conspiracy", which the IWW's Armadillo Press in Austin, Texas will publish soon.

Back to Seattle to meet still more Wobs and help FW Herb Edwards put a roof on his house. I was reminded of how hard stoop labor is, which many rednecks think should be reserved for Chicanos or blacks when it is for low wages in the fields, but not when it pays a little better up closer to the sun. Since Herb, unlike the boss in Yakima, does allow coffee breaks, I had time to read the new letter from Cheyenne in between hammering.

In the afternoon I took Herb to the Seattle tax office, where there were eight clerks to wait on two customers. Now I knew why there was a nine-hour day in the orchard in Yakima: If six of the clerks had been there thinning pears with us, and the payoff to the farmer had been cut out, we could have all worked four hours and come out at least as well. See you at the Convention!

Pear-Shaped Shorty

DOWN ON THE FARM

Over 2,700,000 farmers have abandoned farming since 1950. The farm population has fallen meanwhile from 23,000,000 to 8,700,000. A great part of the decline in farm population has been due to the black movement from the land to the ghetto. In 1950 there were 560,000 black-operated farms. Today there are only 98,000. Total black farm population fell from 3,158,000 to 938,000.

The top 137,000 farmers, or less than 5% of all farmers, received 46% of the \$3,700,000,000 subsidy payment in 1970. Eight others got over a million dollars.

This data is from the new report on the Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1970, issued by the National Sharecropper Fund.

NOT HALF JOBLESS DRAW BENEFITS

Although more than 5,500,000 Americans are unemployed, only 2,117,867 are now drawing unemployment benefits, according to the US Labor Department.

Knowledge Factories Need Union

An increasing part of the world's work is being done on campus, and an increasing portion of the working class serves time there.

In the Twenties, when the population ran to 115,000,000 people, there were fewer than 800,000 students, teachers, and researchers, or less than seven-tenths of one per cent of the population.

Today there are more teachers alone than this 1926 total. In a population of 200,000,000 we have 915,000 teachers, and 15,557,000 students in our institutions of higher education, plus 1,034,000 teachers and 19,563,000 students in high schools. This adds up to 37,000,000, or 18.5% of the population, living and working as either students or teachers. Add the hundreds of thousands of non-academic wage workers needed to keep the plants running, and it should be plain that education is no longer an industry to be excluded from working class action.

Consider some other occupational shifts. In 1926 about 31,000,000 lived on farms, of whom 3,000,000 were wage workers. Today 10,000,000 live on farms, of whom only 400,000 are there as wage workers. Today we have 75,000,000 employed, not including some 4,000,000 in the Military, but 43,000,000 of today's 75,000,000 wage workers are in service-related industries.

We have been told that the period one spends as a student is a period of transition from dependence on one's parents to self dependence in a chosen career. But this process is not exclusive to students. We all grow out of dependence on parents. Young people used to pick up and head off before getting through high school "to earn their fortune" or find work at which to earn a living. They used to wander around the country taking various temporary jobs

STUDENTS WIN FOR CLEANERS

In July students at Lancaster University, England, through picket lines and eventual sit-ins, raised the wages of cleaners — largely women — from \$16.80 a week to \$19.60.

First a socialist women's group on the campus had campaigned for better working conditions for the cleaners, and 22 of the 35 cleaners had joined the Transport and General Workers Union.

Negotiations won them nothing, so they began staging one-hour token strikes with a hundred or two hundred students joining in the daily demonstrations. The Student Federation then decided to occupy the Administration Building. The cleaners were then told: "Call off the strike and we'll listen to your demands."

The Cleaners stood pat and joined the occupiers in University House. There the portion of the staff not out — porters and security personnel — showed solidarity by serving some tea to the occupying forces. (Guards here please take notice.) After three days they won \$2.80 a week — a 17% increase.

The Socialist Leader, reporting this, concluded "a new era of student-worker relations is opening up", and it is seen now that students are not a pampered section of the ruling class...their labour is controlled and directed toward the never-ending accumulation of surplus value just like that of any member of the working class."

until some steady one turned up. Today instead young people are classified and herded into schools, the Military, and apprenticeship. The young folks doing the most wandering today are students who stay in school to avoid the Military or to avoid remaining at the bottom of the wage scale. They wander on their thumbs rather than on rails, and the several million jobs that existed for migratory workers in the Twenties have been reduced to less than half a million today. Most will become wage or salaried workers.

Today the schools provide a permanent, dependable, and accessible labor pool for owners of industry to draw on. This is not the sort of labor pool they needed in 1926; it is the sort of labor pool their technology requires today.

These students find the campuses their work place just as much as do the faculty and staff members who work at the college. Their education is as much their own product as it is that of the faculty or staff. All three need to participate in the control and management of their work place to see that it serves their needs and the needs of mankind rather than the purposes of a war machine. They can't do much about this without organization.

Jim Bumpas

LOTS A TEACHERS

The National Education Association reckons that if the supply of new teachers and the demand for them continue at the present trend, by 1975 we'll have a supply of 700,000 who have graduated as teachers but have no teaching jobs.

Suspicious Youth

David Gottlieb studied a large sample, 11,000, of young people who had put in a hitch for VISTA. He found that 48% of those under thirty years old were suspicious of all government-sponsored programs for social change.

OLD REBEL DIES

Louis Tarcai, 89-year-old rebel, died recently in Cleveland. Before this century began he was already a radical student in Hungary, and when he got a teacher license he opened the first school on anarchist principles for children, on the estate of Count Betheny.

Despite his youth, Louis was prominent in the socialist movement of Hungary. He came to America, and in 1911, at age 28, he established the Elore, first Hungarian socialist daily here. Later he edited a weekly Enlightening, which he soon merged into the IWW Hungarian paper Bermunkas. In the '30s he edited a regular "bourgeois" daily Hungarian paper in Cleveland, and his factual reporting of IWW strike activity in that city was much liked by the many Hungarian members we had there, in and out of IWW shops.

Some years after his retirement from journalism Louis made himself technically eligible to join the IWW, and proudly did so. Those who attended 1968 and 1970 conventions will recall the few impressive words he spoke at each. An inveterate journalist, he issued a one-page Bulletin in Hungarian on IWW plans and related matters until his death.

FREE PEOPLES WHEELS

For two years Cambridge students have been driving mail trucks converted into public busses, no fare charged, as part of their Ecology Action. They explain that "Private cars isolate people and foul the air; imagine a city on free wheels."

Their basic trip is the entire length of Massachusetts Avenue, but they do go a few blocks out of their way to lug an old lady's groceries home. They are hoping to get donations to expand the program. They do accept donations up to \$3 per day for gas and oil, and then refuse all further donations.

Too Many Degrees

The American Business Community is starting to discourage advanced education. Business Week, Fortune, and other similar publications for over a year now have been asking "Is that degree necessary?". The July newsletter of the Federal Reserve Board of Chicago compares 1960 and 1970 figures: population rose 14%, employment rose 20% from 65.8 million to 78.6 million, but the students in institutions of higher learning more than doubled, from 3.6 million to 7.6 million.

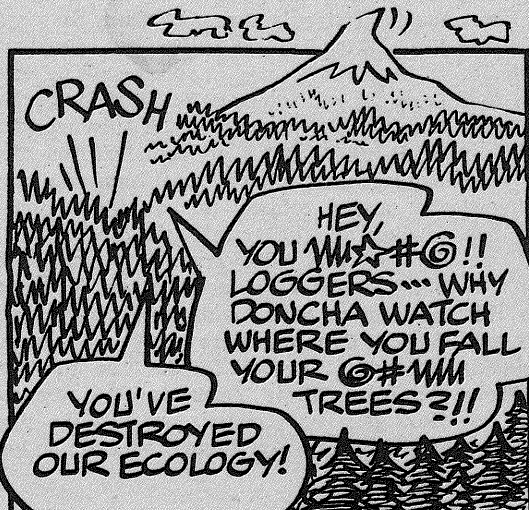
They have gone there in the expectation that a degree gives them more interesting work at higher pay. They find that a mere MA (the sort of degree guys like Bertrand Russell had) doesn't get one very far past dishwashing, and so go on to graduate school. Last year 185,000 got a bachelor's degree, and 244,000 a master's, and 31,000 a PhD. The business class is beginning to ask whether it really needs so many highly trained hands.

Maybe they revert to some old maxims. R S Montague cites some in an article on class consciousness:

"A few decades ago a member of the House of Lords, in voting against an appropriation for schools, remarked: 'When the horse knows as much as the rider, I don't want to be on his back.' In the United States, the president of Columbia University, Nicholas M. Butler, expressed the same fear: 'An educated proletariat is a constant source of disturbance and danger to any nation.' In the days of Russian feudalism Catherine II said to the Governor of Moscow: 'As soon as our peasants develop a taste for learning, neither you nor I will remain in our places.'"

As Montague reflects: "In the past it was sufficient for capitalism to teach the working class what to think. Today for the efficient management and organization of this highly technical mode of production it has become necessary to educate the working class to think and make the best use of their brains."

But still, ask the bankers, wouldn't it be safer to give them strictly vocational and technical training instead of exposing them to folks who discuss all sorts of ideas? So raise the tuition rates, or make financing the course a bit harder.



Clydeside Workers Resist Being Liquidated

(continued from Page 1)

UCS enterprise in which the government owns 48% of the stock, and turning over the better units and the additional business to private enterprise in the Lower Clyde. It said it was with this plan in mind that a more modern yard, Yarrow's, which with the other five had been placed in 1968 in the UCS consortium, had been pulled out last year, and been given working capital only after it had been pulled out.

The shortage of working capital goes all the way back to 1968, when the UCS was founded on government initiative as part of the way the rich practice welfare among themselves. At the time the Shipping Board granted \$13.2 million to the consortium, but of this only \$3.6 million was actually invested.

"The rest was divided among the five old companies to compensate for orders they might have received if not for the merger" wrote Jim Smith of Edinburgh in the August issue of *Workers' Power*. He points to policy of "destroying nationalized industries, returning the profitable parts modernised by state capital to private enterprise". (Despite an 87% increase in productivity, the Tory press says yards shut down because workers were lazy.)

On June 23 about 60,00 workers in the Clydeside area met in a mammoth protest. The speech of Jim Airlie, chairman of the Clyde Shop Stewards' Committee, was summarized in the July 3 *Socialist Leader* thus: "He pointed out that the previous owners had bled the industry white, leaving fortunes to their heirs and nothing but a legacy of misery to workers. He warned the government that his parents had suffered in the Twenties in the Hunger Marches but the workers today had no intention of letting the Tory government make them hungry."

The prospect of losing 7,500 jobs all at once in this area hit the harder because of the bleak situation already facing it. David Truner reported from Clydeside in the *London Tribune* of June 25: "In the last two years some 50,000 jobs have been lost in Scotland through redundancy alone, and 506 factories have been closed. There are areas in Scotland where unemployment is already running at between 15 and 17% and the overall male unemployment rate in the West of Scotland is 9.6%." He reports a session of 160 shop stewards committees preparing for that June 23 protest:

"The Government's move to guarantee pay until August 6, even if work is not available, has placated no one at UCS; indeed it has heightened their suspicions. The reason was, summed up by boilermaker representative James Ramsay: 'When our members go outside the yard we lose communications — and when you lose communications you lose the battle.' So one of the first decisions of the shop stewards was that no one should go home

on paid suspension. 'We are not leaving the yards, and if you want us out, come and get us. This is the message to the liquidator,' said UCS Convenor James Airlie."

There has been enthusiastic response to the proposal that the workers stay there and run the yards. But how will they do it? What products would they turn out? The shop-steward committee spoke of the 90 million pounds (\$216 million) of unfilled orders. But apart from making some settlement with the enemy, how can they get money to pay themselves so they can pay rent for their homes and the grocer for their food? Where would they get the materials needed to complete the orders?

London *Freedom* of June 26 quoted the official liquidator as saying that he could stop workers' occupation at once "simply by lifting up the phone and instructing the suppliers to cut off the water, electricity, gas, and other essential materials." John Lawrence observes in this *Freedom* article that what truth there is in this liquidator threat depends on what the workers in the power plants and other sources of supply do. He asks: "Would you meekly obey orders to cut off supplies to a bunch of workmen who, rather than be shoved on the dole, had decided to run the yards themselves?" He goes on further to point out that shipyards do not have to confine their production to battleships and luxury liners:

"They could, for example, build ships

specially designed to house the homeless, which could be bought by housing authorities in seaports like Glasgow, Liverpool, and London to provide homes for thousands who are now forced to live in appalling conditions. Or they could make prefabricated homes. Shipyards have made them before. Or dredges to clear our canals. Or sewage plants to help stop pollution of the rivers and the sea. They could do all these things providing that we didn't stand aside and let the State close them down and force them on the dole to rot."

And that should bring us back to Lockheed and 1971 collective bargaining here. It has become as widely accepted today as it once was that the earth was flat that workers can continue to get increases in pay only by corresponding increases in productivity. But productivity in what? We could become three times as productive in turning out bombers and other harmful things, and still not have enough food to eat no matter how much green paper we got in our pay envelopes. Or we could lower productivity to some irksome clumsy slowdown pace and still have plenty to live on if our work was shifted to production of useful things.

Collective bargaining to hold on to jobs, bargaining about what to do about pollution, bargaining about shifting from war to peaceful production, bargaining about where the work should get done, bargaining about how to get us new furniture, better

meals, and decent homes — all of this from now on requires that we take a large-scale view of what ought to be produced and where. It requires a growing insistence that we be allowed to do our work well and to do work worth doing. Modern technology requires that we begin to think of "the emancipation of the working class" in such down-to-earth steps as the generation of our own plans for operation of industry, widespread understanding and acceptance of these plans, and general commitment when the time comes for none of us to do our work otherwise.

The worker occupation at Clydebank on July 31 was an inspiration to shop stewards at the government-owned River Don drop forging works. They faced loss of 6,000 jobs on a similar deal as the government owned British Steel Corporation shuffles more profitable operations to Thomas Firth or John Brown and acquires or retains only the less profitable. They plan the same action.

On August 10, SAC (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation), the 24,000 - strong syndicalist union of Sweden, sent greetings to Clydeside:

"We wish to express a wholehearted sympathy and solidarity with you in your united action to take over the management of your shipyards under control of your unions. We also support your continuous struggle for every man's inalienable right to a meaningful job and to self-respect. We consider your action to be of great historical importance and a victory for the British working class...even if you, against all hopes, momentarily will not attain all your goals."

The labor movement of Britain is torn by various issues, especially the question of whether to enter the European Economic Community in October; but Wilson, head of the Labor Party, came to the work-in at Clydebank to give it his official blessing: "I am here on behalf of the labor movement to assert your right to work."

SO YOU WANT TO BE
A WORKING-CLASS HERO?

by Patrick Murfin

Remember the great steel strike that almost was, but wasn't? We were visited by three very earnest young men who wanted to do something about the steel strike, or rather to do something with it. A big conference in Lansing...important ideological battles...political realignments... Their seriousness could not have been questioned. They never smiled.

What sort of support for the strike had they in mind? Picket lines, support funds, leaflets? No, rather a coalition of welfare recipients, street people, ecology people, and a good leadership to point out the political implications.

Were any steel workers in on this? Yes, there was one. We shouldn't expect a lot of brainwashed workers, they told us, to have the correct analysis.

There is a point to this long sad story about earnest young men and women who want to become working-class heroes. The point is this: The working class do not need leaders to know what is best for them. People know where they are hurting. To be sure there is a lot of confusion and misinformation, but over lunch buckets and in bars there is the basic understanding: There are the rich and then there are us. Here is where education is important; education, not propaganda. Another thing: Don't be afraid of being part of the working class. It's even better than being a leader.

PLUSH ANTI-POVERTY

The Southwest Association of Community Action Agencies met in mid-August at the Playboy Plaza Hotel in Miami Beach. They planned to consider poverty problems at poolside cocktail parties with a moonlight boat ride, the latter at the expense of an insurance company that does business with the agencies. Florida anti-poverty folk objected.



BERNIE OLSEN

JAILED FOR SILENCE

Bernie Olsen, the fellow whose smiling face accompanies this item, is in jail in Tucson for not talking.

The grand jury asked Bernie questions about folks in the movement. Bernie, after reading newspapers off and on this year, evidently figured it just wasn't very good manners to talk to grand juries about movement people behind their backs, and refused to answer their questions. So they locked him up, no one can tell for how long.

This grand jury thing is a way to jail dissenters without even charging them with having done anything bad, or having said anything bad, or even having thought anything bad. Bernie is being defended by the Tucson Grand Jury Defense Committee, 412 North Fourth Avenue, Tucson, Arizona, and as usual they would like some money for legal expenses, leaflets, and the like.

In Tucson grand juries have shown that they can keep folks locked up a long time. One grand jury there started investigating the Los Angeles underground, holding its hearings in Tucson on the allegation that dynamite may have been purchased there for use in Los Angeles. That grand jury subpoenaed five from Los Angeles. They refused to testify. They were offered "transactional immunity" (a promise that their own skin would not be hurt), and since they still wouldn't talk were put in jail for as long as the grand jury sat. This was for six months. That grand jury was then dismissed and another one appointed. It subpoenaed the five again. Three of them answered the questions, and two were not called. It could go on indefinitely.

This year across the country the grand

juries have descended in a sort of plague. In Boston they quizzed the press over the Pentagon secrets. In Detroit they asked about the Mayday Collective and the White Panthers. In Brooklyn they quizzed women about what happened to some government records. In Washington they subpoenaed three who refused to testify, but indicted Abbie Hoffman for crossing state lines with riotous thoughts under his hairdo. In New York City they subpoenaed a dozen, but dropped this and indicted Leslie Bacon, saying she conspired to firebomb a bank. In Seattle they subpoenaed only Leslie Bacon and asked her questions about Ann Arbor; she refused to testify and is now out on bail. In L.A. they asked about draft counseling and the Bank of America.

But the most grandiose of grand juries is the medieval one in Harrisburg, sitting on Father Berrigan, saying he planned to make a citizen's arrest of Henry Kissinger for plotting war and calling it a conspiracy to kidnap, engaging in such occult practice from the cell where he is jailed for earlier burning of draft records. It subpoenaed 11 in January, and 8 of them testified after being granted transactional immunity while the others refused on grounds of priest penitent or similar relations of confidence. In April this same grand jury subpoenaed 23, of whom 21 refused to testify and are now out on bail. Inside Danbury Prison in August five prisoners went on a hunger strike in support of the two Berrigan Brothers. Their demands: that the two Berrigans be paroled, and that the tiger cages on Con Son Island, Vietnam be kept closed.

HARRIS WANTS NAVY VOTES

(Continued from page 1)

along side one of these ships and just work out along side of the ships in the harbor and there is nothing against the law about that. The nice thing about short periods of time for work, is it takes about that long to get the law passed too. At this point all they could do is to send a navy patrol boat. Plus a lot of community support. We're going to get everybody who can or wants to involved in the project. One of the things we tried to do with the resistance is to make it clear that the choice is between having an army or not having an army. I think, in general, in terms of being able to raise and maintain an army, the government is in a much more difficult position than it would like to be. And it is getting more difficult all the time. And I think the way that they're going to try to get out of that is to make their armed forces really a technological proposition. And what they want to be able to do is to get into a situation and set up radar posts every ten feet, and when they go "beep" blow the shit out of them with a B-52 so no American soldiers get scratched. But they don't have all the technology available to them to do that in a year. They will in the future, but it's a question as to whether you can cut them off from other kinds of support before they can get in that position.