

THE REVOLUTIONARY

I am of the exploited;
Of Exploited Humankind;
I am of those who suffer and sweat,
Who toil and create the wealth of the Earth:
For I am of those who are robbed—
Whose stomachs are plundered
By worms with wolves heads.

I am of the order-takers;
Of Order-taking Humankind;
I am of those who are regimented,
Who are the pawns of the Manipulators:
For I am of those with a number and not a name—
Whose lives are not their own,
And are imprisoned at birth.

But I am also of those who revolt:
Of Revolutionary Humankind;
I am of those who will not be subjugated,
Who will not stay on their knees:
For I am of those who struggle—
Whose sinews and vision will soon prevail,
And we, the People, will be our own Masters.

Michael Tobin
Chelmsford Prison, England (1972)

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
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THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD 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 the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things in life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise 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 organisation 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 wages 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 organised, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Bosses on Protracted Go-Slow

With unemployment varying between 1¼ and 1⅔ million (depending on whose figure you take) are we as industrial unionists surprised at the labour movement calmly acquiescing in the Government's slashing of public services? Do we spend enough time talking to our fellow workers about the reasons for the cuts in services? It would appear not, because still too many rank and file workers believe they are necessary to save us all from a worsening crisis, that if there are no profits, there are no jobs and consequently nothing to eat, so we all die. Therefore to prevent this, long live the boss. We'll go without the wage increases needed to try and regain something from our continually declining standard of living. We'll go without our public services so profits can be restored and increased, so that there will be more investment and more jobs, so we can increase productivity and hence our standard of living.

OK, that's what we are doing, sacrificing. What is the boss doing? It appears to this writer at least that the Government has omitted to tell the boss that, although 'his' workers are making sacrifices, he must do something too. In other words, the Government expects private enterprise to provide the job opportunities that public enterprise is being compelled to deny the unemployed of all ages. But school and university leavers have no real unions (apart from the IWW) until they become employed. The government also hopes that severely reducing vacancies in public enterprise will give the capitalists here and abroad the confidence to invest in Britain.

Apart from the mid-1974 to mid-1975 and 1970-72 there has been statutory or virtually statutory restrictions on full collective bargaining since July 1966, and this seems likely to continue, so for this time the unions have been effectively chained. Meanwhile unemployment has increased and productivity hasn't. Capitalism has been decaying even while it protests that the incentive to invest is not there. What more do they want? There is no real scarcity of credit or finance. The disposable income of industrial companies (after dividends and tax) has been forecast to rise by over 80% from 1977. In June 1976 the Retail Price Index (RPI) was 156 (1974=100) so that even if inflation were to stay at a steady rate, the RPI would be 170.

This would mean a significant improvement in both the nominal and real value of industrial companies' income. After the low level of capital expenditure by the firms there will be still a considerable surplus of company profit. So the Government reduces public investment and curtails services already pared to the bone in some cases, and firms are keeping investment below the resources available to them. They are not even replacing obsolete equipment, let alone investing in additional new equipment to create more output and jobs. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence to show that a good proportion of the low level of capital expenditure is going on labour-saving machinery.

I make no apologies for closing with an extensive quote from the Director of the Centre for Investment Studies (*Times*, 4 August 1976):

"If one looks at the matter objectively, it seems that a left-wing government is doing everything that could reasonably be expected to make the private enterprise manufacturing company the vehicle for the United Kingdom's economic growth. Wage costs, even with the new National Insurance rates, are being held down well below what many companies, if left to themselves, would be prepared to pay. Sterling has been guided sharply downwards, to the benefit of exporters and profit margins generally. Corporate tax has been reduced very sharply in real terms and net of grants will take only 12% of company income in 1976 as compared with 20% in 1974. Free depreciation and accelerated investment grants have helped returns available from capital projects by whatever system they are evaluated. The United Kingdom's investment incentives, according to a recent survey, are now the most favourable in Europe. The Price Code, which while an irritation, should properly be seen in the context of the advantages companies obtain from wages policy—and has at least been relaxed."

So whichever way you look at it capitalists are not setting about the task of saving capitalism. That leaves the way clear for all us workers to smash the beast once and for all time. To replace production for profit by production for use, abolition of wage slavery, replaced by workers self-management, and community control over our own lives and our own affairs. WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT? Now is the time to ORGANIZE.

THINK SHRINK I.B.M.....

Perhaps many fellow workers will remember in the not-too-distant past, when there was a pathetic attempt by British trade unions to organize and seek recognition in one of the world's most powerful corporations, IBM. Naturally, they failed.

Unions' Failure

They failed for two main reasons. Firstly, the money and resources available to IBM (surplus value stolen from workers) are gargantuan. A tiny proportion of this was sufficient to mount a publicity and propaganda campaign demolishing the unions' arguments. Secondly, the unions themselves were not organized. IBM plant management was organised and backed up by the world-wide corporate power of IBM. Industrial unionists can see the folly and patheticism of several trade unions, whose main membership does not lie in the computer industry, competing for members against a firm with a single objective—to stop unionization.

Industrial Union Needed

To fight a world-wide power like IBM, a world-wide organization of workers is necessary. Only an organization on an industrial basis can succeed. This organization can only come from IBM workers themselves, organized on democratic lines on the job, not in a bureaucratic and hierarchical manner, insensitive to workers' needs and demands through being remote from the job.

It is this type of organization that corporations such as IBM fear most. They would be willing to recognize ineffectual trade unions, easily bought off, before accepting the existence of democratic and revolutionary industrial unionism. To hinder its development, IBM will give generous pay rises, ostensibly to show that workers don't need unions; the IBM family will look after you. IBM profits remain huge because these pay rises come from the surplus value produced by IBM workers working harder in the 'interests of company and employee alike'. Oh yeah? More importantly, the wage rises of IBM workers in the western, technologically advanced world, come from surplus value produced by IBM workers in third world countries such as Nigeria, India etc. These emerging nations are keen to develop computer industries. They are therefore too willing to co-operate with companies such as IBM in order to gain this technology. Consequently they force their own citizens in the form of IBM workers to comply

with the requirements of IBM. Result, low wages, poor conditions, inferior equipment, remission of profit to the USA.

What could British trade unions do to combat this? Their declared aims are to protect and improve the living standards of their members. This means ultimately pitting one set of IBM workers against another. Who gains? IBM, not the unions.

A world-wide solidarity amongst IBM workers prevents such worker conflicts. They are united against the common enemy and can prevent the movement of capital and resources in/out of countries by IBM. In fact effective control of the production process, of distribution, of use, is in the hands of those who work at IBM.

It is this IBM are committed to prevent. It is this IBM Workers United (IBMWU) is committed to bring into effect. So pernicious and powerful are IBM, that IBMWU is at present a semi-clandestine organization seeking to organize world-wide on an industrial union basis. They are gradually gaining support. Soon they hope to stand in the open and challenge IBM. With the aid of fellow IBM workers and such as the Industrial Workers of the World that hope will become reality. We in the IWW are pledged to give assistance and solidarity wherever possible. The fight is IBMWU-IWW against IBM and capitalism. In the long run we know that not even IBM can stop us.

Politicians

Already IBMWU are having an effect. They are being denounced as 'outside agitators', 'politically motivated' 'committed to destroying'. BUT who is politically motivated? An IBM taped broadcast to employees states: "IBM is not a political organization." OK, then how about this:

1. Those who left Ford administration for IBM:
 - a) *William Scranton*—Ambassador to UN. Returns to IBM Board of Directors;
 - b) *T V Learson*—Head of Committee on International Laws of the Sea. Returns to the Board of IBM;
 - c) *William Coleman*—Secretary of Transportation, joins IBM Board.
2. Those who left IBM for Carter administration:
 - a) *Harold Brown*—was chairperson of audit committee and director of IBM. Now Secretary of Defense. IBM's Federal Systems plants like Owego deal mainly with defence contracts.
 - b) *Cyrus Vance*—was on IBM Executive Committee. Now Secretary of State. (First IBM, then the world?)

In addition, the present Attorney-General, Griffin Bell, has a law firm in Atlanta, Georgia. Biggest client? Right, IBM. Not a bad score for a non-political organization.

Also interesting to note is that certain bigwigs in IBM (acting non-politically) state that some workers are parasitic in that they work just long enough to qualify

for unemployment benefits and welfare payments, thus 'ripping off' the taxpayer and the State. In the USA you must work at least 90 days or six months before you qualify for welfare payments of any kind. Interesting, because IBM are one of the firms regularly hiring workers on a contract basis for six months or less, thus depriving these workers of pension plan, holiday/sick pay, insurance etc. Scabs anyone? So who is doing the ripping off?

IBM Dictates to Australians

As regards 'outside agitators', there cannot be many companies operating in another country who can force the host government to withdraw/amend legislation which the foreign company does not like. Such a company is IBM. The Australian government has recently amended its new Trade Practices Act to limit the liability of suppliers of computer systems (eg. IBM) to direct damages caused by the failure of their products only, instead of the unlimited amount of damages ('consequential damages') that would be possible if the Act were unamended. This was achieved by a simple direct action tactic—refusing to sign contracts with customers. Direct action works!

Management Ready

All that has been said above proves that management is organized effectively. A leading personnel consultant in the computer industry speaks:

"There is a danger that the recent rejection by IBM staff of [trade union] representation will lead to a complacent attitude among . . . managers in other computing organizations . . . Unionization is in the offing for many installations and the transition must be carefully planned, approached in a constructive manner and carefully handled with sensitivity by management, if a spirit of co-operation is to be maintained in the long term. As an organized group integrated into [trade] union structure computer workers are potentially very powerful, not only in individual companies but across the whole range of activity in both public and private sectors . . . The coming few years are critical. The growth of union participation must be matched by much management activity in improving motivation. Unless this takes place we may see greater internal unrest . . ."

So there you have it. The boss knows the problem. He thinks he has the answer. We have the answer! Since we as workers make the products, solve immediate day-to-day problems on the job, we are capable of effecting important decisions, despite what the bosses say. We effect them in the interests of society, not profit.

Workers Win

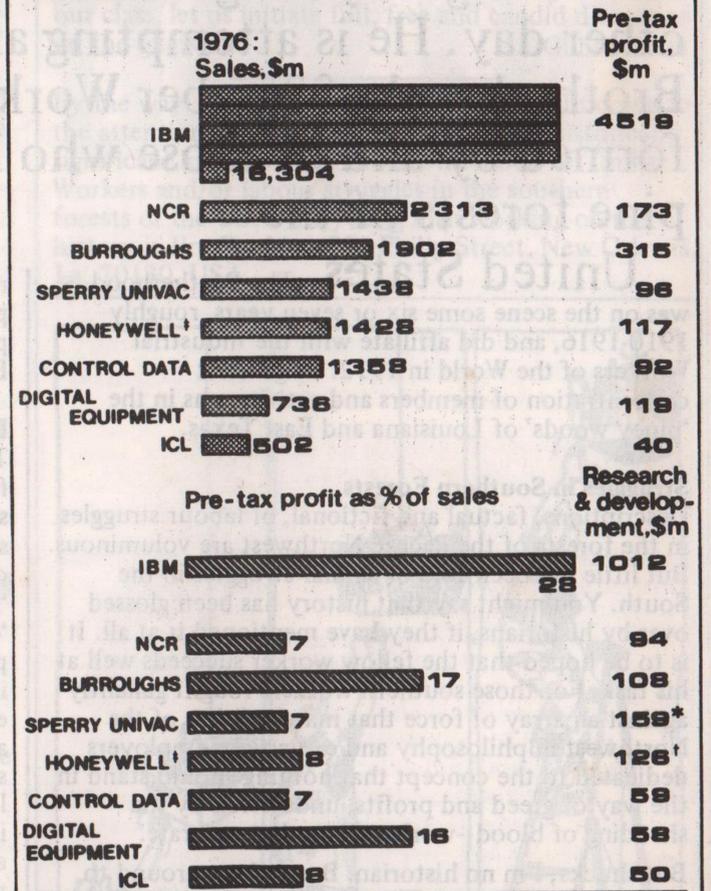
Organization and solidarity can accomplish this. In one plant in the USA recently, plant management arbitrarily changed the overtime hours of the second shift. They changed from 12am—6pm to 2.30pm—

8pm. This meant workers would lose their only good night off. So they gave management a widespread and vocal NO! Managers were shocked and five departments were affected. Result, managers 'hurried into emergency session' and finally gave into the workers.

The lesson is clear. IBM workers organize yourselves today! Organize in IBMWU.

Barney Bubbles

I.B.M Dwarfs the rest



IBMWU APPEAL

ALL IBM WORKERS WANTING/OFFERING HELP IN ORGANIZING IBMWU OR SIMPLY WANTING INFORMATION CONTACT:

IBMWU-IWW
 PO BOX 356
 JOHNSON CITY
 NEW YORK 13790
 USA

4 UPPER LANE
 NORTHOWRAM
 HALIFAX HX3 7DL
 W YORKSHIRE
 ENGLAND

CONTACTS IN USA, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SPAIN, WEST GERMANY

LIVE AND LEARN: OR UNIONISM FOR ALL.

'Live and learn', the saying goes. Well, I've learned something. A young fellow stopped by our place the other day. He is attempting an in-depth history of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, an organization formed by and of those who laboured in the southern pine forests of the

United States.

The Brotherhood was on the scene some six or seven years, roughly 1910-1916, and did affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World in 1912. Its greatest concentration of members and activity was in the 'piney woods' of Louisiana and East Texas.

Struggles in Southern Forests

Descriptions, factual and fictional, of labour struggles in the forests of the Pacific Northwest are voluminous. But little has been told of similar struggles in the South. You might say that history has been glossed over by historians, if they have mentioned it at all. It is to be hoped that the fellow worker succeeds well at his task. For those southern workers fought gallantly against an array of force that matched that of the Northwest in philosophy and execution, employers dedicated to the concept that nothing should stand in the way of greed and profits, undeterred by the shedding of blood—workers' blood at any rate.

But shucks, I'm no historian. Better I get around to telling what I learned. The young man brought with him a manuscript of Covington Hall's. Covington Hall was a news reporter, and a good one. He worked mainly for the socialist and rebel press, which flourished in the period we're taking about. Hall also wrote for the Industrial Worker under the pen name 'Covami'. My young friend told me he is trying to arrange for publication of the Hall manuscript in book form. Let us hope he succeeds. Hall details a number of labour struggles that took place in the South, particularly Louisiana, which deserve historical recognition. Unfortunately, our young man could not stay long in this area. So my time with Hall's work was too short to allow for taking notes, barely time to

read it through. And your poor writer does not possess a steel-trap mind. What stuck with me just pretty good was the form of organization of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers.

Regressive or Progressive

Taken in the light of the present strong agitation for female recognition and equality, it opens the door to some damned interesting speculation, wouldn't you say? There stands an example, a phase of true equality of the sexes. While I doubt that even the most 'liberated' of our feminist advocates would demand 'equal' employment under the working conditions prevailing in the timber country in those days (or even in these days, perchance), why should she not have an equal say with her breadwinner about matters that affect them both equally? It jolts me. Gives me this sinking feeling that we *progressive* unionists are at least sixty years behind the times. With all our intelligence and awareness, we have failed to assimilate a lesson taught us by example by workers reputedly burdened with a high percentage of illiteracy.

I am (was) a dock worker. When the influence of the National Industrial Recovery Act, enacted 1933, made joining unions the *patriotic* thing to do, the International Longshoremen's Association began re-organizing in the South. At the time of the Act's passage the ILA held no labour contracts south of Cape Hatteras, save in four Texas ports. And that's a long stretch of coastline, pardner, organized or unorganized. The union had been broken by a series of misadventures in the aftermath of World War 1. Here in Texas the ILA was successful in reorganizing the ports north of Galveston, to include Lake Charles,

Louisiana, and brought them under a contract embracing all Texas ports and Lake Charles by early 1934. But I stray from our main theme.

Two Classes of Unionist

Ladies' Auxiliaries were organized among several local unions. These were racially segregated, as were (and are) the local unions. Wives, sisters and daughters (attaining eligible age) of union members were admitted to auxiliary membership. The union and the auxiliary were further segregated: no male union members attended auxiliary meetings, nor female auxiliary members meetings of the union. Following the partially successful 1935 strike in Texas and West Gulf ports (won in Texas ports and Lake Charles, lost in the others), delegates from the auxiliaries were invited to attend conventions. They had no vote but did have voice, being always invited to speak. It would be fair to say that they were used a lot as show pieces by the administration. It strikes me here that, giving all due consideration to liberation and independence, it will be a long time yet before the female of our species ceases to enjoy being the cynosure of male attention. So much for conventions and attentions.

Withal, the ladies were active on more than a few fronts in support of the union. The 1935 strike was both rough and lively. It lasted a little over two months. Our womenfolk played supportive roles in a number of ways, including a couple that I'm going to be unable to remember if inquired about, hear?

Now auxiliary activity has regressed to holding meetings, sponsoring an occasional entertainment function, do-good activities, such as distributing baskets at Christmas time. There have been a few long strikes since World War 2, but these have been relatively uneventful, a matter of employer and employee seeing which could out-wait the other, no attempt by the employer at old-fashioned union-busting, hiring of scabs, and the like. I was present when a representative of the auxiliary approached the president of the (white) Houston ILA deep-sea local, saying that the ladies would like to 'man' a coffee station and also deliver coffee and doughnuts to the various picket posts, scattered over miles of waterfront.

Equal Sharing of Oppression

The president refused the offer, saying that it would expose the women to unnecessary physical danger. There was a danger involved, sure. Rats seem to breed everywhere, and young ones come along who want to do harm to union people just for the hell of it, and we had rare instances of it at certain picket posts. So of course the women should have had male escorts. Or maybe they could take care of themselves. I seem to remember a certain lady and a certain shotgun. (But I said I'd be unable to remember, didn't I? I forgot.)

Still, these women wanted to share with the men. And

that incident poses an instance of unionism regressing within the trade unions, a local president making such a decision on his own, *without referral* to his local union or either the local strike committee—and only a simmer of protest among a few members against his so doing.

Enough of that. Back to the Timber Workers. The more I think about husband and housewife holding union membership equally, the more it appeals to me. *The housewife bears the brunt*, perhaps more than equally, with the male in any strike. If you've been through as many as one, you know it. If we Industrial Workers of the World are to fulfil our obligation to our class, let us initiate full, free and candid discussion on the question.

Gilbert Mers

By the way, on the off chance that this might come to the attention of someone possessing some historically significant knowledge of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and/or labour struggles in the southern forests of the USA, the young man working on the history is Jim Stodder, 726 Philip Street, New Orleans, La. 70130, USA.



This issue sees the first item in a regular column contributed by workers. It will feature aspects of the job that have wide-ranging implications and deserve to be common knowledge in order that we *all* might be more effective in destroying capitalism. Send items for inclusion to the Editor.

DO YOU KNOW?

The first is on transfer pricing.

Transfer pricing is a shrewd practice indulged in by the transnational corporation. What it means is simply the shifting of prices by a company from one part of the production process in *one* country to another part of the company in *another* country, thereby *changing* the price a country has to pay for its goods and services.

This manipulation affects: a) tax revenues; b) balance of payments position of the countries concerned. Also a high *inward* transfer price increase the cost of the final product to the consumer. So, *unwittingly*, workers in transnationals are contributing to 'inflation' (or rather, profits).

How transfer pricing works:

1. Real cost of an import at arms length trading conditions = £100;
2. The transnational *charges itself* £200;
3. Adds £50 for processing and charges £250 for the final product;
4. It pays tax only on the profit it makes on the £50 although *real taxable profit* is £150.

Result: the difference between trading price and transfer price is *siphoned* out of the UK, UK tax is *substantially* reduced, import bill is increased and inflation twists upwards again.

Transfer pricing works just as well with exports. The real cost of a UK export is, say, £200, but the company sells it to an affiliate in a second country (with a low rate of taxation) for £100. The affiliate in that country then sells the product at the original price of £200 plus a mark-up, either in that country or a *third* one.

The net result is that the UK Balance of Payments suffers by £100, tax is paid only on the profit element of £100, *not* £200 as it should be. The

company (its affiliate) pays tax on the other £100 (plus mark-up) at the *lower* rate in the second country, thus benefitting by the *difference between* the two tax rates.

A real world example of transfer pricing is provided by the Swiss firm Hoffman-La Roche, who siphoned millions of pounds out of the UK and consequently placed a higher charge on the NHS. The ingredients in Librium and Valium could be bought in Italy for £9 and £20 per kilogram respectively. Roche, in statements to the UK authorities, showed the cost of manufacture at £437 and £979 per kilo. The UK affiliate was thus paying approximately 50 times the cost of the active ingredients of the drug. It hardly bears mentioning that this overpricing was only found out by accident!

Information about transfer pricing is difficult to come by, for obvious reasons. Information means power. Without it we workers can only react after an event, we can do nothing to prevent it or change it. It's time to change all that. Disclosure of information is essential.

Better still, if workers in transnationals were to transfer price their wage demands. It's time to make the company pay us, rather than us as workers/consumers pay to keep them.

WORKER'S GUIDE TO THE CRIMINAL LAW BILL.

We workers, along with other sections of the community, are now faced with the near-silent passage into law of the CRIMINAL LAW BILL.

Our so-called 'elected' workplace officials have done nothing more than mouth impotent slogans and objections to the passing of a piece of legislation which is potentially at least as crippling as the Industrial Relations Bill 1971.

Direct Action Works

Right, so union opposition to this anti-people law has been conspicuous by its absence. Are we as rank and file workers, tenants, squatters, mothers, really surprised by this? Recent years have seen an upsurge of direct action: work-ins, occupations, barricades, etc. and especially a widening and deepening of the struggle. More people are discovering the joys of solidarity, of thinking and acting for oneself and for a group instead of going with a semblance of relative humility to *ask* our elected masters to help (!) us.

Hogg Knows

Therefore the inevitable questions must be asked: Why have our union leaders among others not organized the whole working population against this Bill, and so rendered it useless? Why have we not joined forces with squatters, tenants, mothers, students to smash this Bill? Quintin Hogg said it, we know it intuitively: no law that does not have the passive compliance (at least) of the majority of people can work.

The simple answer is that our labour leaders have everything to lose from successful direct action and everything to gain from laws that castrate effective working class agitation. Most workers reading this have already had their implicit faith in union leadership somewhat shaken over the last

years. But most carry on believing in our labour movement because it appears to be the only banner proclaiming liberation for the worker.

Read on and you will know that our union bosses are co-conspirators against us workers and the communities we live in. The clauses and offences quoted do not threaten union bureaucrats and speech-makers. They threaten us, our families, neighbours and friends.

More and More Direct Action

It may be too late to stop the Bill's passage through Parliament. It's never too late to organize on the job. Now is not too soon. Only our actions can destroy this law, and by our solidarity we render it unworkable.

The aspects which affect workers (and also tenants, squatters, mothers, students) come in Part 2 of the Bill and fall mainly under Clauses 6, 8, 10.

Clause 6

'Violence for securing entry'—maximum sentence with Magistrates Court conviction, six months jail and/or £1,000 fine; Crown Court conviction, two years jail.

THIS CLAUSE STATES:

"... any person who, without lawful authority, uses or threatens violence for the purpose of

securing entry into any premises for himself or for any other person, is guilty of an offence, provided that

- a) there is someone present on those premises at the time, who is opposed to the entry the violence is intended to secure; and
b) the person using or threatening the violence knows that this is the case."

('Violence' includes both violence against the person and violence against property.)

"A constable may arrest without warrant anyone who is, or whom he, with reasonable cause, suspects to be, guilty of an offence under this section."

WHAT THIS MEANS:

- * This offence applies to all occupations, and gives the police the right to intervene and make arrests.
- * No violence need occur for this offence to be committed. Under existing legal precedent (see Smith & Hogan, *Criminal Law*, 3rd edn., p.627) any of a group of people who were taking over a building could be arrested for threatening violence, if they outnumbered those inside the building who opposed the occupation. Sir Peter Rawlinson, Tory Attorney-General in 1973, pointed this out in a speech on the legality of pickets, saying that "sheer numbers attending can of itself constitute intimidation". Copies of the speech were circulated to police forces at the time. Virtually all occupations involve the outnumbering of management personnel.
- * Allegations by a person inside the building who opposed the occupation claiming that the occupiers had 'used' or 'threatened' violence to get into the building, would be sufficient grounds for police intervention at the early crucial stages of an occupation.
- * It has been argued that most factory and college occupations would be immune to charges under this offence, on the grounds that they are usually mounted from inside the workplace or college. Workers mounting an occupation are trespassing automatically, as their licence to be in the workplace is limited to their presence 'for the purpose of working for their employer'. A worker's licence to be in the workplace, as explained earlier, is restricted to her/his presence in specific places at specific times. Thus any entry from within a factory into the administrative offices by shop floor workers, for example, would be liable to charges under this offence.
- * This new offence is intended to replace the existing Forcible Entry laws. At present, these give protection to occupiers of premises against violent entry by all persons including owners and their agents, for example landlords seeking

to evict squatters or factory owners trying to throw out occupying workers. This new offence only covers violent entry by owners if someone opposing their entry is on the premises. Thus, if squatters are all out at work, or if occupying workers leave part of the factory premises empty, owners could use as much force as they wanted to secure entry and recover possession without going through the courts. (Violent entry by non-owners would normally involve committing criminal damage or other offences. This new offence would remove much of the protection given by the Forcible Entry laws.)

EXAMPLE:

Boss Rulers Ltd. decide to close their Leicester factory and transfer production of widgets to Taiwan. The workers, unwilling to join the growing ranks of the unemployed, organize a meeting which decides to have a work-in. They take over the factory and move into the switchboard room. The telephonists do not support the work-in but decide to leave. One of them remonstrates with the strikers and leaves shouting. The telephonist then goes to the police who are already waiting outside the factory gates.

OFFENCE: Using or threatening violence to secure entry (Clause 6). Although no violence was committed or intended, the telephonist can claim that since he/she was outnumbered, if he/she hadn't left, violence would have ensued. His/her complaint to the police could lead to them entering the factory to arrest the workers and to their removal.

Clause 8

'Trespassing with an offensive weapon'— maximum sentence on summary conviction, three months jail and/or £1,000 fine; Crown Court conviction, two years jail.

THIS CLAUSE STATES:

"A person who is on any premises as a trespasser, after having entered as such, is guilty of an offence, if without lawful authority or reasonable excuse, he has with him on the premises any weapon of offence. 'Weapon of offence' means any article made or adapted for use for causing injury to, or incapacitating a person or intended by the person having it with him for such use."

"A constable may arrest without warrant anyone who is, or whom he with reasonable cause suspects to be, in the act of committing an offence under this section."

WHAT THIS MEANS:

- * This offence applies to all occupations and to pickets who are trespassing. It gives the police the right of arrest and the right to enter without

warrant into any occupation.

- * This offence is open to the same abuses as the existing crime of having an offensive weapon in a public place. An offensive weapon can be anything—tools, placards, banners, coins, etc. An allegation by management/police that someone was using an object in a threatening way could thus lead to police intervention and arrest. For example, during the building workers' strike at Eldon Square site, Newcastle, in 1972, a picket being dragged away by the police picked up one of his boots which had fallen off—and was charged with having an offensive weapon.
- * The Law Commission claim that the main aim of this offence is to prevent violent resistance to eviction by squatters and make no mention of its effect on other occupations. In both cases they use to illustrate the need for this offence, they admit that alternative charges such as 'unlawful assembly' could have been brought. They make these points: "In many cases resistance by force or by a display or threat of force directed against those who wish lawfully to enter the occupied premises will involve the commission of some other offence such as assault or criminal damage"; and "having regard to the undoubtedly large number of incidents of squatting and the like over these years (1964-73), it is noteworthy that it was considered necessary to use the offences under the Statutes as the main weapon against such occupations only in a very few cases". In fact the Law Commission can find no example to violent resistance where an existing charge could not have been brought.
- * This offence does not threaten lawful occupiers; it only penalizes trespassers. It is a warped logic that makes actions which are apparently blameless when taken by lawful occupiers, into crimes when committed by trespassers.
- * For the offence to be committed, entry must be made as a trespasser. For example: a student on rent strike against a rent increase at a hall of residence has his/her licence to go there withdrawn by the college authorities. Once the student leaves the building he/she can only return as a trespasser. Furthermore, anyone invited in by a trespasser automatically becomes a trespasser.
- * Audrey Wise MP asked the Home Office how many arrests there had been for breaches of public order arising out of industrial occupations (written answer June 22, 1976). The minister's answer was that these figures were not available. Therefore there is no evidence of the need for this offence.

EXAMPLE:

Scab Builders Ltd. are a notorious user of lump labour. They refuse to recognize unions and refuse to negotiate on wages, relying on the constant supply of unemployed building workers. The local union branch which is strong on most other sites decides to send its shop stewards and convenors on to Scab Builders Ltd. sites to try to get the men to join the union. One of the stewards, Warren Tomlin, goes to speak to some men during their lunch break and pushes past a gatekeeper. A Scab Builders site manager recognizes him as a local union activist and tells him to get off the site. Tomlin tells him to shut up and ignores him and continues talking to the men. The manager calls the police, telling them that Tomlin had used threatening language. The police arrest Tomlin and find he has a screwdriver on him. OFFENCE: Using or threatening violence to secure entry (Clause 6) and trespassing with an offensive weapon (Clause 8).

Clause 10

'Resisting or obstructing court officers executing possession orders under Orders 113 or 26'— maximum sentence on summary conviction, six months jail and/or £1,000 fine.

THIS CLAUSE STATES:

"... a person is guilty of an offence if he resists or intentionally obstructs any person who is in fact an officer of a court engaged in executing any process issued by the High Court or County Court for the purpose of enforcing any judgement or order for the recovery or any premises or for the delivery of possession of any premises."

"A constable or any officer of a court may arrest without warrant anyone who is, or whom he, with reasonable cause suspects to be, guilty of an offence under this section."

"In this section 'officer of a court' means:

- a) any sheriff, under-sheriff, deputy sheriff, bailiff or officer of a sheriff; and
b) any bailiff or other person who is an officer of a County Court within the meaning of the County Courts Act 1959."

WHAT THIS MEANS:

- * This offence would make any resistance to eviction, however passive, by workers, students or squatters in occupation a criminal offence—even merely sitting down. Supporting pickets outside an occupation could also face arrest.
- * This offence gives bailiffs the power of arrest. Bailiffs are frequently the employees of a landlord, licensed by a County Court to carry out a specific eviction from their employer's property—so they have a vested interest. No

adequate 'code of conduct' covers their actions, or how much violence they can use.

* Orders 113 and 26 are granted against premises not people. Thus a possession order can be granted in court against unlawful occupiers in a building although there may be others in the building who are occupying it lawfully. Under existing precedent, court officers are under a duty to evict anybody on the premises even though some of them may never have heard about the court hearing and may be lawfully there. So this offence opens up the possibility of a lawful occupier being arrested as he/she tries to convince the officers of his/her right to stay. For example, in an unreported case in summer 1974, court officers evicting squatters from the Canal Flats in Harrow Road, West London, also threw out a tenant. Immediately after the eviction, the flats were gutted.

* In the time between the granting of a possession order and the actual eviction, the circumstances of the occupation may change—for example, the property owner may have given the occupiers permission to stay. Yet Order 26 remains valid for a year, Order 113 for six years and can be executed at any time. This again raises the possibility of lawful occupiers being arrested while trying to convince court officials of their right to stay.

Too Much Law, No Freedom

As if this law was not enough, there are other offences which cover acts done by workers, eg.

assault, unlawful assembly, criminal damage, breaches of the peace, etc. What legal justification can there be for such a law to be passed?

It's more of a conspiracy. An attack on the whole working class by the bosses, state, union leaders, to murder any independent, direct action. Therefore, it is up to the working class to arrest and try the State. Start now by organizing to break this law.

The working class has provided too many victims to nourish the bosses' laws. These victims only serve to make him want more. Four workers were recently arrested in Warwick (one an IWW member) for combatting racist slogans. They attempted to paint out the slogan daubed on a factory wall: "Had enough, whitey, niggers out". The charge: criminal damage. Meanwhile, bosses' crime goes unchecked.

Workers were prevented from leaving factory premises at a British Mail Order Corporation mill in Oldham during their break to talk to pickets from other striking BMOC factories. Under new legislation the boss can *legally* prevent 'free' movement on/off firm's premises by workers, as this (free movement) *can* contravene the terms of a workers' licence (see Clause 6 above).

These are just two of the many daily occurrences, never reported in the Press, where workers suffer at the hands of the law. They can't arrest us all, can they? Peter England

(With thanks to Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law)



Occupy

POSTSCRIPT TO THE GREAT DEBATE

We have heard a great deal about the Great Debate in education. There have been articles in the Press, programmes on TV, wrangles in staffrooms and at parent/teacher association meetings. What are they discussing? What is the nature of the soul-searching that has been preoccupying the teaching profession and causing such bitterness and recrimination?

Convenient Handles

There is no single element that constitutes the theme of this Great Debate. Although the tone and content of articles written and speeches delivered might imply some specific issue, *the actual burden of argument concerns the nature of education itself*, and the Debate is the same one that—in various different incarnations—has split the world of teaching for most of this century. The 'popular' press have given us the terminology: 'progressives' versus 'traditionalists', and it is this pair of arbitrary titles that heads the two columns in this Debate.

Like any two convenient handles chosen for the purpose of rendering complexity palatable for the masses, a multitude of sins of omission and commission can be listed under each heading, and it would be beyond the bounds of any short article to examine or discuss them. But it might be useful to examine them in partial isolation from what they actually stand for. Titles, headings, names of any sort, frequently conceal the nature of that which they profess to stand for, so a search for the meaning behind the face must be doomed to failure, for one man's 'progressive' is another man's 'traditionalist'.

Educational Responsibilities

So let us return to the basic issue hidden behind the entire dispute: the nature of education itself, and the purpose it is meant to serve in society. First and foremost, the most generally agreed-upon function of any education system is to provide literacy and numeracy and thus the potential to cope with a society that depends for its superficial

communication on these faculties. For the time being let us accept this most vague of generalizations. Where do we go from there? Having provided literacy and numeracy, what is the responsibility of the education system next? Following the same rationalization, the subsequent argument might be that education has to provide the individual with as wide a variety of skills as are commensurate with, at worst, survival, and at best, success and achievement in existing society. So those basic areas of attainment through which society, dependent upon industry and production for its maintenance. The lifestyles that we either follow now or strive to emulate are fuelled by technology, be it coalmines in the manner to which we have become accustomed—either by direct experience or vicarious involvement through the great society leveller, television—we require the constant servicing of the machinery of society. Thus the education system becomes the means by which all levels of this machine are catered for.

Examining Tradition

Phrased differently and endlessly qualified, this might well be an acceptable definition to those holding what might appear on the surface to be diametrically opposed views of the means by which education achieves its ends. And this brings us to closer examination of the implications of those two terms, progressive and traditional, as headings for different teaching methods.

Traditional educational method implies a means by which basic literacy and numeracy and their extensions into further education are taught in the standard fashion: a teacher responsible for the dissemination of information in a classroom; regular homework and revision; and an examination as a final arbiter leading to a qualification in the relevant subject. This method is the standard procedure in the vast majority of schools in the western world; it has been so for upwards of one hundred years and as a basic format it has functioned fairly efficiently during that time.

Why, then, is this method undergoing criticism now and what is the nature of that criticism?

Basically the criticism is twofold. In the first instance there are still those few voices—discounted by the mainstream opinion of education as the lunatic fringe—who suggest that setting material goals as the end result of the educational process is to distort and corrupt the true meaning and potential of education. Like so many individuals out there on the lunatic fringe, these educational mavericks will have to live with the identities thrust upon them by a world horrified by the implications of their notions.

Generally speaking, these thinkers are not the recipients of the broadsides from the traditionalists, and the traditionalists have little to worry about from *them*. The real war is not, in fact, being waged between libertarians and conservatives, but between two factions whose fundamental aims and objectives are identical. The point of contention between them is *method*, not philosophy. This is no great revelation to anyone acquainted with pitched battles between liberals and conservatives; we can see it being fought in every area of industry. But it is interesting to witness the conflict being fought at the very point-of-source of the system that prepares us for our place in society.

Maintaining Values

So the Great Debate concerns not that most fundamental of questions, the nature of education, but how best to inculcate the basic value system on which our society is founded. There is no sinister Machiavellian scheme in operation here, no structured plan masterminded by the shadowy figures who manipulate our destinies. One of the enduring beauties of our parliamentary democracy is the cosummate ease with which it manages to protect and nurture the ancient institutions which ensure that *real* equality and *real* freedom remain philosophical concepts, suitable only for discussion in university armchairs or TU social clubs. The majority of the Great Debaters are happy to argue out their differences of opinion in staffroom and training college, safe in the knowledge that nothing they say or do is very likely to rock the boat. The restructured timetable, the team-teaching, the open classrooms, the trendy reading books, the Nuffield maths, the School Council, the permitted long hair and smoking on the 6th form common room—none of these progressive innovations are going to shake the foundations of the education system or the social order that it sustains. And the majority of the champions of these innovations would be horrified if they thought for one moment that what they were endeavouring to force through the staff meeting would change the social orientation of the school and thus society.



Means Not Ends

Whether a child obtains GCE or CSE results through external examination or the Mode 3 method in which the teacher's marks throughout the year's course are used as an assessment method, the nett result is the same: qualifications based on academic criteria for the purpose of servicing the machine. However circuitous the route and however democratic or self-regulated the method used, in the final analysis the goal is the same; and progressive and traditionalist are both marching energetically in the same direction. Whatever influence such educational revolutionaries as A S Neill, Homer Lane and Ivan Illich may have had on education, one thing is clear: progressive methodology refers to a process in which the academic pill is sweetened and rendered more palatable; education for social change has no part to play in the mainstream of the Great Debate. The Great Debate is a wrangle about the technology of education, about ways and means—but not about ends.

There are many teachers working within all types of school, inside and outside the state system, for whom education means something other than instruction by any other name. There are courageous schools battling against pressure from landlords, local councils and lack of finance. There are clearheaded, rational educational thinkers whose books continue to stimulate students, teachers and parents with their questioning of old definitions and structures. But they are involved in the process of redefinitions and alternatives, and as such are voices in a particularly sparse wilderness. The Great Debate concerns logistics, methodology,

routes—all pointing in the same direction.

It is easy, therefore, for Shirley Williams to straddle the fence and offer sops to the protagonists. It is easy for her to be able to cope with 'progressive' and 'traditionalist' alike, expressing concern over the contradictory figures about reading ages and the rigid structure of the secondary curriculum; easy because she knows that the Great Debate is not about the *nature* of education but about High Roads and Low Roads and who will arrive at the goal first.

Dick Jones



"We were relieved to find a school that wasn't soft on uniforms".

GOOD INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

"The man who owns the means whereby I live owns my very life". William Shakespeare

Marx said: "All history is a history of Class Struggles". Those who sell their ability to work in order to live should be under no illusions about this fact of life. The members of the union movement who strive to understand their position in modern society must not allow themselves to be influenced by the propaganda and much of the so-called education designed to maintain capitalism. This will endeavour to tell thus that Marx advocated an ideal state of society and that his theory of political economy is out-dated. Marx analysed history and came to the scientific generalisation that the changing methods of production and the various forms of ownership of the means of productions was the basis upon which definite relations of employer and employee emerge and develop.

Commodity production for profit is the basis of the master and servant relationship under capitalism.

The everyday experience and the reading of every active unionist should leave him in no doubt that it is a fact that "all history is a history of class struggles". Otherwise be ruled, fooled and sooled.

The late Henry Edmund Holland, when a member of the Socialist Labour Party of Australia, put the question: "What is there to arbitrate about being between the robbers and the robbed?" Perhaps the class conscious worker can also ask: "Who can arbitrate between the robbers and the robbed?" without imposing the economic power of the employing class on the working class.

The facts are that there is an irreconcilable clash of class interest under the capitalist system. The real aim of the class conscious workers is at all times to educate, agitate and organize for the abolition of the wages system where the working class is forced to function as the subject class . . . where the many make and few take.

There can be good industrial relations if the working class is willing to remain a subject class. If they are prepared to accept 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work' instead of the abolition of the wages system.

When trade union officials join with the representatives of the employers and participate in policy making, they are being parties to smoothing over and blunting the class differences in the economic and social system.

Similarly, to join with the employers organizations to make joint decisions means in effect upholding and sharing the responsibility for the perpetuation of compulsory arbitration and the anomalies of the capitalist system.

To continue on the above course means that many workers' unions are unions in name only.

Such workers' unions have become mere appendages of the existing state structures. They have become part of the Corporate State designed to maintain and perpetuate the present system of wage slavery.

Many union constitutions state that the final aim is the production for use and not for profit. This can be achieved only when the wage and salary earners are united with those who produce and render service and have reached a degree of social and political consciousness necessary to replace capitalism.

To end capitalism is the task of all workers of all countries and they must be united in every respect on the basis of scientific theory and revolutionary practice to achieve that goal and to move on to a Class System of Society.

K. Baxter

A New Zealand fellow worker sent us this piece on 'good' industrial relations.

ROLLING STONEMASON

Liverpool Cathedral: The Foundation Stone of Industrial Unionism?

"In Liverpool, in 1904, I was working in Thornton's Yard, when the boss sent me to the Liverpool Cathedral site to shape a few stones . . . I visited my pal, Jim Larkin, at his house. He got a piece of tin and compressed a copy of each of the *Clarion* and the *Labour Leader* of June 24th, 1904, into it. I wrote the following short hurried note:

'To the Finders, Hail!'

'We, the wage slaves employed on the erection of this cathedral, to be dedicated to the worship on the unemployed Jewish carpenter, hail ye! Within a stone's throw from here, human beings are housed in slums not fit for swine. This message, written on trust-produced paper with trust-produced ink, is to tell ye how we of to-day are at the mercy of trusts. Building fabrics, clothing, food, fuel, transport, are all in the hands of money-mad, soul-destroying trusts. We can only sell our labour power, as wage slaves, on their terms. The money trusts to-day own us. In your own day, you will, thanks to the efforts of past and present agitators for economic freedom, own the trusts. Yours will indeed, compared to ours of to-day, be a happier existence. See to it, therefore, that ye, too, work for the betterment of all, and so justify your existence by leaving the world the better for your having lived in it. Thus and thus only shall come about the Kingdom of 'God' or 'Good' on Earth. Hail, Comrades, and—Farewell.

*Yours sincerely,
'A Wage Slave.'*

This we put with the papers into the case, covered it with another sheet of tin, bent over the ends and edges to make it as airtight as possible, and, next day, I placed it in the foundations of the cathedral between two courses of bricks, and it was duly built in . . . On June 27th, 1904, I laid the documents in the foundations . . . and on July 19th, 1904, King Edwards VII duly did his bit, and laid the foundation stone over my documents."

Extract from *Rolling Stonemason* by Fred Bower, Cape, 1936.

Re-trial of Anti-Trust case

The US Court of Appeal in San Francisco has ordered a retrial of Greyhound Leasing's 1972

anti-trust complaint against IBM. This charged IBM with restricting sales of equipment in order to monopolise the leasing market in which Greyhound operated.

The 1927 case, which was held in Phoenix, Arizona, was dismissed by Judge Walter Craig on the grounds of insufficient evidence to establish a relevant market or IBM's share of it. The judge also ruled that IBM's activity was a competitive response to economic factors and that damages incurred by Greyhound were speculative.

The Appeal Court has now said that Greyhound offered direct evidence to prove that the conduct complained of did occur and that this was sufficient to establish a prima facie case.

IBM's activities in the leasing market are also part of the US Justice Department's anti-trust suit against IBM.

Calling All Sweatshop Workers!

To those of you working in sweatshops, and who isn't? If you feel you want help in organizing an effective union that fights the boss in every way, and gets results, then turn to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

You may have been rejected by the 'business unions' as being too small; union dues would in no way cover the administrative expenses involved.

Or you may not know which way to turn; all you know is the boss is winning, your living standards are declining and his profits increasing.

You may believe (justifiably) that by speaking out and organizing you may get sacked. True, when there's no solidarity and positive organization. A union is *not* a load of union cards, dues monies, sick benefits and bureaucratic officials who so often are painfully stupid. If that's what your union has become, then it has failed, and you're paying for it. If that's all your *potential* union can offer you, plus maybe small, guaranteed raises that fail to keep pace with the cost of living, then it's time to look elsewhere.

Why not organize yourselves on the job, pick the targets and the tactics yourselves related to your own direct experience. It's harder to sell out one's fellow-workers in daily contact with each other than it is for some anonymous full-time union hack who you only see after repeated demands.

If you choose this course of action and would like advice, assistance of any kind, then contact us, the IWW—a fighting union. Better still, join us.

It's all the same fight really.

Contact: Trux, 01-727 4712
061-633 5405
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THE ONE BIG UNION



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HUSKINGS

A few words of introduction:

Gilbert Mers, a member of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union 510 of the IWW, presently living in Houston, Texas, will be writing a regular column for the Industrial Unionist under the pen name of *Pervicacia*.

The American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), roughly corresponds to the TUC. The fact that there are two such parts to this body, at loggerheads with each other, helps explain *some* of the chaotic situation referred to in this article. Mr Meany is the AFL-CIO boss—in for life.

For starters this trip let's address real seriously those readers who belong to trade unions. That includes CIO unions, for few CIO unions are industrial unions even in their recruiting, and they all operate on the trade union principle.

If you believe that the goal of unionism should be a world where all can live in comfort and dignity, then I want to address myself to you. I want to interest you in a union known as the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. More than likely, you've already heard of it. But just to start from scratch, let's cover some ground which will point up basic differences between the way in which the IWW and AFL-CIO operate.

The goals of the two organizations are considerably different. The IWW works for abolition of the wage system and towards a world society wherein every able person will be a producer, there will be no price tags and the fruits of labour will be shared by all. The AFL-CIO maintains that workers can prosper under capitalism. It is true that a handful of workers belonging to AFL-CIO unions have prospered, according to their own standards: *they're up from the poverty bracket*. In order to attain such 'worker prosperity' as has been attained, the trade unions have had to exclude eligible workers from membership BECAUSE, UNDER CAPITALISM THERE IS NEVER ENOUGH TO GO AROUND.

The IWW believes in the universal brotherhood of man, and recruits world-wide. Therefore, the IWW does not ask any prospective member what colour he or she is, nor where he or she comes from, nor to wave any flag. The IWW is interested in where we all are headed and asks only a commitment from the worker to support his own class. It does not ask him to produce a pedigree.

There is a universal transfer system, from locality to locality, from industry to industry. You are not

clipped for a new initiation fee every time you change jobs.

The IWW limits the tenure of full-time officers. Terms are for one year; an officer may be re-elected twice, to serve a total of three years at one stretch. To again become eligible for nomination for any office, he or she must return to work at a regular occupation for no less than one year. Not at some cushy job with a government agency or an organizing tour with some other union or a foremanship with the company, but an ordinary job at the point of production.

Full-time IWW officers do not have a vote in local meetings. They do not serve on wage committees. Try to form yourself a professional officer clique under those rules, Mr Meany!

Full-time officers are paid at the rate received by the workers they represent. Capitalism's brain-warpers have so drilled it into us that dignity equates with dollars as to make good trade union members insistent that their officers receive salaries above what they would make at the trade. If they would ever stop to think seriously, this is a first step in putting a gap between the officer and the member. The officer all too often becomes addicted to his new standard of living and doesn't want to give it up. Thus you have the beginning of the formation of an officer clique, automatic.

All this could be expanded on, such as how AFL-CIO unions scab on one another, but enough has been said to show any trade union member who's been around a year or more the basic operational differences between the IWW and the trade unions. Again, if you believe that the goal of unionism should be a world where all can live in comfort and dignity, then you have got to give serious thought to those differences.

It follows that any union charting a course so far from that of the Establishment is going to meet opposition in quantity. So with the IWW. The organization has been and is being constantly and bitterly opposed by industry, government and—how'd you guess?—by your own AFL-CIO. While it could be said that the IWW has not been permitted to grow because of the indifference of the working class, it could be added that it has not been permitted to grow because of the constant attacks of the ruling class. So the IWW is not big in membership today. But you could swell that membership by one, you know—one more straw on old capitalism's back!

But wouldn't that be dual unionism, carrying a card in a trade union and in the Wobblies too? Truly, it would. But did you ever look close and really define what makes dual unionism? Look close, you'll see that the dual union is the one that's

not in power, in control of the job or whatever. Surely, there's duality where one advocates one thing and another advocates something else. One union, big or little, is just as much dual as the other. It just happens that in our might-makes-right society the one wielding the power does not call itself dual, nor permit itself to be called dual without attempted retaliation.

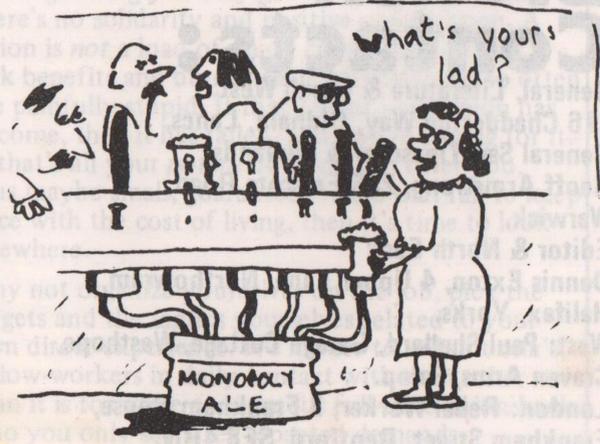
Some trade unions know they have Wobbly members, and are proud of it. Some know they have Wobbly members, and just don't care. And some make Wobbly membership grounds for expulsion; some push this, some don't.

The proposition I want to put to you is, to say that if you believe in the goal, join up as an individual; do what you can. If you belong to a union that makes IWW membership grounds for expulsion and pushes it, then I'm not going to ask you to be a martyr and put yourself into unemployment; but you can still contribute needed support.

You may feel that you can apply IWW rules about officers and so on within your trade union. Go ahead and try. Agitate for it, in any event. But be prepared to find that your governing rules, your constitution and by-laws, were carefully drawn, with much forethought; be prepared to see the courts of the land support their validity; be prepared to find (I suspect you know this already) that they tend to support perpetration and emolumentation of your present officer hierarchy. If you should be a member in one of those rare exceptions to the rule, you ought to join and support IWW principle anyhow.

Two roads ahead. One, the present, a society wherein those who produce the least reap the most. One, to a society where all produce according to ability and share the bounty. The choice is yours.

Pervicacia



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