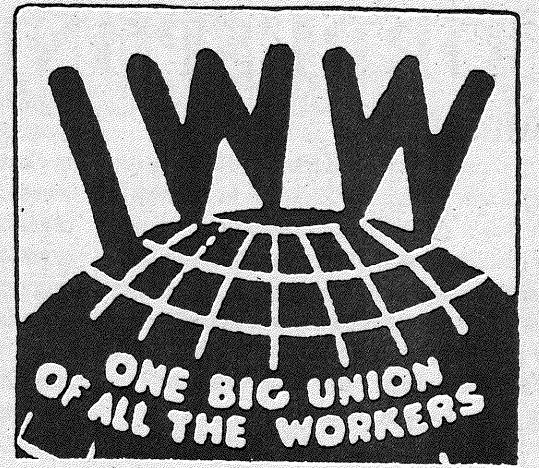


★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World



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50 CENTS

## Miners Struggle Continues

### VIRGINIA REVISITED

On October 21, after a press conference on the State Capitol steps, an eight-car caravan left Denver, Colorado for the coal fields of Virginia. Four Wobblies occupied one van. For Austin Brown, Brendan Ruiz, and Joel Lewis, this would be the first trip, while I was making my second tour. Karen Gandara from IBEW #2300, a member of the Colorado Labor Forum, an old friend, and an enthusiastic veteran of the P-9 struggle, rode with us. In the other seven vehicles were miners from Wyoming and Utah and individuals from several other Denver area unions.

During the 1400 mile trip my thoughts kept returning the excitement of my first trip, the miners' successful occupation of Moss #3, and the anticipation of visiting once again with the friends I had made on my first visit.

We arrived on Monday evening, October 23 to a gorgeous display of fall colors, a warm meal at Camp Solidarity, and a warmer reception by miners and their families. Campfire stories lasted until after midnight.

Tuesday morning we were up at 5:30 for a full day of attending court sessions in Lebanon and Abingdon. We listened to myriad scabs give testimony, one after another, against "camoclad" individuals who had stoned their coal trucks and jack rocked their tires. One Pittston foreman told of a 75 pound rock being thrown from an oncoming pickup, passing through his windshield on through the back window of his pickup, and tearing out his tailgate.

Personally, I heard no convincing testimony. "Camo-clad" individuals threw rocks, although no one could be identified. Vance Security guards have been caught before in camo clothing throwing jack-rocks and breaking windshields. However, we are in Virginia. Judge McLoughlin is presiding. He refuses to allow "miners or their supporters" trial by jury. The word of

scabs and foremen will be accepted, and you can be sure that more heavy fines will be heaped on top of the trillions already levied.

During the testimony, I became enraged at the capitalist concept of justice. Maybe miners did break windshields and puncture tires. So what. They may destroy some property to try to save their jobs and to keep medical benefits for retired miners. When will we try the corporations for the human lives that they destroy?

I began to daydream about a miner sitting in the judge's chair. The witnesses are miners who, one after another, take the

stand to describe the human misery heaped on them by greedy corporations -- the many mine explosions, the many roof-falls crushing miners, chains snapping tearing a man's head from his body, starving widows and children. Verdict: guilty!! Penalty: the miners will own and control the mines; Paul Douglas will serve a life sentence as a janitor .....Someday!

After visiting some picket lines, we returned to camp for supper.

On Wednesday we got up again at 5:30 am for a quick shower, a huge breakfast and a long day touring many picket lines in the area. We visited with miners, yelled at scab coal trucks, and waved to them the one-finger salute. We traveled as a Colorado, Wyoming, Utah caravan. Virginia state troopers were swarming throughout the coal fields. Several railroad unions were in Camp Solidarity, and tension was running high. It was obvious that the state police feared another major action. Our caravan picked up a police escort on leaving the Camp Solidarity gate and kept it in tow all day. We tried to chat with the police on our CB's but did not get a response. One of the caravaners posed a riddle: "know the difference between a police car and a porcupine? porcupines have their pricks on the outside." continued on page 4

### Wobs Remember Everest

On November 11, 1919, Centralia, Washington, was the site of a bloody confrontation between local IWW's and members of the town's American Legion Post. Living up to a well publicized threat, a number of Centralia Legionnaires marched down Tower Street intending to destroy the IWW hall and throw the Wobs out of town. Instead of meeting an empty hall or cowering Wobblies, the Legion found themselves involved in a showdown with a well organized group committed to defending the union hall. No one knows who fired the first shot, but shots were fired, and the American Legion's attempt to drive out the Wobs resulted in four Legionnaires dead. Several Wobs were captured, including Wesley Everest who shot two more Legion members as he attempted to escape. All the Wobs, including Everest, were taken to the local jail. Later that evening, the lights in Centralia mysteriously went out, and Everest was taken from the jail. Trained by a mob of hundreds, he was lynched at a bridge by the edge of town. The coroner's verdict: suicide.

On November 11, 1989, in Centralia, Washington, another group of Wobblies gathered, this time at Greenwood Memorial

Park at Wesley Everest's grave to commemorate his life and the sacrifice he made on behalf of all workers. The group was small, but groups don't have to be large to generate powerful feelings. We walked through the afternoon rain to the grave, laid down our remembrances by the headstone, and sang. We sang, "Solidarity Forever," "Preacher and the Slave," "There is a Power in the Union." Best of all, we sang "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night" lead by Early Robinson, the man who wrote the song in 1936. We read the Preamble and savored the words: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found

After the ceremony, we returned to the sexton's house to enjoy a warm fire and an hour of IWW talk among fellow workers who came from up and down the Washington Coast, Oregon, and Washington, D.C. As we left Centralia, we stopped by the grave for one last look and carried away with us Mother Jones' words written on a wreath:

"Remember the dead, but fight like hell for the living."  
-Jill Fugate-

WE CHALLENGE YOUR RIGHT TO GOVERN

### Homeless Take Direct Action

Disgusted with Ann Arbor city government spending money to shelter cars instead of people, the Homeless Action Committee (HAC) seized a building scheduled to be bulldozed to make way for a parking lot. The house is now being run as an organizing headquarters for HAC and a home for HAC members without permanent homes.

Hearing of HAC's plans to liberte a city council meeting and hold a People's Council on cable tv the politicians locked City Halls doors and moved their meeting to a bus depot on the edge of town. "That they ran away and left us outside is symbolic of the way they haverun from taking action to end the housing crisis." The one hundred plus people gathered outside City Hall expressed disgust with City Council for hiding from an angry and organized citizenry.

The demonstrators, including more than a dozen Wobblies, then marched to the house that had been seized earlier by HAC members. They brought in food, water and heating devices and generally enjoyed the days accomplishment.

Protesters also expressed disgust with the unwillingness of social democrat-type politicians to risk their cozy positions by confronting the causes of wage and rent problems working people deal with daily. "You can't have socialism in one town. That's not the point," said one squatter, "but you do have to confront everyday issues like housing and jobs from a class perspective just like the bankers and developers do. That means asking 'what do we do for us' and not 'what can we get them to agree to.'"



Ann Arbor is a city of 100,000 in a metro-area of about 250,000 with a smaller working class city center at Ypsilanti seven miles to the east. During the 1980s Ann Arbor city government has poured millions of dollars into constructing new parking lots while developers have torn up the town to build big, empty, office buildings, financed with various tax subsidies.

HAC says, "The City of Ann Arbor is waging war against the poor in Ann Arbor. City policies state that people with low incomes, who are disproportionately people of color, and people without homes, have no place in Ann Arbor."

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**Branch news**  
**Homeless organizer jailed in Ottawa**



Earl Robinson, composer of "Joe Hill" and Wobbly singers at Centralia, Washington  
Photo by Jens Lund, Washington State Folklife Council

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Zionism

In recent letter on Zionism, Robert Nordlander compared Zionism to Nazism by using a single out-of-context quotation. His emotional arguments that Zionism is inherently racist are still invalid. If Zionists were the same as Nazis, there wouldn't be any problems with Palestinians or the PLO. Israel would have done what its neighbors do with their insurgents: kill them. In Syria, Iran, or Iraq, dissenters are commonly murdered by the military, or by sham trials similar to those of the Wobblies in 1905-1924. Israel has not massacred any Palestinians or Arabs, (except in wars begun by Arab nations with the goal of Israel's destruction). The massacres mistakenly attributed to the Israeli army at Sabra and Chantilla were, in fact, committed by the Christian Phalangists of Lebanon. Israel's conduct regarding Palestinians has been unfair and damaging—but not genocidal, and no worse than that of most other countries (England and the Irish; Jordan and the Palestinians; America and the Indians; the Soviet Union and its subnationalities; etc.). Yet, Nordlander has not called any other nation "the progeny of racism." Why not?

Some people fear Zionism because of the Great International Jewish Conspiracy. This widely-held belief boils down to two statements: All Jews hang together, and Jews are secretly running the world. A shade of the first part shows up in Nordlander's statement that "Perhaps Brenner will be more to [Vogel's] liking now that he knows Brenner is Jewish." Zionism is little more than nationalism for Israel. This is no different from British or American nationalism, except that the extremists use religion rather than birthplace to segregate people. Examining

COVER ART: by Ralph Chaplin.  
A 1913 IWW silent agitator.

something that some of Israel's founders were guilty of). It's easy to leave a bomb in Harrod's, or to push a man in a wheelchair off a ship. It's more difficult to organize people into a democratic organization like the IWW—and that's precisely what groups such as the PLO have failed to do.

In addition to terrorism, Israelis have lived in a state of war with the Arab nations since the state was created, partly because of Britain's blundering and partly because of greed—by the Arab states. It's no surprise that they seem to be extreme in their reactions, especially considering the behavior of their neighbors. (Syria, for example, murdered many citizens en masse for assumed treasons). Israel's reaction is much less extreme than, say, Britain's in Ireland, especially considering that their history and the years of terrorism sponsored by the PLO. Yet, some, such as Nordlander, hold a double standard. Why? It's because Zionism is assumed to be fundamentally different than, say, British nationalism!

Many Israelis are not Jews, but are Arabs or Christians, with full rights under the law—identical to the rights of Jews. Shakak's statement that non-Jews "cannot live" is nonsense.

Some Zionists argue that most Palestinians left their homes voluntarily, and that the Arabs promised they'd be able to return when the Jews were driven into the sea. They also point out that Jordan, Egypt, and Syria have refused to give land or independence to the Palestinians. (I don't want to argue over these statements; I'm taking their word for it, at the moment).

One final note. There are extremists in every country and every cause. Nordlander could get equally damaging quotations on American racism by interviewing some minority leaders here in the United States. He could also get damaging quotes by the "intellectual leadership" of this country by interviewing some members of the Reagan Administration, or by attending the Conservative Political Action Convention.

Israel is not blameless. But we shouldn't hold it to a double standard because the inhabitants are Jews or because some loud-mouthed bigots happen to be Zionists. Even as this goes to press, thousands of Jewish Israelis are protesting

Israel's restrictive religious laws, one finds remarkable parallels to the Christian "blue laws" of the United States. They are more restrictive than American religious laws, but less restrictive than those of Iran. I don't favor laws based on religion, but I refuse to hold a double standard of Christian and "other" blue laws, or of Israeli and American nationalism, or of Israeli and American extremists.

The word "racism" is often used by people because it creates hatred for the presumed "racists." But we should use this term to those who really are racists. Jews and Arabs are part of the same race (Caucasian), and are both considered to be "Semitic." We're just playing with words here, but the words can have a strong, emotional effect—when there's no logic or evidence behind them.

As an aside for those who believe that Judaism is a race (including Jews who believe this): first, no biological evidence has ever been found separating Jews from people of other religions. Second, there are black Jews, Indian Jews, Asian Jews, and European Jews. Third, nobody can leave or enter a race; yet, one can convert to and from Judaism. Can one convert to african-americanism or caucasianism or orientalism?

Why is Israel pursuing their absurd policy of suppressing the Palestinians in the occupied territories? First, let's remember that these territories are occupied, in the wartime sense of the word. They were annexed as a result of war begun by an Arab country for the sole purpose of destroying Israel. Before then, they were used as launching points for attacking Israeli civilians.

With that in mind, let's also consider the fact that Israelis endured terrorism practically since the state was created. Terrorism, as a reminder, is a word meaning "killing or injuring innocent citizens to protest the state." Terrorism is a cheap and easy way out for people who don't have the guts to attack those they are supposedly trying to fight. (And it is the treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territory, and popular opinion has

turned against the ruling government. In the meantime ... I'm very suspicious of anyone who compares Jews to Nazis. There are those who believe that the Jews "brought it on themselves" in the Holocaust, and that they deserved to be slaughtered. These same people would prefer the PLO to have its way, and for the Israelis to be slaughtered. These same people would prefer the PLO to have its way, and for the Israelis to be slaughtered as well. That's even more unsatisfactory than the current situation.

Many Jews in Israel know that their interests lie with their Palestinian and Arab fellow workers. They're not killing people to prove it though. They're demonstrating by the thousand in the streets of Israel, and in the next election should be voting correspondingly. Just as our barbarism in Nicaragua went on until the people protested loudly enough, the actions of Israel in the occupied territories cannot continue much longer.

Countries which mistreat people in occupied territories, not for the purpose of genocide, are wrong, but they are not the "progeny of racism."

D. Sacz

### Will it ever Change?

To the IW:

I was in Virginia recently, visiting the striking Pittston miners, and have a few observations to share. The UMWA is taking a beating in the courts and being harassed outside the courts as well. The miners damage the trucks that haul the scab coal from the mines, and they intimidate the truck drivers too. The railroad workers also haul coal, but they are seen as allies in the struggle. The only difference I can see is that the railroad workers are union and the truck drivers aren't. At the weekly rally, I heard labor leaders endorse politicians, and I heard representatives of large labor unions pledging their support for the miners. Unions presented checks for large sums of money to the striking miners "involved in this important struggle", but these checks seemed small when I considered that they only represented a 50 cent contribution from each union member. Yes, the business unions seem cheap, when the impoverished IWW has raised more than \$10 per member in donations to the miners.

When I returned home, I contacted a man I hadn't spoken to in more than a year. He had just returned from Virginia where he had worked as a guard protecting Pittston mine property. He recalls a day when his position was overrun by 5,000 camouflaged miners (outnumbered 125 to 1). He said that while both the miners and the guards participate in harassment, the miners are the bigger offenders. Apparently the miners throw lit dynamite onto the roofs of the buildings the guards are in. Worker fights worker, and the ruling class wins again. Will it ever change?

Brendan Ruiz

### An Injury to One

is an Injury to all

The above familiar slogan has recently taken on a new and deeper meaning for me. On Sept. 29th while riding my marvelous motorcycle I was hammered by a lovely yuppie lady who was dreaming of wicker picnic baskets filled with white wine, brie cheese and other bourgeois comforts while she should have been watching traffic. Due to injuries sustained I was off my feet for three weeks and missed many hours of joyous wage-slavery. I would like to take this opportunity to thank my fellow Denver/Boulder Wobs for their most generous support. Food, money, transportation and companionship were offered by my fellow Wobs in the most unselfish manner, enabling me to get through some rough times. Thanks much!

Woody Hill

## Industrial Worker

ONE UNION ONE LABEL  
ONE ENEMY



### COLLECTIVE:

Penny Pixler, Mark Kaufmann,  
Mike Hill, Ingrid Kock,  
Jerry Frazer, Jeff Ditz, Carlos Cortez

### CONTRIBUTORS:

Lynden Kelly, Einar Kvaran, Martin St. John (Ann Arbor), Jill Fugate (Bellingham) Gary Cox, Woody Hill, Brendan Ruiz (Denver) Mike Konopacki (Madison), September 19 Union (Mexico), David Sacz (New York), Minor Variante (Ottawa) Jess Grant (San Francisco)

General Secretary-Treasurer: Jeff Ditz

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BOSS... WE'RE JUST HANDING OUT RECIPES!

## El Salvador: Bring the War Home



Last year on a tour through Central America, I heard stories from other travellers about Europeans and North Americans in El Salvador who were arrested, thrown out of country, threatened, even raped. Clearly, the military had gone out of control and was terrorizing not only their own population but anyone else who set foot in the country and even remotely appeared to sympathize with the movement for liberation. I spoke to two Lockheed pilots whose flights in El Salvador had been suspended, "Yeah It's hot down there," said one, "And I don't mean the weather."

And no wonder its hot. The US has pumped more than \$4.5 billion dollars of military aid in the past ten years into this small country. We've given guns and bombs and helicopters to a country whose leadership has engaged in a wholesale slaughter of their own people through aerial bombings, selective targetting of the political and religious opposition movements, and death squad activity. The recent assassinations of the priests on the campus of the University of El Salvador are simply another brutal episode in a continuing saga of military repression. The US Ambassador William Walker has virtually sanctioned the civilian casualties inflicted by the Salvadoran Army in the recent upsurge of combat when he said "avoiding civilian casualties is a virtual impossibility."

Union leaders have been particularly hard hit. According to the *Guardian*, "At least eight people were killed and 40 injured in San Salvador Oct. 31 in two rightist bombings. One at the office of the National Salvadoran Workers Federation killed eight including (its) director Febe Elizabeth Velasquez."

The FLMN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) is growing in force in response to this terror. In the weeks of November 15-22, the rebels captured more than a third of the capital city of El Salvador and "brought the country to a halt." (NYT 11/24/89). The FLMN's ability to take over such large areas in the city and in the countryside and to penetrate military institutions in the face of the government's massive resources demonstrates that, without US intervention in the past ten years, the rebels could have won the war a long time ago.

As the FMLN gains the strength needed for the final popular insurrection and as they improve their capacity to provide food and decent health care to people in their liberated zones, we in the US should take

### Bringing the War Home

I've come to realize that the means by which we struggle to support the El Salvadorans are very important. I've had two contrasting experiences this year at solidarity demonstrations which taught me some lessons about bringing the war home.

Last March, I attended a demonstration in Chicago on the eve of Salvadoran President Cristiani's inauguration with approximately 800 people. At a planning meeting the night before, several anarchists had suggested we should engage in spontaneous street actions as opposed to passive civil disobedience. Leadership of CISPES insisted on the passive civil disobedience, so, the next day 30 of us including religious folk, lesbians, and even a high school student, sat down on Michigan Avenue to block traffic for less than ten minutes before we were hauled away.

I felt defeated at the tactical weakness of our movement. We were playing a role in a carefully orchestrated series of events which posed little threat or challenge to our system but only constituted a kind of ritualized opposition.

In contrast on November 18, I joined another solidarity demonstration, also in Chicago, which proved to be much more dynamic. The demonstration took place on the same day that Solidarnosc leader Lech Walensa was appearing downtown with the mayor to urge capitalist investment in Poland. We were demonstrating in outrage over the death squad murder of the El Salvadoran priests the week before and to demand an immediate halt to US support of the right wing military regime. We were also demonstrating to show our support for the FMLN's offensive. Over 1000 police were picketing an earlier appearance of

Walensa to demand a better contract from Mayor Daley. So there was a lot going on.

Our El Salvador march was loud and militant. Protected by the crowd, we placed bumper stickers "No More Death Aid" on the glass of the glittery downtown department stores. We marched by Daley Plaza where a crowd was gathering to get ready for Walensa. The crowd consisted of labor people: AFSCME, AFL-CIO, UMWA who mostly wore union jackets and a myriad of Poles who seemed to be mostly wearing fur coats. Their pre-printed pro-Walensa signs contrasted with our hand made "No More Military Aid to El Salvador" ones. We were loud, but no one seemed too hostile. I stopped to give to and get support from a UMWA rep. who was handing out information sheets on the Pittston miners.

On the whole, my feeling of distance from the Walensa crowd seemed odd. They were not hostile to us, but we were inserting a discordant chord into what was meant to be a festive occasion. We seemed to have a difference of purpose and tactics. Yet, it didn't seem like supporters of free Polish trade unions, supporters of US unions and supporters of the workers and peasants in El Salvador should have many differences at all.

After we marched by Daley Plaza, we went back to Michigan Avenue. Something had changed since the earlier demonstration in March: perhaps the growing frustration with the length and additional brutalities of the war, but there was definitely a more radical mood. The crowd did not offer themselves to the police, sitting passively, but rather took the street standing with hundreds strong. The police tried to chase us out, but as they

succeeded in clearing one lane; another group of demonstrators would cross the street and take that same lane over. We held Michigan Avenue, a major Chicago artery, for half an hour. The police could only clear the way with their troops of horses trampling on protestors.

In a strategic retreat, we headed back to Daley Plaza to reach the national newsmedia that had gathered for the Walensa appearance and to impress upon Walensa himself that the union movement in El Salvador also deserved his support. When we were only a block away, the police surrounded us and refused to allow us to move in any direction, even to leave the demonstration. It was a frightening moment. We could hear the cheers for Walensa as we faced the unpleasant prospect of being isolated in the power of the Chicago police. They did not attack, but I was reminded of the thin edge that keeps state power at bay. The more powerful we become, the more they will

restrain and repress us. This lesson is brought home by the consequences of rebellion in El Salvador and by looking at our own Wobbly history.

But we have to start taking these risks. I believe there is a stronger tone in the US opposition movement, not only in the Central American Solidarity movement, but also in the labor movement with the Pittston miners leading the way. We need to encourage this risk-taking and also unify so that our fight for decent work conditions, food, health care knows no borders. We can take strength from the fact that whether we are in El Salvador or Virginia or on the streets of Chicago, we are not alone.

Ingrid Kock

## IWW Carries Forward from Past to Future



Given the absence of any cause for optimism about the future, and the odds for a major global catastrophe, the 1980s were characterized by an escape into the past: Elvis-red-baiting-ultra-reactionary-Christian sects; a search for old-fashioned heroes (Reagan, Thatcher; a rejection and reversal of social programs and social consciousness; and the return of Nazism, racism, and homophobia. Westerns are even back on TV. As the devastating effects of global capital restructuring begin to hit home in the early 1990s; it may be assumed that these trends to escape into a simpler identity from the past will continue for some time.

Is the resurgence of the IWW part of this trend? Probably, to some degree. Certainly, its deep historical roots are an attraction. It was easier to see society as two classes in 1905; today we have the so-called middle classes which make the problem less clear. Too, the labour struggles of olden days were black and white-the mass of factory workers pitted against a rich individual or family factory owner, whereas today, the typical labour struggle is between a multinational conglomerate and plant workers in several locations, even different countries. In 1905, wobblies could see the possibility of solving the problem of world production and distribution; now, we know that we have had the technology to feed the world since the late 1940s. It is tempting, too, to identify with IWW heroes like Joe Hill and Gurley Flynn, even though today there are no gospel sing-alongs or street corner speakers.

Our difficulties with organizing the workforce in the 1980s is certainly due to changes both in the nature of work and in the attitude of workers toward work. The labour movement in general, and even the radical IWW, still relies on the organizing premises of 1905. We have yet to develop the organizational "persona" with which modern workers can truly identify, through which they can link their daily activity with their aspirations for a better life.

In this regard, the IWW is way ahead of the general labour movement. The trade unions are in serious decline, and the majority of workers do not see trade unionism as being in their interest.

Proof of the correctness of the IWW program is that its democracy-intensive structure is easily adaptable to changing conditions. The IWW's gains in the 1980s among environmentalists, prisoners, coops, homemakers, students, and now sex trade workers, are all signs of the IWW's relevance to the present era.

Yet it must be admitted that even the IWW is still unable to get at the main body of unorganized service workers such as office temps, part-timers, food service workers, cleaners, daycare, retail clerks, couriers, etc. The sole exception here is the success among telephone solicitors in the Seattle region.

How, then, do we create a revitalized labour movement that speaks to the needs of modern workers? We are doing just that, by trial and error, on a variety of fronts.

One vital element of IWW philosophy is an actual concrete plan for a better future. In this dark age, optimism is a rare beacon. Optimism with a practical grass roots direct action plan to get from here to a Better World is a priceless pearl in the slag heap of cynicism.

There are two things we need to do here: talk, and act. Talk about the New Society we shall build. How it is to be built, along what lines, and what it will be like to live there. What industries would

disappear, how work would be organized in remaining or new industries. Opportunities for pleasure and self-development that will be created by the rational organization of production. Then we need to demonstrate it, to capture a piece here and a piece there, in a living experiment. Solidarity in action; self-empowerment; mini-economics; communal activities; sharing the wealth.

The IWW is a labor union. What does that mean? It's up to us to decide, not the NLRB! Part of our work is organizing on the job and negotiating with employers. Another part of our work is organizing to carry on production after capitalism shall have been overthrown. That means doing for ourselves, together. We can start now, in small ways. By sharing food, shelter, technology, money, and yes, even love. Solidarity is not just for the picket line - it's an essential way of life, in the new world of economic liberation. One Big Union means that we are all together; all sisters and brothers.

This is important because cooperation is the antithesis of capitalist competition. Cooperation is natural for human beings, but competitive economy stifles cooperation. People need to share. They want to trust and be trusted, to feel part of a community. The IWW can provide the medium for self-help. Co-op food buying, babysitting, transportation, art, music, books, laundry...there are no limits.

We could not ignore the concerns of workers on the job; neither can we ignore the concerns of workers at home and in society, if we would win their allegiance.

Give to the  
**INDUSTRIAL WORKER**  
Sustaining Fund

heart that billions of dollars of US military aid and military advisors cannot defeat the peasant and worker movement in El Salvador while we recognize the enormity of loss that the US government's policy has created.

# Worker Participation at Wherehouse



Worker participation is a term that is misused a lot. It's used as if it refers to a specific process or structure when it is actually a very broad concept. Workers participating in the management of a business means that workers have a role in making decisions that have been previously seen as management decisions. Implementing structures and processes which allow (force) workers to be part of managing the resources of their businesses can fundamentally change the power structure of work relations. Whether or not a given structure actually does change that power dynamic depends on what the specific role of the worker really is in the decision-making and what arena of decisions are affected.

A lot of so-called new practices that have come into the workplace in the last 30 years or so are being mislabeled and misconceived of as worker participation. They are things that make a job more humane, make it a "good" job but they don't constitute workers participation in the management of their enterprises. These revisions include being on a first-name basis with everyone at work including the bosses, sharing the most undesired tasks like cleaning the bathrooms or taking weekend hours, managers having an "open-door" policy, everyone having the same wage rate, periodically rotating jobs (even if the manager job is rotated the workers aren't sharing in the management decisions), having good job security, having access to management and financial information, getting frequent bonuses--all these things are nice, they enhance a job, but they don't have any direct effect on changing the roles of workers and managers or the balance of power between them.

There are changes that can move workers toward having a part in managing their businesses. How significant their role becomes depends on how diluted the workers part in the decision-making process is, and how significant the decision is. Very broadly there are two types of management decisions, each having different ramifications: policy decisions and operational decisions.

Policy decisions affect the long-range

future of the business and so also the long range shape of jobs, but don't have much effect on day-to-day working life of the workers. They are things like having seats on Boards of Directors; having a role in the selection, evaluation and firing of CEO's, general managers and other managers; having a role in decisions about investments and expenditures, product line development, planning and budgeting, marketing and pricing; resolving grievances. And of course the exact role played by the worker compared to the role of the manager matters totally--if managers have the final say in decisions, the workers' part in developing the decision is undermined. Likewise if committees of 1 worker and 3 managers are the decision-making body, the workers' only power is the ability to persuade, they don't come to the committee with a truly full share.

Operational decisions are a little different in that they usually don't affect the future form of the company, but probably do affect the daily worklife of everyone. These are decisions like setting operational policies and procedures (and safety standards), hiring co-workers, evaluating co-workers, scheduling, training, selecting equipment, setting personnel policies, assigning specific tasks to specific people. In these decisions too there is a continuum of how much influence the worker really has. If the worker decides what pens and paper to buy while the manager chooses which forklifts and freezers to get, the change is merely token.

Unless compelled by worker militancy, we must expect managers to tend to allow worker input into what's traditionally been their realm under two conditions: one is if workers are taking busy work off their hands, like ordering toilet paper; and the other is if they retain some way of overriding the decision--so in essence workers can make decisions as long as they make the decision the manager would have made. To get beyond management's tendency to trivialize worker's participation, we must push in our formal and informal negotiations to make changes real--develop systems that allow us to have a true impact on the design of our destiny.

Participation at our workplace falls into two general categories, that which is outlined in the contract between the IWW Job Branch 660 and the Michigan Federation of Food Co-ops, and the defacto aspects that have developed over the years. The two are very interrelated, but the contractually guaranteed rights, such as the workers' responsibilities to develop departmental policies and procedures are only given meaning by the practices that exist on the shop floor.

The article in our contract entitled "Worker Participation" has two primary components, "Workers Rights and Responsibilities", and "Decision Making". Included in the former section is the right and responsibility to evaluate oneself, one's peers and management, to hold oneself and others accountable for the quality of work done and to be informed about the union, the business and it's membership. Workers are guaranteed content variation in their work and the right to have access to management information. These are all necessary components if the workers are to feel vested in the workplace.

The "Decision Making" article outlines the areas workers have participation in. These include changing job descriptions and work rules, setting performance criteria, changing services and others. These activities take place in two main arenas, department meetings, and in the department Steering Column (DSC). Department meetings are held at least monthly and allow department members to have input into relevant decisions as well as discuss topics that involve the entire department.

The DSC's are composed of the department manager and two department members elected by the department workers. They are contractually mandated to assign tasks, develop policies and procedures and to make training decisions. However, these measures are meaningless if they are not put into practice.

One way to look at how this happens is to look at the crew system. Periodically workers request what hours they want to work and what crews they want to work on. A crew consists of a group of workers responsible for getting a particular task done. This might be taking orders, telephone receipting, receiving goods, restocking them, filling orders from the floor, the cooler or small pick, doing breakdowns, invoicing or any of the other functions that are needed for the running of the workplace. The DSC and the scheduler determine what the workplaces needs are and how these can best be integrated with what the worker needs. It is at this time

that training decisions as to who will obtain what training in the near future are made. The actual training of an individual is done by the crew members in a manner decided upon by them. Tasks that do not fall within any particular crew are assigned by the DSC from among the workers who apply for them. An attempt is made to spread these around among as many people as possible.

The people who belong to a particular crew, and most workers are on four or five crews, elect a crew pilot, who, with their input, makes or amends crew procedures and standards. Many of the latter are unwritten and there can be problems when they are not met. This is one area of participation that we are currently struggling with.

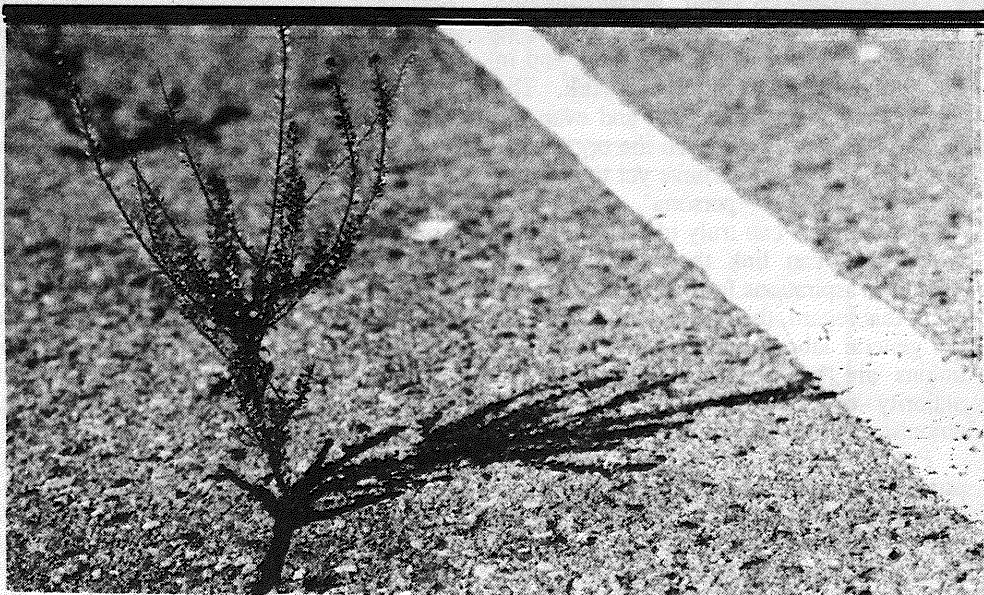
Some positions have evolved as elected rather than appointed ones. Foremost among these is the "hoss" position. Four hesses are elected by the warehouse department members, one to serve for each of the four weeks in our four week cycles. The hoss is the one to see that the days work is prioritized, set out and completed. S/he may need to make changes in the daily schedule and this sometimes involves moving workers from desirable tasks to more strenuous or mundane ones. It is imperative that this be accomplished without undue friction or resentment between worker and hoss. The hoss is not a manager and can't really tell another worker what to do. They can only let it be known what needs to be done. Participation can only be effective if workers believe in it.

Working in a participatory workplace is a learned skill, just like driving a hi-lo, packing a cheese box, or entering an order into the computer. It comes easier to some people than others, but all can learn to do it. Workers must learn that direction or correction can come from their co-workers, not just management. Before this can happen workers must believe in and have respect for themselves and each other. But, I digress.

What our system has allowed us to do is set up our work, both the daily and the long term tasks in a manner that we find to be effective and efficient. It enables us to have control over those aspects of the workplace that we are the most involved in. To try to fully describe, much less evaluate worker participation as engaged in at the People's Wherehouse would require much more space than this, but in a few words ...it's real, it works, and it's not easy, but it's worth it.

Lynden Kelly

Einar Kvaran



## BICYCLE

On a bicycle, you can beat any car in the city. You can even get away from the cops. You can park in front or carry it inside. You don't need a license, registration, or insurance.

You can build a bike from discarded and abandoned parts or buy one for \$100 in a store. Mountain bikes with big tires that don't get flats and a basket are the best way to go.

You can travel cross country at a leisurely 50 miles a day or make 100 with the wind behind and pushing. Carry a tent and sleeping bag. You'll find a beautiful spot each evening or stop at campgrounds for 1 or 2 dollars and get a shower. In California, you could pick up aluminum cans along the highway to pay for expenses. The only real danger is getting hit by a car.

The car is the worst thing on the planet.

They foul the environment just by their loud massive ugliness. They're the major air polluter. Gas for cars is the main reason for super tankers and offshore drilling rigs. The money involved has created huge multinational corporations and ultraconservative nations. 1 in 5 jobs in the USA involves cars while only 1 in 50 jobs produces food (In bicycle China it's the opposite). 50,000 people a year in the USA are killed outright on the highways. How many animals lose habitats to roads or get run over?

What a wonderful world it would be for all those highways to be overgrown with weeds except for the bike paths down the middle. bicycles should be a big part of the anarchist, green, and labor movements. don't show up in a lot of cars! You'll benefit physically too -- all the exercise you need.

By Bicycle

## Virginia Revisited

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Labor Secretary Dole's recent visit, Vance Security guards are much less visible. They are there, but they were not parading around in combat regalia as before. Since the Moss #3 takeover, they are probably ashamed to show their faces.

Wednesday night the now traditional weekly UMWA rally was held in St. Paul Virginia. A large crowd of miners and railroaders listened to a variety of speeches, many by officials from a large number of craft unions which represent the railroad industry. (what ever happened to Debs' dream of an industrial railroad union?) As they spoke, promising solidarity with the miners, two trains hauling scab coal passed behind them, drowning out the speeches. The hypocrisy was obvious to everyone, even the railroad union. The excuse for scabbing was "the law". Whose law? When will workers see through and ignore "the law"? They can't put us all in jail.

Cecil Roberts, executive Vice President of the UMWA, once again delivered the speech the miners had been patiently waiting to hear. He is the obvious favorite of the miners. As he had before, he stated that this is not just a strike, this is class war, and that the miners would not stop at

At one point our small caravan had an escort of eight state police cars. since winning the strike, they will change the

system where corporations own the courts. He challenged the courts to put him in jail, saying, "Judge McLoughlin doesn't have the guts to put me in jail." Roberts knows, as do the judges he challenges, that to jail him would bring every UMWA miner out of the mines in every district in the nation. Will other unions follow?

Cecil Roberts is popular, he is fearless, and he is right. Yet, he is not the strength of this struggle. Rank-and-file miners do not have his skill at making rousing speeches, but their courage is the backbone that allows him to make his speeches unmolested. When this strike is over, Cecil had better watch his backside. He will be targeted by corporations, the government, and union bureaucrats. They cannot chance a more general strike by attacking him now; they will wait for better timing.

We left for Colorado early Thursday morning with a great deal to think about on our trip home. Go, fellow workers. See this struggle for yourselves. Witness history in the making. This is the most crucial labor struggle since the sit-ins. These miners deserve our support. They can win if labor will support them. Will you? Send donations to: Justice for Pittston Miners, c/o UMWA District 28, PO Box 28, Castlewood, VA 24224

Gary Cox



Photo by Jim Klein, Urban Center for Photography (Detroit)

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Driven by federal policy and speculator greed Ann Arbor has resegregated during the eighties. Working people have been driven outwards to the townships or to subsidized projects at the city's periphery.

The taking of the house is a fitting development in the struggles over Ann Arbor housing. At its most basic struggles over housing are struggles about class, about the economic makeup of a city, who lives and works there and what they do. Working with the system doesn't work in dealing with these basic problems.

The next week HAC and supporters occupied the City Council chambers at the start of a council meeting. Declaring themselves the People's Council they took over the chambers and "passed four new laws" to chants of "House people, Not cars."

Opening the meeting HAC People's Council members declared, "On any other Monday night you would hear the concerns of the business community represented by the Council members who usually take these seats. We take these seats because the City Council has not taken action to end this city's housing crisis, and has in fact, actively contributed to this crisis. Any government that neglects its responsibilities forfeits its right to govern. This city has taken away the right to housing. We challenge its right to govern."

These emergency laws call for the city to cancel construction of new parking structures and use those funds to immediately build 1500 units of low-income housing. Under the People's law any new multiple-unit housing development must set aside 30% of its space as housing affordable to people with low and fixed incomes. Developers of

commercial buildings must contribute 30% of the cost of their projects towards construction of low cost housing. The fourth law passed by the People's Council calls for the immediate opening of more emergency shelter space and the provision of transitional housing for people moving from homelessness to permanent housing.

On this last point HAC says, "Shelters do nothing to end a homeless persons isolation, nothing to promote the development of low-income housing, and as such amounts to imprisonment. The need for more shelter space is only a symptom of how negligent the City has been in failing to address the housing crisis. City policies are a crime in progress which will cause residents to freeze to death on our city streets this winter because they have no place to stay. Emergency shelters are a necessary evil."

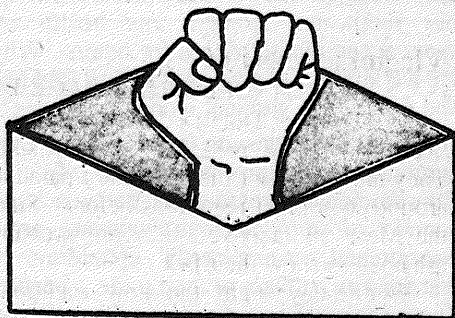
The housing crisis in the US is deepening. Three million people are now homeless as the economy goes into recession.

Immediate needs like emergency shelters and massive rehabbing and construction of affordable decent housing must be met. But that is not enough. We need to redesign our cities and workplaces. We need to redesign society. Decent affordable housing, the right to stay in our communities and protect them from speculators, like the right to decent work are among the basic demands coming forth among Northamericans.

Polite 'with the system' tactics are a problem not a solution. Homeless people are taking houses, and the future, into their own hands. Do it.

Martin St. John

## Referenda Union Wide VOTE!



### A RESOLUTION ON UNION DEBT TO THE HUNGARIAN LITERATURE FUND

The following resolution sent to the membership by the convention was inadvertently left out of the notices of resolutions in the November Industrial Worker. It will be appearing in the first union wide referendum of the new year.

"Be it resolved that the General Secretary Treasurer be directed to make arrangements to repay the Hungarian Literature Fund the \$4810.72 owed as of January 1, 1989, and any additional debts incurred since that time through a schedule of regular monthly payments."

Members are encouraged to discuss all referenda in the pages of the union's internal newsletter (General Organization Bulletin).

### A RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A NEW INDUSTRIAL UNION FOR SEX TRADE WORKERS

The following resolution was sent to the membership by the convention. The writers of the resolution have requested a six month discussion period.

"Given that it is the goal of the IWW to lend solidarity and support to all people who are not members of the employing class, And given that it is no more the business of this union to pass judgement on its members sexual activity than on their political or religious beliefs, And given that the IWW has always been open to many trades which individual members may wish to see ended or fundamentally changed, such as munitions, nuclear or luxury product workers,

### Activists Face Police Repression

## Homeless Establish Camp in Ottawa

On August 27, a permanent camp for the homeless was established on Algonquin Indian land within the city of Ottawa, which is also claimed by the federal government. The Algonquins very kindly gave us permission to be here, but the government doesn't like to share.

Native Elder Wilf Pelletier led the circle in a strong medicine ceremony to open the refuge. Tents were put up and food was shared by about 45 persons. All the local media were there. A large banner read, "Life, Liberty, and Security of the Person", quoting from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Jane Scarf, welfare rights advocate and new IWW member, told the media that she will not leave until the government lives up to its obligations and halts its war on the poor. At issue are a whole range of social service cutbacks, a new sales tax, and illegal government maneuvers, all deriving from the current restructuring of the economy to suit the conditions of the Reagan-Mulroney trade deal. Included are welfare policy changes which would deny welfare to persons with a poor work history, persons who refuse to change their appearance or attitude to "enhance employability", persons who refuse to accept any job they are physically capable of doing, and persons on strike or locked out in a labour dispute. (Ont. Min. Soc. Ser. GW-0303-03 17 Aug 81)

By the third day, there were three tents and eight residents at the new camp. Then the police came and confiscated the tents and the banner. Jane got a ticket for starting a fire without a permit.

Next morning, police again put out the fire and wrote a ticket. Park maintenance workers were called to remove the stones from around the fire. Later, a crew arrived to begin clearing away bushes where homeless people often sleep. But they left a big pile of branches just right for building lean-to shelters.

The following day, police came to arrest Jane on an old ticket (trespassing during a sit-in at a welfare office). She was bailed out for \$55 and returned to the camp the same evening.

On Friday police put out the fire and seized a cooler, sleeping bags, a chair, and a sheet of plastic.

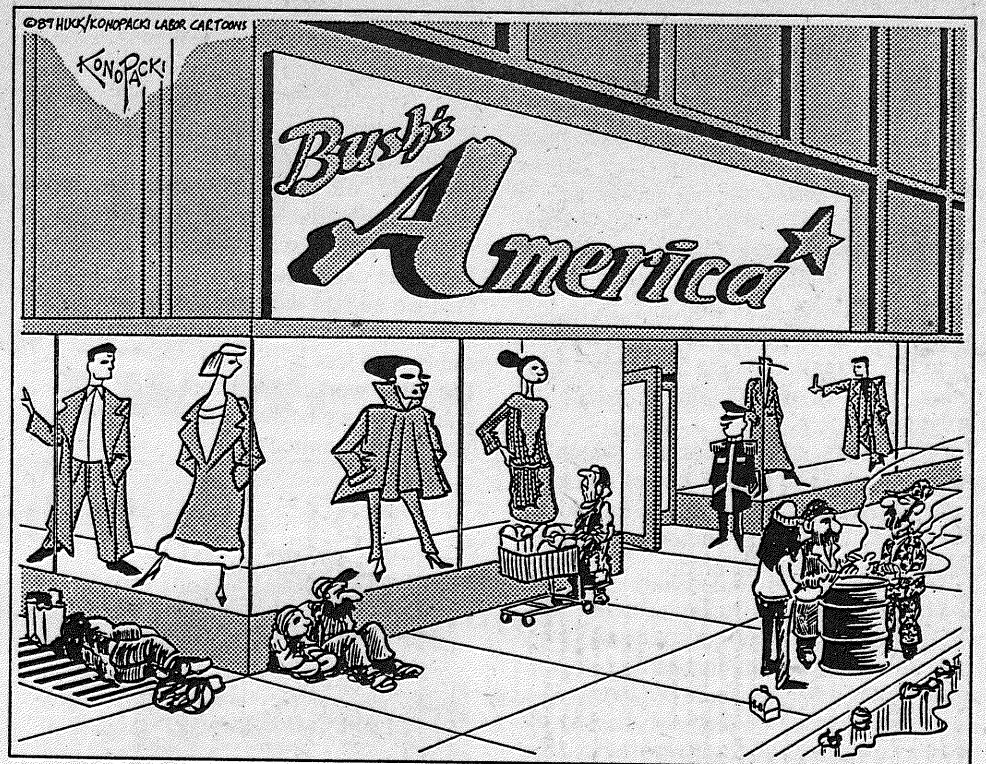
Saturday morning police put out the fire; and this writer happened to be present when two police vehicles arrived at 11 pm. They squirted the fire with a chemical, blasting glowing coals all over the place. They wrote Jane another ticket and checked everybody out on their computers to make sure none of us were a menace to society. Then they called the park workers to take away the stones and the lean-to.

Jane and her supporters always explain things to the police and they are not hostile. The park workers offer friendly advice. One policeman told Jane that as long as we stay out of sight, they'll leave us alone. But that is exactly the problem: the rich are content to pretend the homeless and the poor don't exist, as long as they don't see them. And the homeless people are so used to hiding from the cops, most of them are afraid to come out in the open. But they stop by for food.

The governments hope we'll give up and go away; Jane has documentation for a "test case" against the powers of the Provincial government, and the federal government is implicated. Both governments have just blown big bucks on a propaganda blitz to soften up the public for the axe. They're hoping to quietly sneak these changes through before people catch on.

Though this protest is mostly about welfare and the unemployed, it is very important to all workers. Where there is no welfare, employers can get away with any wages and working conditions they choose.

MV



And given that the IWW has consistently been the first labour organization in North America to organize workers whose labour is not respected, such as migrants, homemakers and prisoners,

And given that millions of predominantly female workers are struggling against the violence of poverty, racism, sexism, unwanted pimps (both individual and state-sponsored), police brutality and social ostracism, without any relief from workers outside their trade and very little from within,

And given that there exists substantial bodies of these workers, particularly those underage or with families to support, who experience numerous barriers when attempting other employment and that these people would clearly stand to benefit from the freedom of choice that could only be won through the militant self-organization of sex trade workers,

And given that the IWW would take special pains not to be felt as a competing pressure on existing sex trade associations, but rather, as an extension of resources in solidarity, with the expectation of dual members in exactly the manner as we have come to expect with other labour organizations.

Therefore, the IWW shall immediately add to its Public Service Department a Sex Trade Workers Industrial Union specifically to address the extraordinary needs of all members employed as dancers and models, telephone sex workers, hookers, hustlers, escorts, non-contact sex workers, actors and all other workers who use sexuality as the primary tool of their trade. Excluded from this are all agents of the boss class who are able to hire or fire, or possess the equivalent coercive or punitive power."

The September 19th Union is an independent Mexican garment worker's union. Two IWW members, Ida Torres and Rochelle Semel are, at press time in Mexico City attending an international women's labor conference hosted by the September 19th women.

## September 19th Union

In 1985, the formation and legalization of the union was an important feat as an independent democratic union had not been legally recognized since 1976. This event was possible because of national and international solidarity with the union and growth of social movements that organized after the 1985 earthquakes.

In the first four months, the union demanded and received severance pay from 80 sweatshop owners for over 8000 workers who lost their jobs when the buildings fell. Women garment workers began organizing in new factories thus creating the base for active unionized shops.

However, over the last 2 years, union growth has come to a near stand-still, due in part to government economic policies (modernization, negotiation of the foreign debt, closing of factories etc.)

This growth has also been limited due to the collaboration between business owners, corrupt union leaders and labor authorities, the latter often favoring management over unions. Corrupt union leaders have also been known to use violence against the workers, having little respect for their demands. Some examples are:

**Magnolia:** In this garment sweatshop, 150 CTM thugs were sent in to threaten and beat up garment workers during their union vote. They also threw rocks at the September 19th union supporters waiting outside the factory.

**Comercializadora:** On the day of the union elections, armed men from the CTM were allowed to enter the factory. They

registered 50 false votes in favor of the CTM although they had never worked in the factory. Although electoral fraud was later verified, the labor authorities put the vote in favor of the CTM.

**Eguren:** The night before, September 19th unionists came to make sure the owner and the corrupt union leaders couldn't bring outsiders into the factory to vote in the union elections the next day. The vote came out in favor of the September 19th Union. However, the owner then closed down the factory, firing all Sept. 19th affiliates and re-opened under a different name.

Many of our union sisters have had to confront these same situations. One sister tells of her experience: "Before the September 19th Union, we didn't know who we were affiliated with, and had even less knowledge about our collective bargaining agreement. Every now and then we would see 'union representatives' in the factory, but they would only meet with the owner and take our dues. They were all men, had never been garment workers - they were like salesmen. The corrupt union delegates never participated or organized us workers and were hand-picked by the corrupt union leaders. In the September 19th Union, women worker delegates are elected by the workers in general assemblies every month. All of the women participate in the vote as well as in negotiations. We never negotiate behind the worker's back as the corrupt union leaders do. The September 19th Union is a democratic union - besides, we're almost all women; we have 100% women leadership!"



## Workers Fight Mexico's Corrupt Government and "Official" Unions

The Mexican people are suffering the consequences of the grave and prolonged economic crisis experienced in their history. The PRI - ruling party for the last 60 years - under the guise of restraining the effects of the crisis, has implemented economic measures which have allowed greater accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few while poverty proliferates among millions of Mexicans.

The government's economic policy has benefitted transnationals and resulted in the closing down of small and medium sized Mexican shops. The end result is massive lay-offs, loss in benefits, loss of key clauses in collective bargaining agreements and proposed changes in the federal labor law to benefit management. This modernization policy has taken its toll on workers who are forced to accept wages

below the costs of most basic food stuffs (a nearly 50% buying power loss over the last 6 years). This 'hacienda' policy has welcomed foreign capital and the payment of the foreign debt while the population lives in ever-increasing poverty.

On the political scene, the Mexican people are convinced that Carlos Salinas de Gortari won the presidency only through electoral fraud. There had been consistent social criticism of his position. However, this criticism has little to do with the omnipotent legislative, executive and judicial powers centralized in the government. To maintain his position, the president has used not only the police and military, but also the "official" government controlled worker, campesino and neighborhood institutions as its right hand. These institutions are the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), the National Campesino Confederation (CNC) and the National Confederation of Popular Organizations (CNOP). The PRI, as a Party-Government, with its immense political control defines what democracy means by hand-picking its leaders, and maintains control over popular demands through these confederations.

Within this framework, the 'official' (government-controlled) labor movement works hand in hand with the government and management. For this reason they are referred to as "charros" (cowboys), in memory of a corrupt railroad union leader from Jalisco who only dressed in cowboy clothes. \*The term "charro" now refers to those union leaders who essentially sell the workers' collective bargaining agreements, negotiate behind the workers' backs, and allow unjust firings and management control.

Recently, some of these "charro" union leaders have had so much power they've threatened the government itself. "La Quina", the head of the largest most powerful oilworkers union was charged with drug trafficking, taken by force from his house and jailed. Salinas de Gortari hand-picked the new oilworkers union leader. In the musician workers union a similar step was taken. Their corrupt union leader Vennustiano Rey was democratically removed from office by the rank-and-file and replaced with an elected union leader. The government refused to recognize his authority and the president once again imposed a new union leader. These publicized actions are just the surface of many more stories of government-imposed corrupt union leaders.

These are a few examples of the consequences of an unwanted president, the government's control of its unions and the anti-democracy and illegitimacy that reign over the country.

Within this framework, it is easy to understand the historic importance of democratic unionism and the need for independent social organization that defend the real demands of the people. These demands are summarized in the need for a wage increase and representative, organized democracy in the country.

## WE AREN'T ASKING FOR THE MOON

The destruction of a factory in the Colonia of San Antonio Abad was a "real eye opener" for garment workers during the 1985 Mexico City earthquake. The owner was more concerned about his machines than the women who were entrapped in the building. Fellow workers could have been saved but soldiers refused to allow volunteers to remove the buried women. It took 44 days to evacuate all the bodies. The dressmakers were forced to return to work in the building that they felt was unsafe, and those who wouldn't go in lost their jobs. The tragedy of these experiences led to the formation of the September 19th Union. (Named after the day on which the earthquake took place.)

"We Aren't Asking For the Moon" a woman comments, in the film of the same name, shown at the Artes del Pueblo, (a new cultural center for women workers) on August 3 in Denver, Colorado.

Mari del Carmen De Lara, the director, was on hand to answer questions about her latest film venture. Production began three months after the earthquake began and took a year to complete. Lara said she had the women speak for themselves rather than having a narrator speak for them. This creates an immediate rapport between the viewer and the dressmakers.

The film opens with women punching a time clock, then follows them to their sewing machines, with their spindles of multi-colored threads, as they labor to produce garments for the international clothing industry. ("The second source of income for women in Mexico," we learn.) This is quickly followed by an image of a building collapsing. A second quake caused further destruction.

The garment workers talk about the callousness of the factory owner for whom they work. "Ours refuses to help us," one woman says. We discover that he is worried about his machines and the removal of his safe-box. "They only want the money even though these women worked hard to make them rich," she continues.

To add insult to injury, the soldiers treat the women and their families with contempt. "A soldier stopped my husband to see if he was stealing anything. We may be poor but we are decent," notes another

woman. Relatives of the victims reveal that even though there were women alive under all the debris, the police wouldn't let them in to remove their bodies.

Evangelina Corana, a dressmaker for 23 years (later elected General Secretary of the newly-founded union) articulates the sentiments of the women:

"We are all working under the same inhumane conditions.

That all of us were mistreated.

The same exploitation.

That we all had the same problems.

There are women who worked more hours and earned less money.

The other worker's pain was ours.

That's why we began to fight.

Now we're a united front."



The dressmakers work and struggle to create an independent union, "not a union that only defends the owner's interests."

The owners want to make a settlement with some of the workers. This offer is refused because of concern for the remaining 500 women. They also see it as a ploy to undermine their organizing efforts. A month later on October 18th there is a demonstration at Los Pinos, where the marchers chant, "Dressmakers united will never be defeated." The September 19th Union is recognized and made legal on October 20th, and November 25th is designated as "Dressmakers Day." Lara takes us into the worker's homes where they talk about their lives, hopes, and aspirations. We see a change in the consciousness of the women as they begin to question the real value of their work, of their wages. "Now we ask ourselves why our youth, our strength, our health are spent accumulating riches for others. Why are we left with hunger and misery, old age and disease?" a garment worker questions.

The film ends with a large May Day demonstration in the Plaza de la Constitucion. Dressmakers carry a huge banner of a victorious woman, arms outstretched, triumphantly upholding in one hand an emblem of their trade, a needle. Some gains have been made. Seven workers cooperatives have been established. On the other hand, during the demonstration women are harassed and arrested by the police.

Lara said that she had no problems with the authorities while making this film. They began after it was completed since she was unable to obtain distribution in mainstream theaters. It was not until she received a prize from a feminist film festival in Paris for "We Aren't Asking For the Moon" that she began to receive requests to show her work.

This is a moving film documenting the struggles of women, fighting against great odds, for a better life. Best of all it shows, the strength, the dignity and the power of working-class women as they unite to work for social change.

For information about "We Aren't Asking For the Moon," contact: Mari del Carmen De Lara, Perez Valenzuela #22, 3, Col. COYOACAN, MEXICOD.F., CP04100; Telephone 658-8299.

# SABOTAGE

ITS HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY & FUNCTION



One of the lessons of the Pittston strike, as reported in recent issues of the *Industrial Worker* is that the government can label as "illegal" and the media can describe as "violent" just about any tactic which working people use when organizing to protect jobs and community. The reality of the miners struggle is that the Pittston coal company and the police forces working for them are much more violent as they attempt to bust the union.

In order to stimulate more discussion of "direct action" in the labor movement the *Industrial Worker* here reprints three discussions of the issue by Wobblies. Please write with your comments and experiences.

The first two are reprinted from IWW publications of seventy years ago. The third is from the 1989 publication "Arsenal".

## SOME DEFINITIONS

by Frank Bohn

from SOLIDARITY (May 18, 1912)

**Direct Action** -- Of all the terms made use of in our discussion during the last six months, this has been the most abused. By direct action is meant any action taken by workers directly at the point of production with a view to bettering their conditions. The organization of any labor union whatever is direct action. Sending the shop committee to demand of the boss a change of shop rules is direct action. To oppose direct action is to oppose labor unionism as a whole with all its activities. In this sense, the term has been used by those who made use of it down to the time of the late controversy. It was the misuse of this expression by the comrades who oppose class-labor unionism which has caused so much uneasiness in the Socialist Party. When we come to the question as to what direct action shall be taken and when and how -- that is for the organization on the job to determine. For the Socialist Party to try to lay down rules for the conduct of unions or one union in this matter would be as ridiculous as for the Socialist Party to seek to

determine what the workers shall eat for breakfast. . . .

**Sabotage**-- Sabotage means "strike and stay in the shop." Striking workers thus are enabled to draw pay and keep out scabs while fighting capitalists. Sabotage does not necessarily mean destruction of machinery or other property, although that method has always been indulged in and will continue to be used as long as there is a class struggle. More often it is used to advantage in a quieter way. Excessive limitation of output is sabotage. So is any obstruction of the regular conduct of industry. Ancient Hebrews in Egypt practiced sabotage when they spoiled the bricks. Slaves in the South practiced it regularly by putting stones and dirt in their bags of cotton to make them weigh heavier. An old cotton mill weaver in Massachusetts once told me that when baseball was first played, the boys in his mill stuck a bobbin in the running gear of the water wheel and so tied up the shop on Saturday afternoon that they could go and see the ball game. . . . When the workers face a specific situation, they will very likely continue to do as their interests and intelligence dictate.

## SABOTAGE

by Ben Williams

from "The Theory and Practice of the IWW"

Sabotage ranges all the way from "passive resistance" at the one extreme to violent destruction of property at the other. It does not include the destruction of machinery in every instance.

In the case of "passive resistance" as shown on the government owned railways of Austria, the workers simply obeyed the LAWS OF THE NATION governing traffic to the letter. They took no risks, they observed signals, they did exactly what the law told

them to do. As a consequence, the railways were congested with rolling stock and traffic was practically impossible. No destruction of property occurred. That was "legal sabotage" and far from being of no value, it resulted in getting the men what they wanted.

We see numerous examples of violent destruction of property in craft union strikes in this and other countries. In the early days of English trade unionism, this form of sabotage was employed as a regular system and proved effective under conditions then prevailing. In the present state of the workers' superstitious reverence for property (which they do not understand their masters have taken from them) this form of sabotage may be of doubtful value, and often reacts upon the workers with disastrous effect.

Then we have that form of sabotage now being employed by the workers on the French railways, in which a studied plan is carried out to "ball up" the service and put it in such a state that the employers will have to reinstate the workers discharged during the recent general strike. This "pearled sabotage" has proven more effective and terrifying even than the general strike itself, and unlike the latter, it is one-sided, costing the workers nothing and causing enormous losses to the capitalist enemy.

Here then we come to the real point on this question of sabotage: it is a WAR MEASURE made necessary by the nature of the class struggle. . . .

Here the workers deliberately set about to harass their employers by a systematic and well-disciplined plan of campaign. They proceed upon the ever new principle that "everything is fair in war" and that the weapon they have chosen will bring their masters to terms. . . .

Sabotage, resulting in impairing the traffic or property of a railway system is always "immoral" from a capitalist's standpoint because opposed to his interests. On the other

hand, discharging and blacklisting 3000 railway employees for their activity in a strike is "immoral" from the workers' standpoint and sabotage becomes a "moral weapon" to remedy that condition. The social democrat who balks at sabotage on the ground that it is an "immoral weapon" in the class war, views that war from the standpoint of the capitalists. Sabotage as a weapon of warfare is no more "immoral" than taking the first of May as a holiday without asking the boss for it. Both are manifestations of class instinct and power on the part of the workers. With the possible exception, of course, of a purely individual act of revenge or reprisal which may produce more harm than good.

Sabotage, though a new word, is as old as the labor movement. It is now assuming new and complex forms in line with the development of that movement. Viewed as a war measure, sabotage has great possibilities as a means of defense and aggression. It is useless to try to argue it out of existence. We need not "advocate" it; we need only to explain it. The organized workers will do the acting.

Ben Williams became an IWW member in 1905 and served as an editor for several IWW publications.

## RETURN OF THE REPRESSED

by Dave Wells

from Arsenal (Black Swan Press, 1726 W. Jarvis, Chicago IL 60626)

Rimbaud's declaration that "true life is absent" is more self-evident today than it ever could have been a hundred years ago. The increasingly monolithic network of repression has become so vast and so pervasive that men and women in all the industrialized countries have been reduced to mere spectators of their own alienation and misery, trapped in high-tech comfort of their own homes, watching as every last bit of what it means to be alive is slowly taken away.

But the forces of Eros -- the promise of a life truly worth living -- refuse to bow down. Here and there a few cracks can be seen in the dam of "civilianity," and in the extending of these cracks, and the creation of new ones, lies all hope for the development of a new world revolutionary movement. Our goal should be to try to *organize* this cracking so that it becomes the ongoing, conscious revolutionary activity of all the oppressed. . . .

The new resurgence of radicalism is still just getting started. . . . Capitalism is entering a new and increasingly *totalitarian* stage. Armed with the new technology, it is in the process of extending its dominion into *every* sphere of daily life. Capital is being consolidated into fewer and fewer hands; multinational corporations have become more powerful than nation states. Capitalism has extended the field of battle and raised the stakes: This time, all of life is at stake. The aims of those seeking social change must be equally comprehensive. The only way to win against Capital today is to organize across all boundaries.

Furthermore, we must realize that major social changes -- not to mention revolutions -- are necessarily against the law. They are made

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



## Rosy's Bras: Organization's Strength Put to Test

A Profile of the

September 19th Movement

Ever since 1988, the women garment workers at Rosy's Bras have had to confront management's efforts to make the company more 'competitive' by speeding up production, lowering wages and getting as much out of the workers as physically possible. This is just one example of how modernization is affecting Mexican industries. With the welcoming of transnationals in its last-ditch effort for US dollars to pay the interests on its foreign debt, the government has conceded to the closing of several national 'inefficient' industries (metal, auto) and encouraged greater control over workers in the name of productivity. In most industrialized countries, modernization has meant new machine technology that displaces workers. With such an abundant reserve workforce, modernization in Mexico has meant getting the most productivity out of the workers with little or no union intervention.

In 1988, the owner of Rosy's hired management consultant time and motion engineers to implement a new system of "pre-determined" assembly times. This has meant detailed control over every garment worker's movements, to increase productivity.

For the workers this has meant more intensive work, a wage decrease, loss of personal space, the inability to move around and rest, and control over every movement. There is a constant threat of being fired due to 'inefficiency'--exploitation at its best. The women were infuriated. "How is this possible when we have controlled production over the last two years?" they ask with reason.

How has the situation changed, who is the real enemy? Women workers have always been exploited and the owner has always tried to increase his profits. But this time the instruments of control have changed. The women are isolated from any possible negotiation. Before the struggle has been against the owner, and now he claims that he is under pressure by an even larger and more complex enemy -- what is happening?

What's happening in Rosy's Bras is happening elsewhere. Factories are closing or are being threatened with foreclosure, more is being produced with less workers, speed-ups occur, salaries go down, workers are displaced by new machines, 'qualified' workers are now pushing buttons and key worker-control clauses are eliminated from collective bargaining agreements. The key word is "productivity"--what does that mean?

There is a strong international competition among capitalists. Those that have a handle on the market continue to produce, buying out other companies. The large transnationals, with the support of their financial institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) put pressure on indebted nations until the governments develop policies that defend transnational profits. Under this kind of pressure, the Mexican government has taken the following economic measures: -Foreign merchandise was introduced into Mexico. All of a sudden cheap Taiwanese clothing is available in stores, forcing Mexican producers to compete or close-down. Small industries are being forced to close. The garment industry is one of the most affected. It is estimated that 70,000 garment workers will lose their jobs over the next few years. Other factories will have to cut down on production costs through speed-ups and lay-offs. Among them is Rosy's Bras.

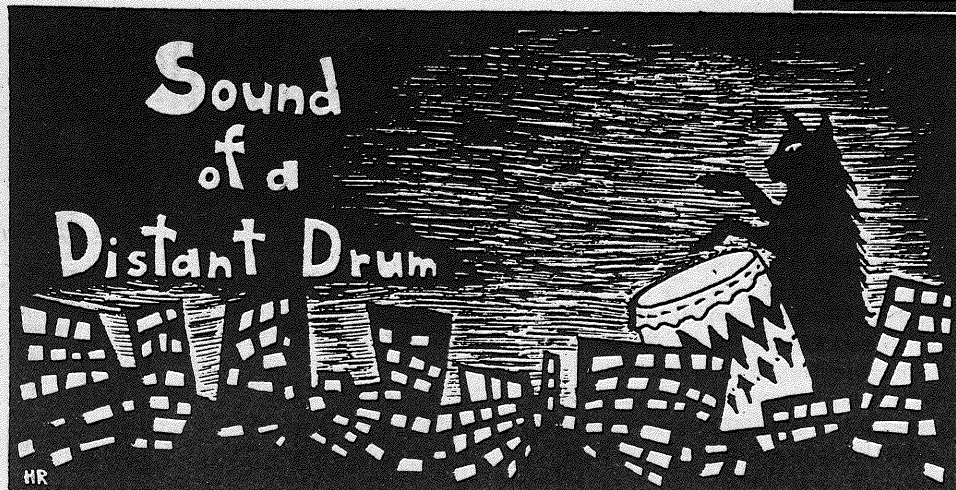
-The Mexican government provides economic and legal incentives for foreign capital. Transnationals have begun to produce in different industries (auto, electronic, garment) and have received tax breaks, roads, and other infrastructure. They have taken advantage of cheap Mexican labor, one of the lowest paid.

-Private transnationals have bought out national industries, installing new machinery, reducing personnel and, as happened with the RUTA 100, the nationalized Mexican public bus system, firing all workers only to rehire them under worse conditions with weak or practically non-existent unions.

In order to carry out these measures, the government needs to destroy the independent union movement and democratic worker organization. Corrupt union leaders or 'charros' sell workers demands, destroy major clauses in collective bargaining agreements and are doing away with some of the best labor legislation that took 60 years to build -- all in the name of efficiency and productivity.

This new enemy is bigger than the owner of Rosy's Bras. It is a more powerful and more dangerous international capitalism (from the US, Japan and other countries), that uses the Mexican government and 'charro' unions as its puppets.

We have to be very united and aware of this new situation confronting workers in Mexico and all over the world. We have to look for common strategies to fight modernization using unions as an instrument of struggle.



It was left to the bar room philosopher within the White Hart pub to state that 'It's winter' and we seated at 'the table' nodded our collective heads in agreement.

It is winter for this small sea girted isle and while the grey North Sea beats upon Britain's eastern shore line the political conferences move resolution after resolution for the good of the nation. This is the month when every political party high tails it to the conference centres to promise and to promise and to promise, and the television experts give us their considered opinions while the average person desperately punches the TV knobs in search of Batman or Cagney and Lacey.

The small parties have gone their way in their usual shambles while the hairy earnest Greens have been unkindly labeled "Salads" or "Fruits" and it left to Britain's two major parties to slug it out at the rosters. Like elderly beer bellied heavy weight wrestlers, they must of necessity go through the same act, and one should not play the cynic for they hired the halls.

Britain's Labour Party has little fresh to offer and speaker after speaker could only point the finger of horror at the absent image of Ma Thatcher while crying the message that she must go.

It's been left to the Conservative Party to wave the national flag and lie and lie and lie and Ma Thatcher's loyal followers cheered their little hearts out like unto decent Victorian British beleagued in an eastern city hearing the distant sounds of bagpipes from a relieving regiment for give the old bat her due when she is desperate for snake eyes from her loaded dice she finds another 'little war' to unite her middle class supporters.

And she has found it in sending British troops to give tiny support to Bush's holiday trip into the jungles of Colombia and when the first British soldier dies in that south American jungle war, the British rightwing press will howl Glory Glory Glory, and Ma Thatcher will raise her hands in benediction to once again unite her voting faithful and this is what the battle for power over other people is about comrades and let no one, repeat no one believe they are not scarred with it if they seek to control others.

We have had Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley on British TV telling us of his support of the death penalty. The IRA bombs go off killing the innocent and uncommitted yet behind all this entertainment facade, for that is what it is if you don't let your leg get blown off comrade, are the daily tragedies for working people.

The European Council has set a "decency threshold" wage of \$240 a week which it holds is but 68% of average earnings. But 170,000 nurse auxiliaries earn just \$180 a week.

When a bomb, claimed to have been triggered off by the IRA, killed ten young Royal Marines bandsmen, there was much heart searching at the waste of these human lives, and when the dust had settled and the bodies removed and the blood covered over; the ol' inevitable questions were asked of how did it happen, one learns that for government economic reasons soldiers did not mount their own guards. Their security was hired out to civilian night watchmen. One learns that in the area of seaside Deal a rate for that job is as low as three dollars an hour that means with deductions, it would not buy a one pint and a half pint of Guinness beer.

One must ask why do men and women work for this pathetic low wage and Ma Thatcher's government long ago answered that by cutting off any State benefit to anyone "refusing work" no matter how low the pay and was this the reason that ten Royal Marine bandsmen died?

Middle class morality within Britain reached a fresh high point this month when it was "revealed" that after five years of investigations it was found that millions of dollars had been illegally siphoned off from Britain's car parking lots and, you guessed it comrades, the men at the car parking earn three dollars an hour as a gross hourly wage for a forty hour week. If an economic organization can claim to have "lost" millions of dollars over a period of five years without any economic effect, then how can it justify paying it's workforce three dollars an hour. Where does middle class morality come into who robs who?

Arthur Moysé

## Cooperation of Labor and Ecology

"The misery of the position of a factory hand, and in general of a town worker, does not consist in his long hours and small pay, but in the fact that he is deprived of the natural conditions of life in touch with nature, is deprived of freedom, is compelled to compulsory and monotonous toil at another man's will..."

leo Tolstoy

Between the rhetoric of bio-centric deep ecology and the short term posturing of free market economics the working people of America endure the daily struggle for a living wage. Caught between growing concern for the environment and the need to provide for their families the worker performs the tasks of production then seeks relief from the alienation of industrial society. This solace from the dehumanizing effects of the modern workplace is readily available in many forms: mass media, professional sports,

shopping malls, alcohol, and drugs. Thus begins a vicious circle of : work-relief from alienation through escape-work to pay for escape. This cycle thwarts desire and prepares a fertile soil of shattered dreams out of which the pestilence of apathy is bred.

It is this fatalistic apathy which blinds the worker to environmental concerns. So long as the worker can meet basic needs and remains content with temporary relief of anxiety through consumerism, alcohol, and the various forms of "Bread and Circus" available he is unwilling to consider personal sacrifice for the good of the planet. The workers' apathy also blinds the environmentalist to the needs of labor. From an environmentalists point of view a worker unwilling to change or sacrifice is part of the problem. This shallow understanding of the causes of worker apathy by environmentalists leads to the extreme posturing of some bio-centric rhetoric. Labor's apathetic contentment and deep ecology's uncompromising posture have created a field of animosity and distrust. While the workers dream of more leisure time, security and peace the bio-centrists put forth a dream of utopian wilderness. The workers dream seems tied to continued industrial growth and unlimited resources. On the other hand bio-centric utopia does not account for the displacement of 100's of millions of workers. Neither dream can be realized within the current political reality.

How can this atmosphere of contention be dispersed and replaced with cooperation between Labor and ecology?

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) offer a viable solution to this dileman--PRODUCTION FOR NEED NOT PROFIT. If the profit taking is eliminated from industrial production, resources will become available to halt and reverse the destruction of the environment! So let the IWW become a bridge between Labor and Environmentalists. By EDUCATING both sides to the needs of the other then ORGANIZING against the monolithic network of capitalist greed the EMANCIPATION of the planet and all its inhabitants can be realized!



## dance a revolution

"If I can't dance ...I don't want to be part of your revolution."  
Emma Goldman

And we will dance a revolution  
to the sounding of the drums  
dance the call of freedom  
the call of peace to come  
and we will dance away injustice  
with the dancing of the free  
and dance until we dance a world  
of human dignity

You came with huddled masses  
fleeing the pogroms  
searching for the harbor statue  
and her outstretched arm  
but your namesake disappointed  
you  
child of blackbread and tea  
oh golden Emma you found  
your golden land not free

And we will dance a revolution  
to the sounding of the drums  
dance the call of freedom  
the call of peace to come  
and we will dance away injustice  
with the dancing of the free  
and dance until we dance a world  
of human dignity

You spoke of sex, you talked of  
birth  
in a world afraid of love  
said human worth could not be  
measured  
by laws from above  
and to share the profits of toil  
is every workers goal  
and emancipation starts inside  
a fighting woman's soul.

And we will dance a revolution  
to the sounding of the drums  
dance the call of freedom

the call of peace to come  
and we will dance away injustice  
with the dancing of the free  
and dance until we dance a world  
of human dignity

Some struggles have been different

and some like those at hand  
we fight to own our bodies  
and we fight to free the land  
we fight to save the earth, the sea  
the future of the sky  
your voice becomes an echo of  
a spirit that won't die

And we will dance a revolution  
to the sounding of the drums  
dance the call of freedom  
the call of peace to come  
and we will dance away injustice  
with the dancing of the free  
and dance until we dance a world  
of human dignity.

From Linda Hirschhorn "Skies Ablaze" Cassette from Oyster Albums PO Box 3929 Berkeley CA 94703-0929

## Is Roseanne

### "too real" for tv?

Critics have said that ABC's comedy *Roseanne* is insulting and crude because the lead characters are obese and have "rude, insulting manners." Critics don't like their "lower-class" mentality, the boredom and rebellion they show at work, and the gentle ways they casually insult each other at home.

On the other hand, while the parenting of Roseanne and her husband isn't perfect, it seems to be better than that of most real-life parents. They show love and attention to their kids, in actions rather than words—and, actions are, after all, more important. Roseanne and her husband have little to give in the way of presents or "what-money-can-buy" things, but they give them lots of time, love, and advice, while not crushing what independence they have. Their kids' brattiness is typical for their ages, and is more realistic (and healthier) than the cutesy-materialistic kids on some other sitcoms.

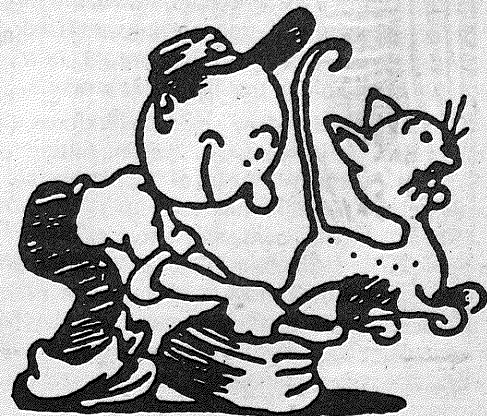
Maybe the critics don't like the fact that Roseanne and family are working, but aren't rich or even middle-class. Unlike other TV

"working-class" families, they actually *don't* have enough money for new cars, new appliances, vacations away from home, etc. Compare them to the family in *What's Happening!*, where the kids were able to eat at a burger joint every day, came home to a cavernous house, and spent all sorts of money on strange projects.

At work, Roseanne behaves like a real person, although she admittedly has more chutzpah than most people. Her bosses aren't kind and considerate, and she don't love her work (at the plastic factory, doing pointless things for a pointless salary). Could it be that one of the things the critics didn't like about the show was Roseanne's instigation of a walk-out from the plastic factory, when her boss became too much of a jerk? (The walk-out was successful, incidentally).

Roseanne isn't an insult to working class people, as one critic maintained. It's a repudiation of standard middle-to-upper-class situation comedies about plastic people in a plastic world.

—D. Sacz





## The Economy of One Big Union

The study of economics always seemed to me to be an exercise in simple logic and common sense. Yet, despite all the economic expertise in the world, our leaders seem intent on keeping us laboring under inefficient systems. Even revolutionaries who succeeded in overthrowing inefficient systems have shown an incredible lack of economic common sense, when it came time for them to implement their own systems. In light of this past experience, it is reasonable to ask if the IWW promises a more efficient method of producing and allocating the good things in life. I believe that, by using a few basic economic principles, this question can be answered.

Economists describe human behavior in general terms; they see people with unlimited wants and desires living in a world with limited resources. In order to satisfy some of our desires, we must answer three basic questions: 1) what goods and services to produce, 2) how to produce them, and 3) who gets them. These questions are answered by developing a system of trade, and using money to facilitate and services equal the true cost (to society) of producing those goods and services. When the price of a product is not equal to society's cost of production, a distortion exists.

In an attempt to satisfy his unlimited wants and desires, an individual will choose those courses of action that he expects will bring the most satisfaction. The higher the risk associated with an action, the larger the potential benefit must be, before an individual will choose to take that action. Those who are willing to accept the risks associated with investing in a business and those who make the decisions about how the factors of production are combined, are called entrepreneurs. The entrepreneur, like any other individual, will invest his money and energy in those activities that he expects will bring the most satisfaction.

Given the opportunity, our entrepreneurs will open businesses, thus creating employment. Businesses that are successful will attract the attention of other entrepreneurs who will try to imitate this success. Prices for those products that are in short supply will rise, bringing larger rewards to the entrepreneurs involved in their production, thus attracting more investment. Production will increase and society's needs will be met. Workers behave in a similar fashion: they are attracted to those professions that will give them the highest reward for their labor.

When there is a shortage of workers in an industry, wages in that industry will rise, attracting workers from lower paying jobs. The hope is that an equilibrium will be established, and the things that society

values will be produced as efficiently as possible.

This system seems to be efficient, until you notice the distortions in the economy. The efforts of organized labor have resulted in the kind of distortion economists call a positive externality. When the members of a labor organization succeed in improving their working conditions, entrepreneurs will improve the working conditions of non-members, in order to reduce the incentive for them to organize. These non-members receive some of the benefits won by organized labor, without paying any of the costs associated with acquiring and keeping these benefits. If non-members were to pay their share of the costs, the labor movement would be stronger, and working conditions would improve even more. Another distortion, called a negative externality, results when businesses damage the environment, without adequately compensating those affected by the damage. A company mining uranium in the Grand Canyon may decide that it is profitable to dump waste in the Colorado River, thus poisoning the environment. The death of the Grand Canyon will result in a loss of satisfaction to society. If the uranium company had to pay society for this loss, they could not afford to dump their waste in the river.

Entrepreneurs, in their efforts to satisfy themselves, will often create distortions in the economy. Entrepreneurs are entitled to compensation for their investment of money and energy, and they include this compensation in the cost of doing business. When total revenue doesn't cover the cost of doing business, the entrepreneur will leave the business and get involved in something that will bring him adequate compensation. In the case where total revenue exceeds total costs, the entrepreneur collects an economic profit. Being the decision maker, he gets to use the profits as he sees fit. Acting to satisfy himself, he will keep as much of the profits for himself as he can. Profits reflect the difference between the cost of production and the value of the product to society, they indicate that the combination of factors used in production has a greater value to society than the price that the entrepreneur pays (he buys low and sells high). By not allocating the correct share of the profits to each factor of production, he creates a distortion. This distortion benefits the entrepreneur, but costs society. Another possibility for distortion occurs when

production involves damage to the environment. The entrepreneur receives some benefit from an undamaged environment but, the larger his profit the more environmental destruction he will accept. The desire for the profits motivates the entrepreneur to produce negative externalities.

The IWW seeks to rid the economy of the distortions created by entrepreneurs, by establishing workers' democratic control of production. A simple model of voter behavior is useful in deciding if democratic control of production is practical. Before voting on an issue, a voter estimates the cost (time, effort, etc.) of acquiring information about the issue and the impact that his one vote will have. In large elections, you can expect only a small minority of voters to be well informed about the issues on which they vote. Ultimately, the decisions are made by a majority of poorly informed voters. This is not the case when workers vote on issues directly related to their jobs; they are already well informed about their jobs. In the IWW, workers take their turns serving as delegates, secretaries, and board members, thus receiving first hand experience in the major operations of their industry and their union. This first hand experience, makes them well informed voters on issues related to their industry and their union.

When workers control production, they receive that share of their profits that would have been retained by entrepreneurs. The workers' increased level of compensation more accurately reflects the value society places on their labor, and thus facilitates the process of attracting labor to those industries that are most beneficial to society. Proper distribution of profits also reduces pollution. The workers' share of the profits compensates them for a smaller amount of environmental destruction than would be acceptable to an entrepreneur in control of their profits. The end result is a more satisfied workforce and a healthier environment.

The conditions of modern society can be improved by organizing one big union, controlled by its rank and file members. The efforts necessary to build such a union will require sacrifice, for the ruling class will struggle to keep labor's share of the wealth. The few of us who are willing to make the sacrifices, must build the one big union for the benefit of all.

Brendan Ruiz



### DENVER/BOULDER IWW BRANCH NEWS

Greetings fellow workers! Once again the Labor news from Colorado contains both sweet and sour. The struggle of the Denver Post mailers union continues. Hopes for victory are now being pinned to receiving support and leverage from the Post's other bargaining unions during the upcoming contract negotiations with corporate vampire Dean "Dracula" Singleton.

Also on the sour side. The rising momentum surrounding the controversial Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Complex has subsided. As community, political and worker pressure rose in late summer, following an FBI raid on the plant, it appeared some major changes were on the horizon; perhaps closure of the facility. However Rockwell International, acting as corporate toad for the US Department of Energy, sucked up one last draught of blood-profit and slinked out the back door. Management of the huge plant (6,000 employees) was turned over to E.G.&G. E.G.&G. is another of the D.O.E.'s corporate lackey, nuclear-profit leeches, with a poor record of labor relations and environmental safety. This corporate card shuffle seems to have succeeded in halting the momentum of growing grass roots resistance to continued operation of the plant.

Now some sweet stuff. In spite of feeble attempts by certain business interests (colorful bureaucrats showing their yellow stripes while turning red in the face) to subvert the speaking tour of a Pittston miner the campaign, co-sponsored by the Denver/Boulder branch, succeeded in raising over 10,000 dollars for the striking coal miners. In addition to the fund-raising tour, a caravan of two dozen Denver laborites journeyed to Camp Solidarity. Great tales of comradeship and solidarity were recounted by returning sojourners. Sad depictions of injustice in the kangaroo courts of Virginia were also relayed.

Turning towards the future. The Denver/Boulder IWW is beginning to focus energy on hosting the upcoming IWW constitutional convention in April/May of 1990. A May Day fund raiser concert will be included in the week's activities. The convention coincides with the 2nd annual Colorado Poetry and Free Speech Jamboree. Plan on joining the Denver/Boulder GM Branch and the poets of the Open Range for a week of work, solidarity, music poetry and free speech. We're looking forward to seeing you April 30th-may 5th 1990

Woody Hill

### SAN FRANCISCO GMB NEWS:

On November 12th, members of the SF IWW GMB and the Workers Solidarity Alliance SF group met for coffee and discussion. Mike Kohloff reports in the Anarchist Labor Bulletin, "We discussed a lot of things, from the situation in Eastern Europe to improving the mass transit system in the Bay Area (fewer cars and more trains). We also made a commitment to work together on projects of mutual concern in the future, specifically a solidarity picket/action in support of Pittston miners."

"We also resolved to show support for our comrades in South Africa by participating in the December 14th picket of the conglomerate Kohlberg, Kravis and Roberts at the corner of California and Drum (4:30 to 6:00). KKR recently acquired 15% ownership of BTR in South Africa, which has been the focus of a strike by militant metalworkers. During the strike BTR has hired murderers to assassinate union militants."

The next weekend on Saturday November 18th, Bay Area Wobblies had a concert in benefit of the Pittston miners. From several hours to the north of us, from the land of the

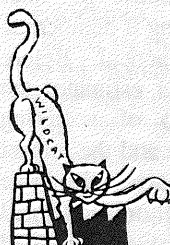
ancient redwood, came singer/songwriter Wobbly Earth Firsters Daryl Cherney and Judi Bari with their patented brand of rebel satire. Stephen Riave performed a set of his own topical material, including a powerful The next weekend on Saturday November 18th, Bay Area Wobblies had a concert in benefit of the Pittston miners. From several hours to the north of us, from the land of the ancient redwood, came singer/songwriter Wobbly Earth Firsters Daryl Cherney and Judi Bari with their patented brand of rebel satire. Stephen Riave performed a set of his own topical material, including a powerful song about El Salvador which he dusted off for the occasion. Jess Grant warmed up the crowd with a dramatic reading of Dr. Seuss' controversial book "The Lorax" and a handful of his own labor tunes. We raised about \$400, thanks to all those who attended and helped with the show, including the people at Urban Stonehenge who generously donated their newly improved performance space for the event (a former church, in the Wobbly tradition of co-opting religious institutions like the Salvation Army.)



# DIRECTORY

**CANADA**  
**ALBERTA**  
 Winnipeg IWW B. Mackay del., PO Box 3204 GNPO, Winnipeg R3C 4E7  
**BRITISH COLUMBIA**  
 Vancouver GMB, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver V5N 5K5  
 Eastside Datagraphics JB 1460 Commercial Dr,  
 Vancouver V5L 3X9 (604) 255-9559  
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 The Tools Job Branch, c/o 1536 Kamloops St, Vancouver V5K 3W2  
**ONTARIO**  
 Ottawa Group, 318 Powell St, Ottawa (613) 231-4392  
 Toronto GMB, 26A Oxford Street, 2nd floor, Toronto M5T 1N9  
 meetings first Thursday, 7 pm, phone for location  
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 Ukiah 95482 (707) 485-0478  
**COLORADO**  
 Denver-Boulder GMB, 2412 East Colfax, Denver 80206 (303) 388-1065  
 office open Saturday 9-12, meetings second Sunday of each month  
 Delegates: Dexter Herda, 910 East 8th #202, Denver 80218; David Frazer  
 Box 6, Rollinsville; Gary Cox 11548 Community Center #53, Northglenn  
 Lowell May, 2201 Eliot, Denver, 80211 (303) 458-0870  
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## Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

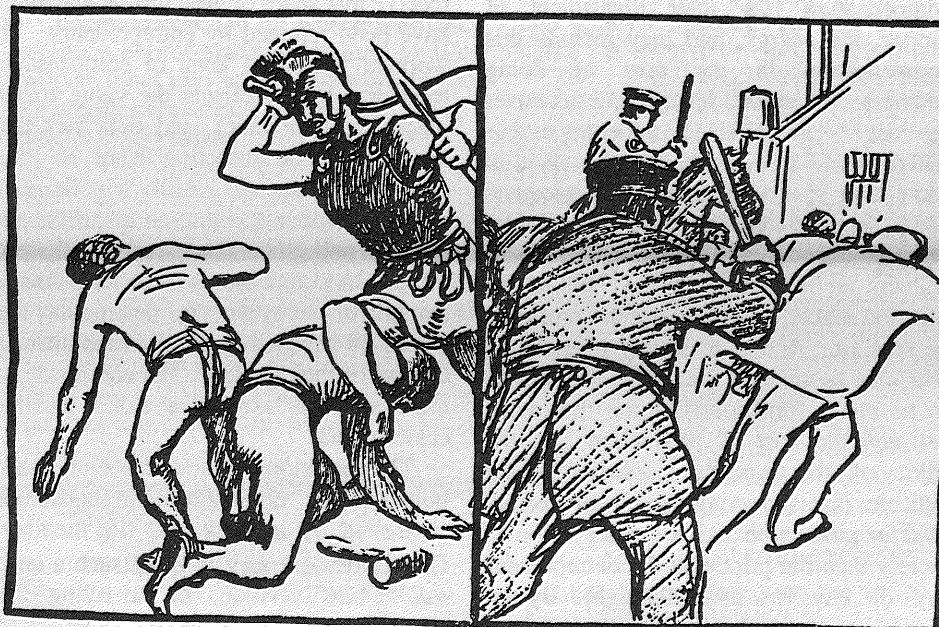
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## URGENT ACTION REQUEST

The homes of two Honduran union leaders were bombed at three a.m. on November 15. Fortunately there were no injuries in these attacks on Gladys Lanza, President of the Electrical Workers Union (see interview, June 1989, *Industrial Worker*) and Hector Hernandez, President of the United Federation of Honduran Workers.

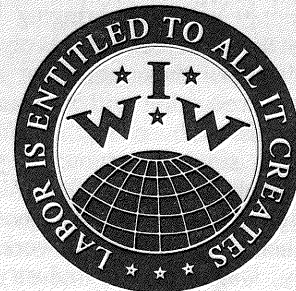
*Industrial Worker* readers are encouraged to send telexes of protest to Jose Azcona Hoyo, the President of Honduras. You can do this by calling 1-800-888-5284 and dictating your message. There is a charge of \$6.50 if you bill it to a credit card or \$8.50 without one.



## CORRECTION

We regret accidentally dropping the credit for last month's "We Remember" story on the 1913 Paterson Strike Pageant.

Author-Historian Martin Green of Tufts University graciously gave the IW permission to use this excerpt from his latest book, "New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant" (Charles Scribner's Sons/MacMillan, 866 Third Avenue, NYC NY 10022, 1988; 325 pp.)



## Book Review

Upton Sinclair, *The Flivver King* (Charles Kerr Books, Chicago; available from the IWW).

One of Upton Sinclair's lesser-known novels, "The Flivver King," combines fact and fiction to portray Henry Ford and the men who worked for and around him. The novel examines the motivations and facts behind the \$5 day, assembly line, and "cars for the masses."

This critical examination of a man lionized by high school history books is written from the point of view of one of Ford's most faithful workers, although it sometimes switches to looking at Henry Ford as an individual, seemingly sympathetic to the man "imprisoned by that billion dollars."

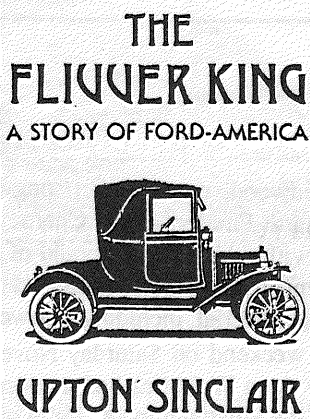
Some of the factual portions of Sinclair's work concentrates on the truth behind the myth. For example: When Ford introduced the \$5 day wage, not all workers could get it; they had to qualify by fitting rather tight definitions of morality, which were checked on by a 30-man morals quality control team. At the same time as the wages went up, the local price of land, food, and other necessities soared, negating the new wages. Another effect was a change in turnover from 53,000 new people per year to 6508.

Another point Sinclair brings out through his fictionalized account is Ford's anti-Semitic bent. He quotes Ford's auto-

biography, *My Life and Work*, as saying that the Jewish influence was "a nasty Orientalism which has insiduously affected every channel of expression," asking Jews to "discard outworn ideas of racial superiority maintained by...subversive warfare on Christian society."

While there isn't much anyone can do about Ford's policies and practices now, the book serves as a reminder that history is written by those on the top, and that, even today, the media don't always carry the whole story. Even without its social relevance, however, "The Flivver King" would still be a highly readable, gripping novel.

—D. Sacz



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

by people "taking the law into their own hands." Thus, the growing trend toward direct action and nonviolent sabotage -- on the part of the homeless, Earth First!, the Animal Liberation Front and P-9 strikers as well as anti-apartheid, anti war and anti-nuclear activists -- is an exceptionally important development, challenging the dominant ideology and revealing U.S. imperialist "democracy" as a sham (just as it reveals "communism" as a sham in the USSR).

As more and more people begin to recognize government as the con-game it really is, more and more people will resort to their own initiative, their own actions, thus stepping out of their passivity and realizing that they, individually and collectively, are agents of historic change.

The black cat -- that black cat of repressed desires, George Herriman's *KrazyKat*, the "sabbat" of the Wobblies, Tex Avery's *Bad Luck Blackie* -- is once again crossing the path of Government and Big Business, and chances are that in the not-so-distant future we'll have the pleasure of witnessing some pretty hilarious sights: cash registers falling on the bosses; battleships falling on the generals; pianos falling on the false poets and other minions of bourgeois culture; trees falling on the U.S. Forest Service; and hopefully, if we all come together to fight this struggle, a brick wall falling on this whole stupid system.



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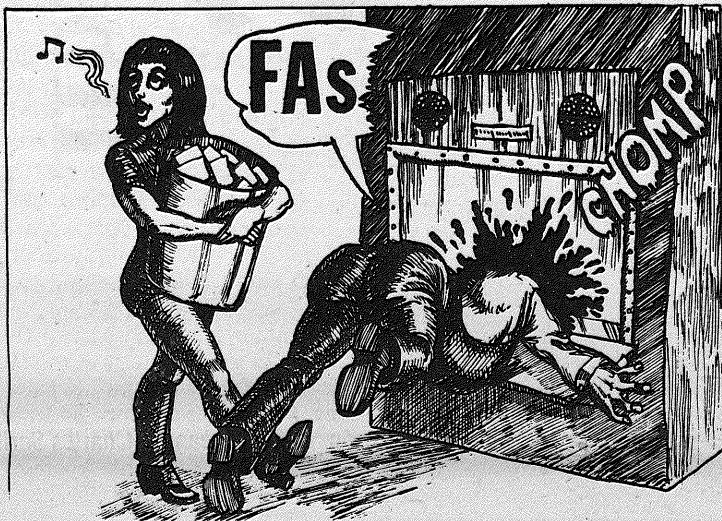
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- IWW Songs of the Workers: To Fan the Flames of Discontent** \$5  
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- The IWW: Its First Seventy Years 1905-1975** by Fred Thompson & Patrick Murfin. \$9 paper \$15 hardcover  
A candid and official history of the union this book tells of the victories and the mistakes alike. Learn how we got here, and get some pointers on where we're going.
- The General Strike** by Ralph Chaplin \$3  
"Solidarity Forever" author discusses the need for workers the world over to recognize the power in our hands "in order to make optimal use of our skills and the earth's productive resources without either raping the earth or making slaves of its people."
- The One Big Union** \$2  
Basic outline of the structure of the IWW, how it works, how it benefits workers.
- Unions and Racism** by Shelby Shapiro \$2  
"Divide and rule is one of the oldest tricks of the employing class. While we're busy hitting each other over the head for one damn fool reason or another, the bosses make hay — at our expense."

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Organizing leaflets "what every worker should know about the IWW". Several leaflets, tell us who you are targeting. 25¢ ea. (for one), 10¢ (2-50); 5¢ ea. over 50.  
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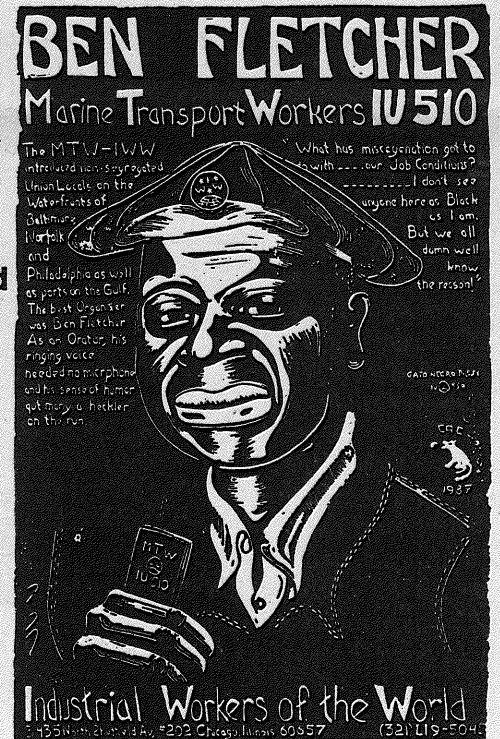
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- The Yale Strike of 1984-85** by Gilpin, Isaac, Letwin & McKivigan \$6  
Clerical workers at Yale organized one on one and beat that corporate university. A large organizing committee and reliance on the rank and file made the success possible. Must reading for rank and file organizers.
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- Labor Law Handbook** by Michael Yates \$8  
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- The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America** by Upton Sinclair \$8  
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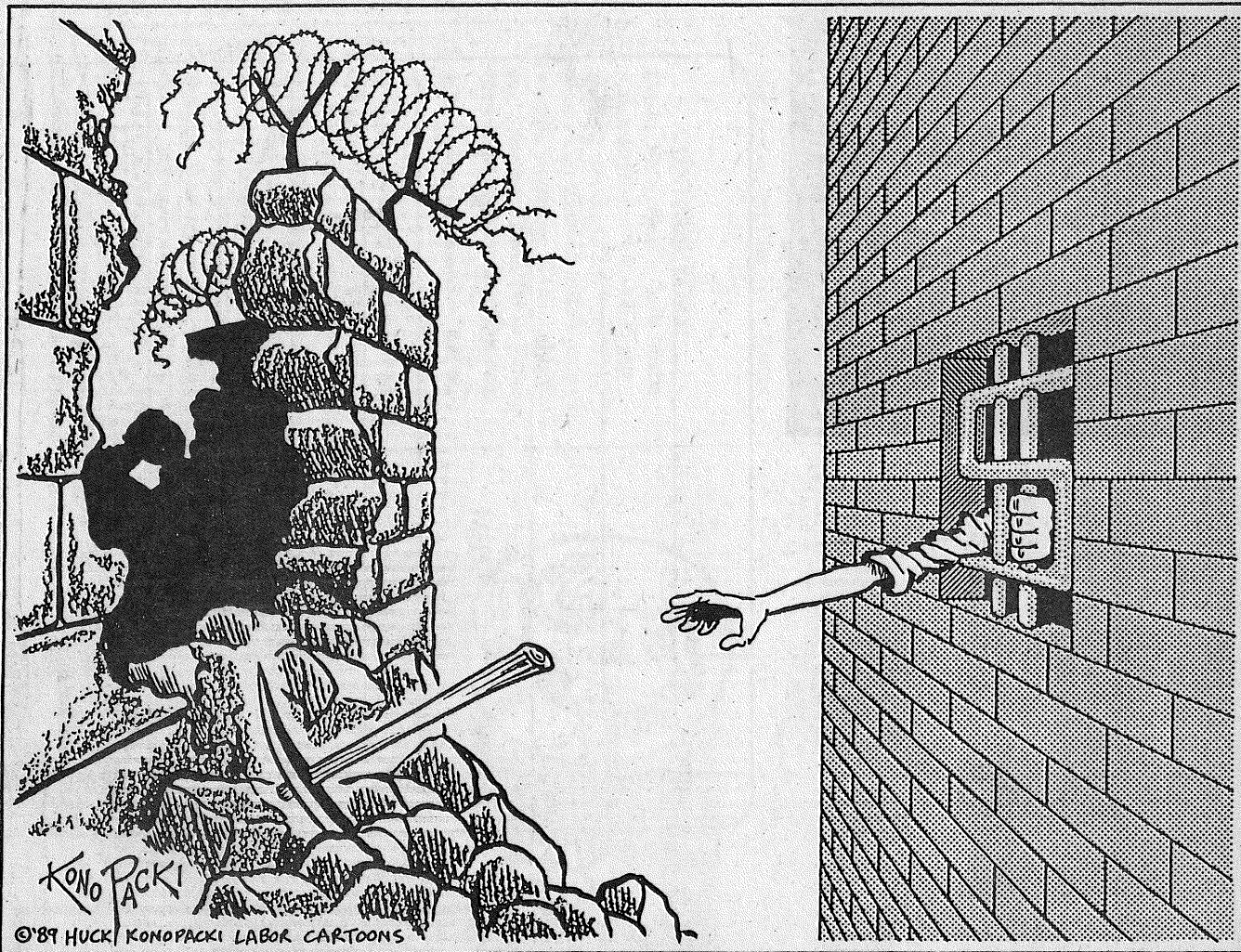
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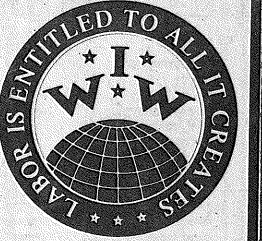
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