



# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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★ Emancipation  
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## Last Ditch Logging

by Judi Bari

One thing about working in the woods in Mendocino County is that there just isn't much wood left. The once mighty old growth is gone, and even decent second growth is getting hard to find. You can see how a logger in Humboldt or Del Norte could be fooled into believing there is enough forest left to sustain this logging assault. But here in Mendo County, the land of the baby redwood, it's getting harder and harder for the loggers to ignore what they're seeing with their own eyes.

"I can't live here anymore, I've seen too much of the woods destroyed," a 20-year veteran Mendo logger told me. "It's a paradox. You love the wood, you're with it all day, and you're killing it." A younger woods worker, born and raised in Mendo Co., says he's "fed up with doing the damage. It's not right. That's why so many loggers get drunk. It's not natural to whack up that much shit in one day."

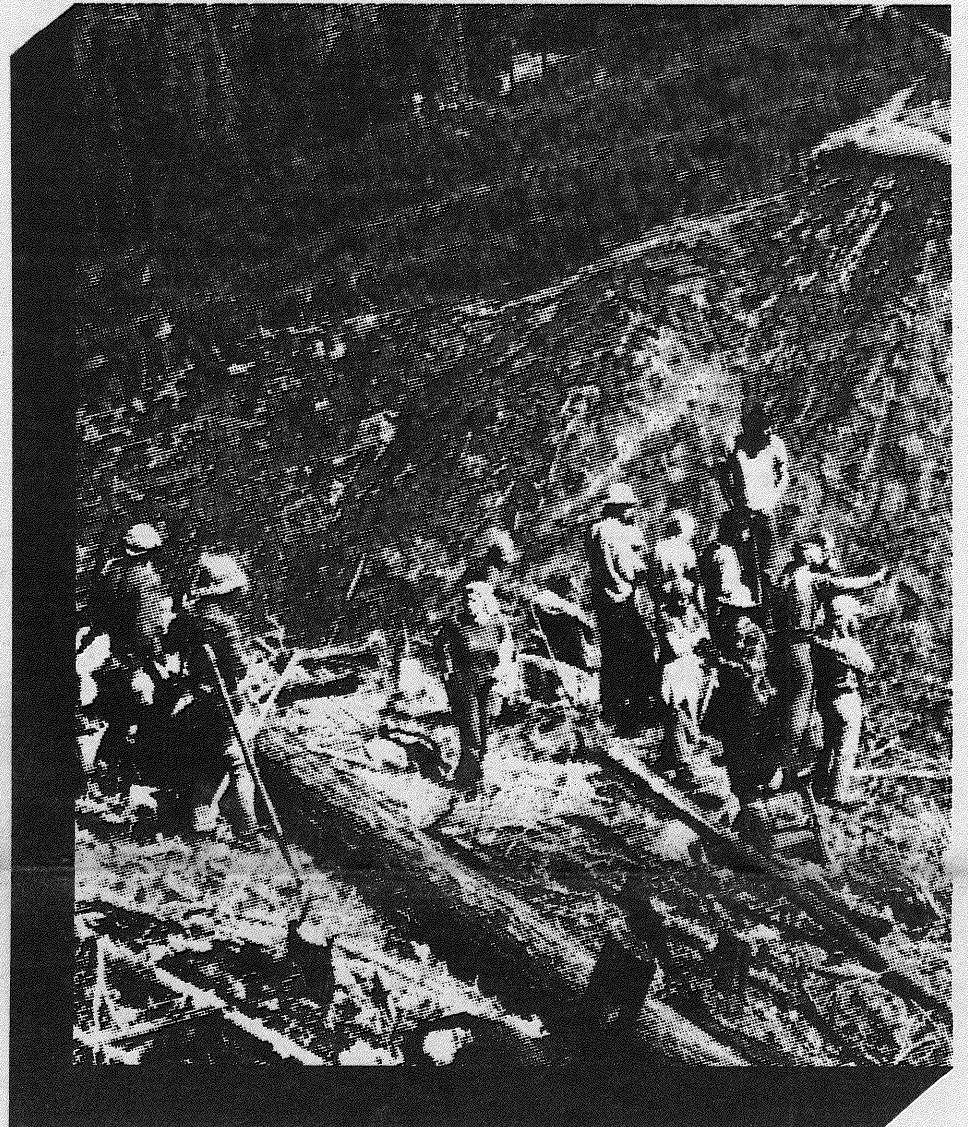
It's not easy for a logger to admit that his job is destroying the forest, and the fact that a few are beginning to come forward and do so is an indication of how bad things really are out there. Unlike millworkers, and unlike most other industrial workers, loggers have a legendary pride in their occupation. "The whole idea of being a logger," says one

of my sources, "is that it's not something you *do*, it's something you *are*. While you're out there, you're cursing it. It's 100 degrees, there's flies, there's mosquitos, there's dust and dirt all over the place, and those chokers are heavy. But it's a good job for someone who likes to work."

A choker setter is the perfect example of that. After the trees are felled, his job is to scramble up and down the hillsides carrying up to 100 pounds of metal cables, which he wraps around the cut trees so they can be hauled in to the landing. He has to dodge moving equipment, trees and cables to do it. For this he gets paid \$9 or \$10 an hour, and most local gyppo companies work a 10-hour day. Equipment operators get up to \$13 an hour, and fallers get paid piece work, usually amounting to \$150 or \$200 a day, out of which they must buy and maintain their own equipment.

Louisiana Pacific has never had union loggers in this county, but Georgia-Pacific loggers used to be covered by the IWA union contract. "Back then we did pretty good," said an ex-union faller. "We got an hourly wage plus a production bonus." But in 1985 IWA union rep Don Nelson agreed to a contract that cut out the woods workers from union protection, and now all the loggers in Mendo Co. work for gyppo firms. L-P

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## Adapt or Die:

### 21st Century Strategy for the IWW

by Ginger Goodwin

The last couple of years have been extraordinary for our union. From every corner rose fertile—often heated—debates over proposed changes to union structure and policy. Decentralizing the production of the *Industrial Worker* has already occurred despite decades of tradition. Widespread criticism—previously heretical—of the composition of Industrial Unions and their relationship to their Departments, have given way to open debate about the nature of "work" itself. Perhaps the best indication of this shift in awareness was the overwhelming vote by the membership in favor of incorporating sex trade workers as a legitimate Industrial Union with full rights under our charter.

It was a small decision, but symbolic of an historic philosophical breakthrough for this union. This was a grander interpretation of "workers" not only being the class without the power to hire and fire, but also being complex three-dimensional people whose vastly different lifestyles resist stereotype and possess interests that reach far beyond our workplaces. A view of our underclass has formed that recognizes the imbalance of raw Power as the definition of class, with economics being only the most powerful expression (among many) of this culture of dominance.

By shifting away from a purely economic definition of class, we open the door to active solidarity with the massive social movements of our time; movements created by precisely that class who have seen their business unions corrupted and overwhelmed by the issues of the day. Our amalgamation of traditional union organizing with modern social movements has no clearer example than the fruitful partnership of wobblies and Earth Firsters in Northern California. These organizers are cultivating the most significant hybrid since the idea to organize by industry rather than trade. Their work is being watched in many distant lands for inspiration, and the methods they pioneer today will set the standard for generations of organizers.

Even the most basic governing bodies of our union are under intense scrutiny from our membership. San Francisco has already drafted a proposal for the reconstitution of our General Executive Board as a body composed of *delegates from specific constituencies* in the spirit of the original architects of the IWW. This being so, how much longer will it be before the much-discussed "Mobile Office" becomes a formal and detailed proposal, thereby opening the office of General Secretary-Treasurer to virtually any member in the world?

While these energies of renewal continue to grip our union, there can be no better time to take a long look at our strategic goals. How long will we con-

tinue to operate as a hodge-podge of intentions without any synthesis that can easily be described to an observer, except in grand flourishes of rhetoric such as: "organizing the workers of the world into one big union." The observer looks at the roughly 300 regular dues-paying members, the complete lack of a single functioning Industrial Union, and searches in vain for even an organizing manual to start from.

With this in mind, the observer should not be blamed if s/he thinks we are crackers; visions of utopia are a dime a dozen. What makes a utopia into a practical objective is pursuing a realistic strategy—an integrated plan of incremental steps all building toward a final outcome. This article outlines one such strategy.

#### Brave New World & the Boss

There is a whole new gambit being played by business interests. It emphasizes breaking up its large workforces into small decentralized units. Subcon-

tracting, franchising, and "work teams" which compete against each other for increased production. Tie these changes with profit-sharing schemes, best typified by Employee Stock Ownership Plans, and we begin to see the emergence of highly motivated and loyal workforces. With computers taking over the jobs of middle management, workers and bosses have less social and physical distance between each other, resulting in a steady erosion of affinity (the prerequisite for solidarity) between workers within the same industry, while identifying with the interests of the boss becomes second nature.

We must be able to respond to this new corporate agenda in an aggressive and creative manner, or be forever lost in fantasies of old glories.

Some aspects of these new management tactics can be used against the bosses. There was a time not so long ago when our call for direct worker control was dismissed by our co-workers because

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# Letters to the Editors . . .

Editors:

Another excellent issue of the *Industrial Worker*. The best one yet, I'd say.

The next step: redesign the masthead so people know the paper's fundamentally different now. Or have you not done so in order to prevent internal squabbles over your changes?

Please report on the name-change effort. Why has no new name been selected? Was there resistance from the upper ranks or from the rank and file? What's going on here? You can't start something and then let it dissipate like that.

Superb reporting in the last issue. Excellent writing, too. You guys are doing miracle work on a paper that desperately needed it. Keep this up, and the IWW will become a real force to be reckoned with.

Good luck,  
D. Saz  
Elizabeth, NJ

*The Editors Reply:*

Thanks for the positive feedback. Honest, folks, we didn't write this letter ourselves.

The masthead was redesigned in March, and does reflect the fact that the paper is different now. As for the name change, we received considerable resistance to the idea from both above and below.

Some members felt that any name change should go to a referendum vote

of the IWW's membership. Since this paper is the union's official publication, it seemed unfair to some that subscribers and casual readers would have an equal say in this matter. In light of this feedback, the editorial collective was persuaded to hold off on any name change until the members could discuss it more thoroughly. We agree that a casual readers' poll is an inadequate process for making a significant change like this one.

Not all the feedback to our poll was process-related, however. Some people simply didn't want the name to change, either for historical, political, or sentimental reasons. Other people feel like Ginger Goodwin, who points out in our feature article this month, *Adapt or Die*, that we need to redesign our program to match the changing landscape of today's modern world. As members of a rank and file-controlled, democratic union, however, we have no choice but to respect the wishes of the membership in this matter.

Editors:

This is a belated report to let all Wobblies know about the existence of a Canadian Wobbly Songbook. For many years as I've been traveling back and forth across Canada I've been meeting folksingers who have had things to say about the political state of the country. The trouble was they had a compact local audience for their songs because no one was getting their material out to the

rest of the country. I ended up collecting their songs and addresses and hoping something could be done with them all. Then, the first time we had Bruce "Utah" Phillips up here for a Wobbly concert I got some encouragement to put this material out in a songbook. That started a two-year process (exactly twice as long as I thought it would take) of calling all the songwriters I knew up to then and asking them to reach anyone else they came in touch with. While this book is definitely not yet comprehensive, we have tried to reach all constituencies and geographical areas. There was a definite attempt to keep the songs current, that is, we were not asking for contributions of historical material. And we did not include rewrites of the other Wobbly songs we had—that is, Wobbly "standards" which we have "Canadianized" for local consumption.

I think the forty songs we finally chose represent some of our finest talent and some good working class sentiment. Now I'd like to follow this songbook up with a tape, but first we'll have to sell enough of these to pay back the Hungarian Literature Fund the start-up costs they generously advanced us. Lots of these songs can be used in the U.S. too, you'll just have to make local alterations to keep the guilty parties on their toes.

The price per copy is \$5, postage included. Bulk orders for branches or your local bookstore are available by writing or phoning: Canadian IWW Songbook, 11 Andrews Ave., Toronto, Ontario,

M6J 1S2, Canada. Or call us at (416) 941-9945.

by Jerzy Dymny

Editors:

In regard to the article on FW Ellington, a "Jimmy Higgins" is not from a marxist source, but from a 1918 novel of that name by Upton Sinclair. Jimmy Higgins was a member of the Socialist Party and in the novel meets Eugene Debs and the king of England. He joins the IWW for a short work stint and eventually joins the U.S. Army after his wife and children are killed in an explosion at a local munitions plant. He is eventually arrested for distributing socialist literature among the American forces fighting with the White Russians during our illegal excursion. During imprisonment he eventually is driven mad. It's a wonderful novel, but not quite up to Charles Ashleigh's "Rambling Kid."

Yours for the OBU  
Neal Orkin

P.S. I stand corrected in my earlier correspondence concerning the origin of "Jimmy Higgins." Both the late FW Ellington and I are correct. I enclose the reference from *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair*:

"A Socialist Party candidate for vice president, Ben Hanford, had invented the name 'Jimmie Higgins' for the humble worker in the party who makes no speeches and gets no honors but does the tiresome jobs of addressing envelopes, distributing literature, and making house-to-house calls to bring his fellow workers to meetings. I took this character for my hero, and started the publication of Jimmie Higgins in the magazine.

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Only Radical Labor  
Newsmonthly

INDUSTRIAL  
WORKER



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## IWW DIRECTORY

For those unfamiliar with IWW terminology, we offer these definitions: Job Shop—an IWW-organized group of workers at a particular workplace—either worker-owned, or owned by the bosses. GMB—General Membership Branch, a chartered branch of members linked by locale, rather than workplace. IWW Group—A group of IWW members in the same locale—not large enough to be a GMB. I.U.—Industrial Union, the IWW number assigned to a particular industry. Delegate—An IWW member authorized to collect dues and to sign up new members.

### AUSTRALIA

Jura Books—110 Chrystal St., Petersham, Sydney.

### CANADA

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver GMB—110-511 Gatsensbury St., Coquitlam, V3J 5E7.  
Eastside Datagraphics Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1460 Commercial Dr., Vancouver V5L 3X9, (604) 255-9559. John Barker, contact.  
SE British Columbia IWW Group—P.O. Box 54, Balfour, V0G 1C0. Contact: David Everest (604) 229-4978.

#### MANITOBA

Winnipeg IWW Group—B. Mackay, P.O. Box 3204, GNPO, R3C 4E7.

#### ONTARIO

Kingston IWW Group—472 Albert Street, K7J 3W3, (613) 544-2382. Delegate: Brad Waugh (613) 549-6094.  
Ottawa IWW Group—388 1/2 Kent Street, K2P 2A9, (613) 231-2922.

Toronto GMB—11 Andrews Avenue, M6J 1S2, (416) 941-9945. Meetings first Thursday, 7 pm, each month, phone for location.

Blackbird Design Collective Job Shop (I.U. 450)—394 Euclid Ave., Suite 301, M6G 2S9, (416) 972-6293.

### UNITED KINGDOM

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IWW Delegate—F. Lee, 15 Melville St., Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, ST1 3NB, 0782-214915.

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IWW Delegate—P.O. Box 1403, Conway 72032.

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Los Angeles contact—Dorice McDaniels, (213) 679-2570.  
IWW Local 1/Mendocino/Humboldt GMB—R. Withers, 32321 N. Harbor Drive, Fort Bragg 95437, (707) 961-1953.

San Diego IWW—RMR Kroopkin, 2675 Fletcher Parkway #211, El Cajon 92020.

San Francisco Bay Area GMB—1095 Market St., #204, 94103 (415) 863-WOBS.

Berkeley Recycling Center Job Shop (I.U. 670)—M. Carlstroem, 2515 Piedmont #8, 94607.

New Earth Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1640 Addison, Berkeley, 94702. Delegate: Dave Karoly (415) 549-0575.

Santa Barbara Area IWW—S. Menard, (805) 968-8456.

### COLORADO

Denver/Boulder GMB—2412 E. Colfax, Denver 80206, (303) 388-1065. Office open Saturdays 9-12. Meetings, second Sunday each month; phone for time. Delegates: Cliff Sundstrom, 910 E. 8th Ave. #202, Denver 80218 (303) 832-7602. Dave Frazer, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474, (303) 258-3732.

P&L Printing Job Shop (I.U. 450), 2298 Clay, Denver 80211, (303) 433-1852.

### GEORGIA

Atlanta IWW Group—340 Elmira Place, 30307.

### ILLINOIS

Chicago GMB—(New World Resource Center) 1476 W. Irving Park, 60613 (312) 549-5045. Meetings, first Friday 7:30 pm, Labor Video Forums, third Friday 7:30 pm.

Champaign/Urbana IWW Group—Box 2824, 61820.

### LOUISIANA

New Orleans Area IWW Group—R. McCarthy, 609 Jefferson Ave., 70115, (504) 899-0014.

### MAINE

Lewiston IWW Group—Contact: M. Lunt (207) 786-6273.

### MARYLAND

Baltimore Area GMB—R. Bey, Black Shield, Box 1681, Glen Burnie 21060, (301) 367-3024.

### MASSACHUSETTS

Boston GMB—Box 454, Cambridge 02139, (617) 629-2922. Meetings, second Sunday, 2 pm. Delegates: Nora Smith, Dani Mavronicles.

### MICHIGAN

Southeast Michigan GMB—400 W. Washington, #2B, Ann Arbor 48103, (313) 995-1422. Delegates: Geoff Kroepel (313) 769-8629; Michael Kozura, Ingrid Kock (313) 973-9102.

Ann Arbor Tenants' Union Job Shop (I.U. 670)—4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor 48109, (313) 763-6876. Delegate: Jeff Gearhart (313) 994-5477.

People's Wherehouse Branch (I.U. 660)—727 W. Ellsworth, Ann Arbor 48108, (313) 769-8629. Delegates: Carol Landry, Mark Kaufmann (313) 483-3478.

N. Michigan—John Patterson P.O. Box 245, Conway 49722-0245.

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Minneapolis / St. Paul IWW Group—Box 2391, Loop Stn., 55402, (612) 339-5002. Delegate: Chris Shillock.  
Duluth Area IWW Group—1514 N. 8th Ave. E., Duluth 55805. Delegate: Jack Rosenquist.

### MISSISSIPPI

Gulfport IWW Group—Contact: C.G. Streuly (601) 896-3515.

### MISSOURI

St. Louis Area IWW Group—P.O. Box 189, Pacific 63069. Contact: Orin Langlelle, (314) 257-2437.

### MONTANA

IWW Delegate—George J. Evankovich; 214 Roosevelt Dr., Butte 59404, (406) 494-2523.

### NEVADA

Tahoe Area IWW—Larry Steinberg, P.O. Box 1114, Dayton 89403, (702) 246-3120.

### NEW YORK

New York GMB—P.O. Box 1147 M, Bayshore 11706. Delegates: Brian Mahoney (516) 586-2103. Jackie Panish, Box 372, Rego Park 11374, (212) 868-1121. Rochelle Semel, RD 1, Box 158-B, Hartwick, 13348 (607) 293-6489. Bob Young, Box 920, Wingdale 12594.

Socialist Party USA National Office Job Shop (I.U. 670)—516 W. 25th St. #404, NYC 10001. Delegate: Ken Meyers, (212) 691-0776.

### OHIO

SW Ohio IWW Group—D.E. Slaton, 4263 Drowfield Dr., Dayton 45426, (513) 854-0051.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Lehigh Valley IWW Group—Lenny Flank, Jr., P.O. Box 55, Bethlehem 18016, (215) 759-7982.

Philadelphia IWW Group—Tom Hill, P.O. Box 41928, 19101.

### SOUTH CAROLINA

Harbinger Publications Job Shop (I.U. 450)—Merle Truesdale, 18 Bluff Rd., Columbia 29201, (803) 254-9398.

### TEXAS

Austin IWW Group—P.O. Box 49523, 78765 (512) 416-9619.

### UTAH

Salt Lake IWW Group—Tony Roehrig, 2607 S. 500 East, 84106, (801) 485-1969.

### WASHINGTON

Tacoma/Olympia GMB & GDC Local 4—2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma 98405, (206) 272-8119.

Seattle IWW Group—P.O. Box 95686, 98145-2686, (206) 525-1336. Delegate: Wayne Taylor.

### WISCONSIN

Madison GMB—Box 2605, 53701, (608) 255-1800. Delegates: Tim Wong, Jerry Chernow.  
Lakeside Press Job Shop (I.U. 450)—1334 Williamson, Madison 53701, (608) 255-1800. Delegate: Jerry Chernow.

## The Wobs are Coming! The Wobs are Coming!

The 86th annual IWW Convention will be held in San Francisco over Labor Day weekend this year, August 31st through September 2nd. And you're invited!

The highlight of the Convention may well be the concert scheduled for Sunday night, featuring Utah Phillips, Darryl Cherney and Judi Bari, The Citizen's Band, Faith Petric, Tommy Strange, and Tom Savage. The concert will be open to the public, though admission will be half-price for those Wobblies attending the Convention.

We'll have an Open House at our new Headquarters office on Market Street from 10-6 on Friday, August 30th. If you can get to town a day early, drop by GHQ at 1095 Market Street, Room 204 (at 7th Street—Civic Center BART station) and visit the office staff and other out-of-town visitors. Then, Friday night, we'll party till the wee hours.

Come Saturday morning, however, we'll get down to the business at hand. The Convention will begin at 10 am sharp at New College of California in San Francisco's Mission District. The General Executive Board is currently drafting an agenda, but any member may place an item on the agenda as well. Groups and branches should also be thinking about who they want to nominate from their ranks for the GEB and GST positions. The Convention is a good place to begin discussion of constitutional amendments, organizing proposals, and other matters of union-wide interest. Saturday's session will adjourn at 6 pm, with Saturday evening free for people to explore San Francisco and its dynamic "cultural milieu."

Sunday morning it's back to business at 10 am. We'll break by 6 pm again so that people can catch their breath and put on their Sunday best for that evening's concert.

Monday we plan to break into smaller, less formal discussion groups and workshops. Possible topics might include: networking for jobshop members; building our coalition with environmentalists; songswap for singers and songwriters; "horizontal" networking for people in the same industry; video and slideshow presentations of recent activities by various IWW groups and branches. Let us know if you want to facilitate one of these groups, or make a presentation.

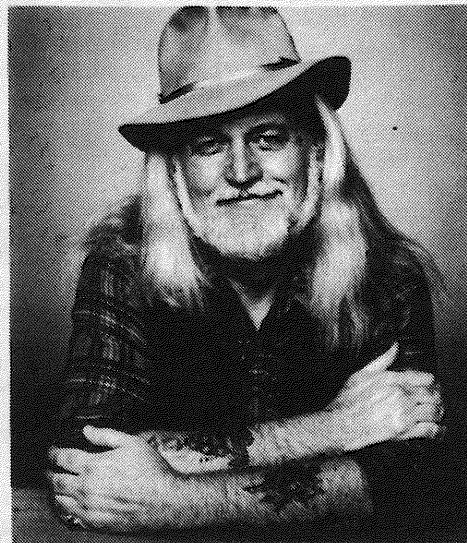
Housing will be provided for out-of-towners by Bay Area Wobs. Let us know as soon as possible about your plans—housing needs, arrival times, etc. We'll try to match you with a house that's comfortable, and arrange to pick you up at the train station or airport if necessary. Call the Clearinghouse at (415) 863-9627 to reserve your space now.

Orientation packets will be available for the Convention showing the best cheap eats near the site (Mexican, Middle-Eastern, and sandwich shops abound) and relevant public transit routes. The site is easily accessible from Berkeley and Oakland via BART. The Bay Area is a friendly place, and we're sure you'll have a good time if you come to the Convention.

Any questions? Call the Clearinghouse! We need everyone's participation, and look forward to seeing you all there.

## In Concert...

Sunday, September 1 at 8 pm



## UTAH PHILLIPS DARRYL CHERNEY & JUDI BARI THE CITIZEN'S BAND, FAITH PETRIC TOMMY STRANGE and TOM SAVAGE

NOE VALLEY MINISTRY  
Sanchez & 23rd Streets  
San Francisco

Tickets \$10 (\$5 for Conventioneers)

### CONVENTION ITINERARY

Friday, August 30, 10 am to 6 pm: Open House at GHQ. Drop on by. Refreshments provided.

Friday, August 30, 8 pm to Midnight: Party down!

Saturday, August 31, 10 am to 6 pm: First day of 86th Annual IWW Convention

Sunday, September 1, 10 am to 6 pm: Second day of Convention.

Sunday, September 1, 8 pm to 10 pm: Concert (see above)

Monday, September 2, 10 am to 2 pm: Workshops, presentations and discussion groups

## BEAT THE BOSS— Milkman

by Jeff Kelly

Try not to eat chocolate ice cream. The skimmed-off refuse of other ice creams are thrown together and then masked with chocolate flavoring. I learned this little tidbit and a few other things working in a dairy plant.

In the early '80s, the Lehigh Valley was still a place where decent-paying jobs could be found. Now, the growth jobs are working a cash register at a convenience store. But for one shining moment I was a well-paid union wage slave making fatty milk products for the enjoyment of all.

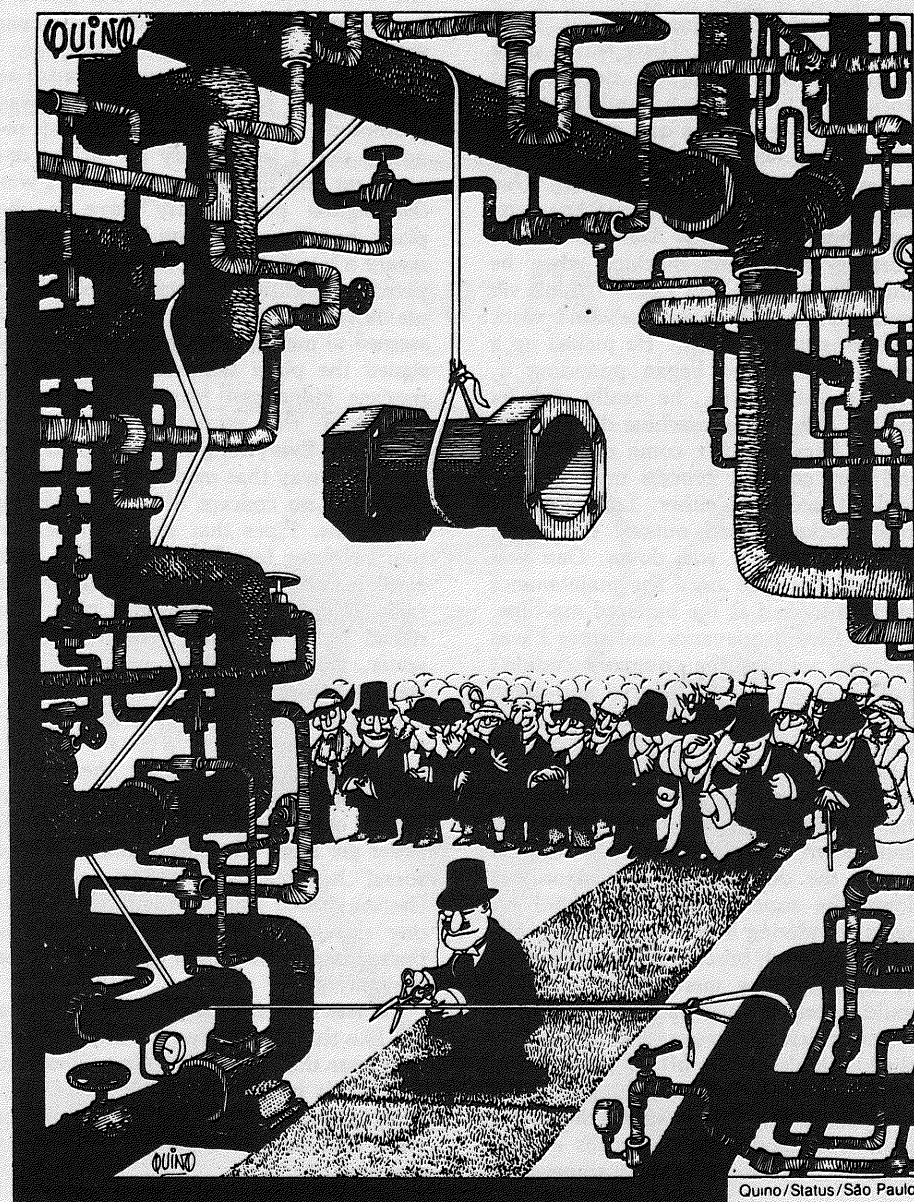
Lehigh Valley Dairy was one of the biggest dairy plants on the East Coast. During the Nixon years, the president of the company was busted for giving \$100,000 in bribe money to Tricky Dick to maintain milk subsidies. The dairy employed close to 400 hourly workers and another few hundred paper pushers. There were a lot of important-looking people, but I could never figure out what the hell they did. My first job was in the ice cream department. The deep freeze in the bowels of the plant. I was issued a snow suit and moldy gloves. The supervisor was a bald-headed maniac named John who sat in front of mounds of paperwork swearing and growling. He threw a clipboard at me and pointed at a door. I opened a huge steel door and was hit in the face with a gust of cold air. The

freezer was 10 degrees below zero. My job was to push a cart around and pull ice cream orders for supermarkets. The ice cream was stacked to the ceiling on pallets. You worked for 40 minutes and were given a 20 minute break. It didn't take a genius to figure out how to do the job, but doing the job and knowing how it really should be done are two different things.

I busted my ass until another worker named Gary explained how the job was done: You're working pretty hard out there," he said. "You are making us look bad with John. Stop working the 40 and 20 crap. They always tell that to the new people. What you do is stay in the freezer for a few hours and take the next few hours off. That way they don't know how long we work. They can't do a thing about it. They aren't going to give you a bonus for working harder than we do."

He was right. You deserved more time to adjust to the change in temperature plus all the slacking off didn't stop the ice cream from getting to the market on time. By the following day I was working three hours and sitting in the break room or hiding in the freezer the rest of the time. The freezer was the company prison and every misfit pro-union madman was banished to it. The company thought they could control things better

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Quino/Status/São Paulo

## PIE KEEPS GROWING—

Producers' % Shrinks

by Mike Ballard

As the Chicken Littles of the corporate and state-owned media continue to rave, "The pie is shrinking! The pie is shrinking!", the class conscious among us know what's going on—robbery. The notion that the "nation" can't afford decent medical care (except for the rich and for those firmly ensconced in the upper reaches of the government bureaucracies), or housing for the homeless, or a steadily increasing standard of living for the working class is true only if we accept that greatest of all capitalist truths, the absolute divine right of those who own or control private property and the state to decide just how the economic pie is to be cut.

The real Gross National Product (GNP)\* grew by 342% between 1950 and 1989. And who produced this GNP other than me and thee? It wasn't the coupon clippers, nor the owners and traders of vast quantities of stock, not the bankers, not the landlords, and certainly not the buildings machines or the factories, which we all made anyway. No, nobody produces that good old GNP other than the working people, because working people produce 99% of the commodities which are sold, except for the land, which was stolen from the Native Americans anyway and which is merely owned, not created. But that's another kettle of fish.

Admittedly there is no one best way to measure our class' productivity at present—potential or as it is. But the GNP does give us a good ballpark figure of the magnitude of the social product created by labor employed within U.S. borders, once that wealth has been marketed as a vast assortment of commodities.

To be sure, more workers are producing the GNP than in 1950. But the increases in the productivity per worker, on average, have accelerated even more rapidly than the numbers of workers. One need only look at the figures for what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls "people in the labor force." These include everyone who is employed, including people in the armed forces. If you divide the total real GNP in any one year by the total working "people in the labor force," you can get an idea of just how

(continued from page 3)

by containing the "virus." New people like myself always started in the freezer because the company wanted to see what you were made of or whose side you were on. But like every other prison, the inmates found ways to get some control. We continually worked at our own pace.

After a few months, I was an official dues-paying member of the Teamsters union. The plant had gone through many strikes to better working conditions. The Teamsters had negotiated high wages, but that was about it. They were corrupt. They were fucking bagmen. They told you what to do but never listened to what you had to say. This was understandable seeing that we had turned control over to them. One night the Teamster brothers showed up at work to inform us of a walkout at the end of our shift. Our contract was up and we were going to walk the line. Everyone was thrilled because even after 10 years of service you only got three weeks of vacation time. Any time off from the monotony was worth it.

The strike lasted a few weeks and we won a raise, but there were going to be changes. The bosses informed us that we would have to work harder or the company would go out of business. There was too much fat and it was going to be sliced. Of course, they didn't mention what they would do on the management side to make things better. Nooooo, it always came out of our hides. As a result of the changes, I was transferred to the central processing department.

Central processing was the control point of the plant. Tall milk silos holding 50 thousand gallons of milk towered over the work area. In the center of the department was the control room. People stood in front of huge wall panels

FOR INCOMPETENCE AND MISMANAGEMENT ABOVE AND BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY, **POSTAL SERVICE MANAGERS** ARE AWARDED NEARLY \$20 MILLION IN BONUSES!



FOR INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY AND HARD WORK, **POSTAL WORKERS** ARE AWARDED...

# SPRING



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much the productivity of our class has increased. Production per worker in constant 1982 dollars has grown by leaps and bounds when measured in 5-year time frames, except between 1970 and 1975. In 1950, 63,377,000 workers produced a GNP of \$1203.7 billion. In other words, an average proletarian produced \$18,922 worth of wealth in 1950, as measured in constant 1982 dollars. These figures continue to increase, as show below:

| GNP in billions of 1982 dollars | Number of workers | Output per worker in 1982 dollars |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1950—\$1,203.7                  | 58,918,000        | \$18,992.00                       |
| 1960—\$1,665.3                  | 65,778,000        | \$23,294.00                       |
| 1970—\$2,416.2                  | 78,678,000        | \$28,463.00                       |
| 1980—\$3,187.1                  | 99,303,000        | \$29,362.00                       |
| 1989—\$4,117.7                  | 117,957,000       | \$35,803.00                       |

The question this information begs is why workers seem to be getting poorer in real terms, while in fact, they are producing more wealth per capita than they

ever have done before? Where is this ever-enlarging pie going, if not to those who create it? Why must decent housing be such an increasingly difficult thing to come by for our class, when the wealth we're producing is so much greater than it has ever been?

"Labor is Entitled to All it Produces." Every Wobbly knows this and not only because it's written on the first page of the IWW Red Card. To quote the continually resurrected Jim Morrison, "We

want the world and we want it now!" It's that old video soma, for the most part, which lulls our fellow proles into a passive acceptance of the present and past pie-slicing techniques employed in both

the new and old world orders. Meanwhile, the medium massages the exhausted, "Dum down, shut-up, go to sleep," and when that old alarm shouts, "Wake up and go to work!" we do, because we need the bucks. Unfortunately, the wages we get for our work don't come close to equalling what we produce for the owners. Constant dollar wages averaged, per capita, between \$7000 and \$1000 from 1950 through 1989. But then, that's the way even the most just of wage systems operate.

All the while, the democratic decision making power, to "dump the bosses off our backs" lies within our organized grasp. We need only tune out the lies and turn on the heat.

\* "Gross national product is the market value of the goods and services produced by labor and property supplied by residents of the United States before deduction of depreciation charges and other allowances for business and institutional consumption of fixed capital goods. Other products charged to expense by business are deducted. GNP comprises the purchases of goods and services by persons and government, gross private domestic investment (including the change in business inventories), and net exports (exports less imports). Beginning in 1960, the estimates cover the 50 states and the District of Columbia; before 1960, Alaska and Hawaii were partly omitted." (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)

watching gauges and making notations on their clipboards. The control room was the only noise-free area. Otherwise the incessant beating of the machinery exploded in your ears. You were always asking "huh" or repeating yourself because no one could hear.

I was put on the bag line. When milk is pasteurized and homogenized a by-product called sweet whey is produced. Sweet whey is then added to other materials to form "food" items. The excess goes out a stack and lands on people. My glorious job was to attach a 50-pound bag to a funnel-like machine and bag the stuff as it came out. I then pushed the bag on rollers to another worker who would sew it and stack it on pallets. It was the worst job and no one ever lasted at it. The bag room was dusty and loud. We were covered with whey and it made life miserable. The rest of our department referred to us as the "snowmen."

Anyone who has worked a job like this probably knows the sheer drudgery. Your mind tends to float and you find ways to break up the day. Some people came to work drunk or high and it didn't matter since the work was so robotic. One of my partners was fond of eating cockroaches or putting them on people when they weren't looking. Occasionally I would wait until our boss was busy and then put grease on his office doorknob. He could never figure out who was screwing him over. Other times I'd sneak into his office and read the mind-numbing things he wrote about us in his personnel log. It was stuff like, "Kelly was late one minute for the third time in two months." The guy was a control freak whose reason for being was to be a pain in the ass.

The work conditions pushed some people over the edge. There was a story floating around about the time a deaf worker was hired since he could best deal with the noise. But he quit anyway and when asked why he wrote, "It vibrates in here too fucking much. I quit!" One day the grind overtook my bag line partner whose name was Dan. Dan was working the sewing machine when he suddenly stopped and said, "I think we need a break. This machine don't work and I'm going to fix it." He picked up a rubber mallet and began pounding it. True to his words, he really did fix things. The sewing machine didn't work so the bags couldn't come off the line and they couldn't process milk so they couldn't accept it either. Long lines of milk trucks formed outside the plant. Every department was down. Dan was fired on the spot once the maintenance workers looked at the battered machine. But he filed a grievance and since I was the only witness the company couldn't build a case. He was rehired and given back pay. Imagine getting paid for sabotage!

Other times someone would snap, run up in the catwalks and throw water on the machinery. Again the plant would shut down and the culprit would be shown the door. When the plant was down the supervisor nearly pissed his pants wondering if we were slacking off. He had us push brooms for the hell of it. I'd ask him how many times a person could sweep an area before there wasn't anything left to sweep. He usually replied, "Don't mouth off, if there is nothing to do then find something to do." I dropped to my knees and praised the great work god for such words of wisdom. I wanted to go to sleep somewhere

but it probably didn't qualify as "doing something."

I became a thorn in his side as much as possible. But for all my efforts I was promoted. I was given a job that required that I learn every job in the department and fill in when needed. I was the highest paid hourly slave in the plant, but it was nothing but trouble. It meant a lot of responsibility, but not one person would take the time to explain to me how each job was to be done. It seemed to me that the engineers who designed the plant were some subhuman morons kidnapped from a cave somewhere in the mountains and given diplomas. Everything they designed was done in a way that made your day suck. They had no concept of actual working conditions. Pipes that should have run two or three feet from a holding tank were instead placed directly under the tank. If you had to loosen a pipe, you risked being splashed with milk, hot water, glucose, or other unknown substances.

After a while, I decided to go on vacation permanently. I didn't want my epitaph to read: "He died for the dairy." When I informed the boss of my decision he was outraged and unbelieving. "You'll never get a job like this again! You'll be sorry!" he screamed. Freezing my ass off. Getting dusted with powder. Hell, everyone should be so lucky. Funny how bosses assume they own you just because they pay you.

He was right, though, I never did get a job like that again. Nor did anyone else. Last year the Labatts Brewery Company of Canada bought Lehigh Valley Dairy. They promptly threw everyone out of work and received a tax write-off in the process.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

**General Strike Against the War:** If you believe the bourgeois press, the recent war in the Persian Gulf was enthusiastically supported worldwide, with the exception of a few Arab fanatics. In truth, though, opposition to the imperialist slaughterfest was widespread.

In Italy, for example, rank-and-file workers organized a February 22nd General Strike against the war. The strike call was endorsed by Cobas Scuola (education workers' base committee), Confederazione Italiana di Bas-Unicobas, Unione Sindacale Italiana (Italian Syndicalist Union—International Workers Association), Metalmeccanici autoconvocati dell'Emilia-Romagna, and Coordinamento lavoratori metalmeccanici di Roma.

Anarcho-syndicalists in Trieste, feeling that the urgency of the situation warranted, organized a one-day general strike on February 15 with good results. The strike, organized by the Provincial Federation of the USI and local Cobas, was adhered to by many rank-and-file militants (union and non-union) from both the private and public sectors despite threats of retaliation by some employers and denunciation of the action by the provincial secretary of the reformist trade union confederation CGIL-CISL-UIL.

On the 22nd, strike demonstrations were held throughout the peninsula. Three thousand marched in Reggio Emilia, 4,000 in Milan, and 10,000 in Rome, with smaller actions taking place in Pisa, Firenze, Bologna, Torino, Bergamo, Napoli, Palermo, Trieste, Padova, Cagliari, Ancona, Bari and other places—attracting workers from just about all economic sectors (schools, hospitals, public employees, small metal-working factories, etc.). While this self-organized general strike did not succeed in shutting down the country or forcing the Italian government to withdraw its forces from the Mid-East slaughter, it at least put the lie to the alleged unanimity of support for the war. (source: *Liberarian Labor Review*)

**100,000 Join General Strike:** The New Zealand Council of Trade Unions mounted a series of demonstrations and strikes April 3-9 to protest new anti-labor legislation abolishing national wage and working conditions standards and limiting the right to strike. The strike was strongest among education workers, who were 95% solid. The opposition Labour Party has said it opposes the bill, but will not promise to repeal it if returned to office. The governing National Party claims it is merely completing the job of slashing benefits, social programs

and union power begun by the former Labour government.

**Japanese Workers Win:** Toshiba-Ampex workers have won their eight-year struggle against Toshiba's effort to close their plant in Japan. The plant was closed overnight in 1982 by a management determined to rid itself of a troublesome union. Several workers occupied the plant and kept it running while demanding their jobs back. The worker-run plant has specialized in manufacturing socially useful products (such as cheap radiation-detection equipment), and has mobilized support throughout Japan. In the Dec. 26 settlement, Toshiba agreed to pay back wages for the length of the dispute and a lump sum for damages in exchange for the workers' agreement to retire. The company will continue production in the old plant until Toshiba gives them a new plant in which they will continue to produce socially useful products. For information: Tsuzuku Ken, T-A Chapter, All Japan Shipbuilding & Machine Workers Union, 555 Toriyama-cho, Kohokupku, Yokohama 222, Japan.

**Soviet Workers Demand Self-Management:** Workers of the Polespechat factory have written the Soviet government to protest ongoing moves toward privatization. "Bureaucracy and the businessmen of the underground businesses connected with it turn a state property into their own one, exploiting their supremacy in the spheres of power and management... Only representatives of the nomenklatura become owners here.

"It's time to put the end to this unscrupulous robbery of the working people! Only workers must own the factories and enterprises, without any ransom, for the factories' cost is paid by not only one generation of people's labor. We also consider a distribution of the state property between the people with the help of the checks and bonds of the privatization to be inexpedient. What will be the criterion of labor contribution? In any case, high-paid officials who sat in armchairs for 20 years will be more privileged than the workers who worked hard in the foundry workshop. No doubt, most of the certificates will be bought up cheap by the mafia.

"The enterprises should become the working collectives' property. Examples of this form of property can be found in the success of real collective enterprises in the USA and in West European countries... We appeal to the people's deputies of the USSR to confirm in the law the right of the working collectives to choose for themselves. All people's property must be got back to the people

without any ransom... No to the new enslavement of the people!"

The author was told by the factory administration that he would be fired if he ever again undertook any similar action. (Source: *KAS-KOR Digest*. The *Digest* also contains news of the miners' strike, unemployment, declining living standards, and KAS opposition to the new Soviet constitutional order.)

**Mexican Unionist Abducted:** Unidentified gunmen abducted Braulio Aguilar Reyes on April 29th. Braulio's brother, Gustavo, is a leader of several thousand "irregular" PEMEX oil workers who were fired when the government closed their refinery because of excessive pollution. The workers have been demanding severance pay, and government and union officials warned Gustavo Reyes that there would be reprisals if he did not stop the movement. The Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights asks unionists to demand that Braulio Aguilar Reyes be immediately released and that labor rights be respected. Write: Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Presidente, Palacio Nacional, Colonia Centro, CP 06067, Mexico, DF; Fidel Velazquez, Secretario General de la Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico, Vallarte 8, segundo piso, colonia Revolucion o Tabacalera, CP 06030.

**Indonesian Workers Riot:** 2,800 Korean shoeworkers wrecked factory offices April 13th when workers at PT Spartan Indah Shoes found that their annual holiday bonus had been cut to less than half the month's salary they received last year. "That was the spark," a labor activist said. "But it is just the culmination of other complaints about low pay, forced overtime and zero health and safety provisions." The company pays most workers 1250 rupiah (65 cents) a day.

**24 Striking Miners Arrested:** Police arrested 24 striking Fiji miners who have been striking the Vatukoula gold mine (owned by the Australian firm Emperor Gold Mining Co.) in late April as part of an effort to break a picket line which has blocked the supply of ore from the mining shafts to the mill. 700 miners struck February 27th for better pay, improved housing conditions, and union recognition. Emperor chairman Jeffrey Reid accused union officials of "starving children and wives of the strikers" on April 23rd as he, 20 police and 30 scabs tried to break the picketline. Union secretary Kavekini Navuso says the company has been cheating on the miners and "treating workers as slaves."

**Iranian Government Jails/Executes Unionists:** The Labor Committee on Iran (Box 241412, Los Angeles, CA 90024) reports that police arrested several workers in the city of Sanandaj in January. Abdollah Beyvaseh, a member of the Bakery Workers Union in Marivan, and Jamal Cheragh-Vaissy, of the San-at-gar Union, were executed recently. They are among hundreds of labor activists executed during the last 11 years. The Committee asks unionists to write the Interest Section of the Islamic Republic of Iran (2209 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20007) condemning Iran's anti-labor policies, demanding the release of all labor activists and political prisoners, and demanding the right to strike and form independent unions.

**Runaway Shops Flee South Korea:** The Japanese-based Sumida Electric Co. fired 450 South Korean workers in October, 1989, completing a two-year process of shutting down the company's Korean plant and transferring work to a new factory in Guangdong, China. Sumida set up shop in Korea's Masan Free Trade Zone in 1972, attracted by tax concessions and low wages. But wages doubled after workers organized a union in 1987, and Sumida began transferring work to China, hiring "communist" workers at wages one-tenth of those paid their Korean workers. The plant closing was a violation of the union agreement, and the workers (nearly all women) occupied the factory and sent a delegation to Japan where they mobilized support, including a two-month-long sit-in in front of the parent company's gate. Asian Workers Solidarity Links-Japan (2B Kato Bldg., 4-21-7, Shinbashi, Minato-ku, Tokyo) reports that the workers have finally won a settlement, which includes 450 million yen in back pay and retirement allowances. Two other Korean unions, representing workers at Asia Swany and TND Korea, won similar settlements.

The article concludes: "Japanese workers were enabled to realize for the first time the importance of International Solidarity, through direct contact with women workers' struggles in Japan. They in turn saw the spread of support... and said 'We really felt that Korean and Japanese workers are alike, and that workers all over the world are all one.' What happened in Korea will be repeated in other Asian countries in the near future. When the capital crosses the sea, so must the workers' solidarity."

**Free Food for Unemployed:** The National Farmers Union has teamed up with the Canadian Auto Workers near Windsor, Ontario to grow vegetables for the unemployed. The 1991 food crop will be potatoes, carrots, and onions on a two-acre plot. The produce will be given to food banks for distribution to the poor.

**Remember PATCO!**



## Soviet Air Controllers Get Tough

by Harry Siitonen

PATCO lives (but in the USSR)! Remember the U.S. Air Controllers' strike back in 1981? That was when Ronald Reagan fired 11,400 controllers, which eventually broke PATCO, their union, and was the major opening salvo of the offensive of the American ruling class against organized labor during the past decade.

The Russian air controllers threatened a strike in late May with negotiations going to the wire. The Soviet government conceded a 60% wage increase with further negotiations in the offing so that a temporary agreement was made. But it was almost comparable to the U.S. air controllers conflict until that point. First, Vice Premier Vladimir Schcherbakov even sounded like Reagan: "I warn you that such strikes are banned and this strike could be recognized unlawful and all possible measures could be taken." The English language *Moscow News* reported that the government had "carefully analyzed Ronald Reagan's moves in a similar direction."

But the air controllers were unafraid. They felt their cause just as they faced many of the same impossible working

conditions that still plagued their American counterparts and which were the cause of the PATCO strike. "We are greatly overworked," controller Yuri Ryabstov told the *Moscow News*. "We don't get to rest long and have no time to manded that their pay and its indexation be tripled and that part of their salary be mistakes. The worst part of it is that people die in air accidents."

"Yes, we are going on strike," said Vladimir Brodulev, a Central Council member of the USSR Air Traffic Controllers Union Federation. "We no longer want to cause deaths and work ourselves to death." Some of the demands: The work week cut from 41 to 36 hours and leave increased to 48 days, with a pension at age 50 instead of 55. They demanded that their pay and indexation be tripled and that part of their salary be paid in hard currency for controlling planes from foreign airlines.

The ranks of the Federation was solidly behind the strike—95% of the controllers voted to strike and the air controllers did not stand alone. The pilots, members of the Civil Air Crews Association, who fly the Aeroflot planes of

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they couldn't conceptualize a world without people to tell them what to do; now they have no choice but to take over the responsibilities previously held by their supervisors *because capitalists have realized that those on the shop-floor know how best to run a lean and efficient company.* Exactly what the IWW has been saying since 1905.

A workforce accustomed to making these critical management decisions, and operating in smaller—more human-scale—projects, with the accompanying increase in social cooperation, certainly prepares an otherwise atomized population for the notion of self-government as proposed by our union. Our job, as organizers, will be to push the concept further; if middle management has been decimated, could we not also expropriate the duties and powers of the bosses themselves?

This being the case, one of the primary resources our union will have to provide will be information about worker cooperatives—legalities, decision-making, equitable assets sharing, and so on. However, unlike an increasing number of organizations which offer this information, we are not merely trying to have more democratic businesses, we are trying to link these businesses with the social realities and responsibilities within their own communities and around the world.

It is entirely possible to have a nation of worker-coops, all of which are in cut-throat competition with each other and have no connection with their sisters and brothers in the poorer nations (in the name of "self-sufficiency," of course). Indeed, this is precisely the blueprint upon which many "progressive" capitalists are building the economy we will soon enter.

To combat this nightmare of collectivized capitalism, there are four steps that we must promote: starting worker-coops, dual-power with the boss, dumping the boss, and international material solidarity. This is a strategic path to renewal and modernization, and suggests that we are a union with something more to offer than memorabilia.

#### Starting Worker Cooperatives

Within our union exist many shops and individuals with a great diversity of experience in the success and failure of worker-coops. The impact our union could have in creating and/or supporting

***"Those who have worked in cooperatives bear witness to the fact that the absence of a boss does not end the struggle for better wages & conditions in an economy saturated with Capitalist ideology."***

cooperative ventures, particularly in economically depressed city cores or rural areas, would be tangible, immediate, and widely supported. Until now, already-existing coops have been allowed to apply for "solidarity shop" status within the IWW, but no other effort is made to aid them beyond this "honor" of carrying our union label. Those who have worked in cooperatives bear witness to the fact that the absence of a boss does not end the struggle for better wages and conditions in an economy saturated with capitalist ideology. The workers, "seizing" the means of production in one shop does not end the need for a union; after all, this self-government of businesses by their workers—albeit on a somewhat larger scale—was exactly what the early IWW was preparing itself to do *after the revolution!*

There have been three traditional objections against IWW-created/promoted worker-coops; the first being that because the workplaces "owned" by capitalists have been paid for by the workers' sweat many times over, any power transfer—apart from outright seizure—is an act of appeasement in the class war. This begins with an obvious truth (at least to us), but carries with it an inflexibility that doesn't allow support for workers who seek localized economic control unless it is through the classic (and rather infrequent) ten-days-that-shook-the-world model, a model that has

generally proved to have much more to do with political revolutions and coup d'etats than actual social revolution. Its all-or-nothing approach represents the height of ideological purity, but offers little practical good to the real conditions of workers.

The second objection is that the efficiency of worker-ownership would create lower prices that would drive down the wages and conditions of workers in competing non-cooperative companies. This may have some merit, although anyone experienced in the often painfully slow process of democratic decision-making may wonder whether the efficiency of a motivated and less wasteful workforce might not be countered by the "inefficiency" of the democratic process. At any rate, in a world where coops and pseudo-coops are a growing reality, the only guard against hurting non-coop workers is through policies created and respected by coops affiliated with each other through, for instance, this union.

The last complaint is that the exposure of workers to the responsibilities of competing in a capitalist system would erode their class solidarity as they took on a "small shopkeepers mentality." Well, if one's mentality changes, it is from losing contact with the realities of the underclass, thus making our needs appear irrelevant and aborting any possible solidarity. If an IWW coop *did* change its mentality, it would speak volumes about the union's failure to involve the coop in union activities, thereby losing one of our greatest pools of skills and resources. This is not a trivial point; any General Membership Branch blessed with a commercial enterprise in the full or partial control of IWW members is intensely aware of the large impact these resources can make in the operation of the Branch. Indeed, having the financial, creative, and organizing abilities of a "small shopkeeper" could be seen as a distinct advantage in the self-government of our entire union, or perhaps even a desirable course of training (assuming we actually believe that common people will one day need to know how to control our workplaces).

#### Dual-Power with the Boss

This step of our strategy would not be different from traditional union organizing, except with one large difference. From the first moment we begin organizing, our single objective is to prepare employees for the eventual takeover of their workplace.

When the IWW began, this was its primary goal. When the millennium didn't happen in the big bang everyone expected, the rhetoric and tactics remained, but we switched our practical strategy to the same "holding pattern" pioneered by the business unions. The Class War soon stopped being a conflict of titans, and became ritualized into a sort of bloody and repetitious movie plot; every couple of years the job conditions force the workers to take job action, a few of their demands are met, they go back to work (usually with casualties), inflation eats up their gains, and in a few years they are pissed off enough to take job action again, and so on and so on. Not to diminish the importance of even this "holding pattern," but it is an arrangement that can become pretty comfy for the leading characters; corporate boss and union boss can be assured they'll always be raking it in at the box office, as each season brings back the audiences for the only show in town. While this conflict is just as ruthless to the individual workers as the Cold War was, its basic stability—also like the Cold War—could continue apparently without end. So how do we break out of this circle?

The practical result of this policy would be to present a strategy to workers whereby they negotiated not only for more rewards, but the power and responsibilities that would go with

# WORK

**A Debilitating Disease Afflicts Millions—  
And the Cause Is Still a Mystery**

these rewards. For example, having input on the hiring and firing decisions that would otherwise be completely at the whim of management has been a significant accomplishment for the IWW Job Branch at the Peoples' Warehouse, and it should be emulated. Every worker wants to better their position and take on new challenges, but the only path available has been by leaving the union and joining management; we have to offer a strategic path that can satisfy the human desire to progress *but within the context of union organizing* (a function that business unions have solved by letting would-be managers build alternate careers in union bureaucracies!)

Not only would we force the boss to hand over decision-making in chunks, we would also become deeply involved in skills development. This would mean conferences and information exchanges between wobblers who share the same job characteristics—a return, in a sense, to the early days when union-sponsored technical bulletins were regularly distributed between IWWs in preparation for the day when they would be running the industries themselves.

This would be the working class equivalent of "professional" organizations, a term of arrogance that essentially means nothing more than "not a worker." The life-and-death skills of doctor and mechanic have somehow developed without a parity of income and status; within the philosophy of the IWW, however, both jobs have equal dignity and deserve an equal chance to develop their skills and establish "professional standards" within organizations of their peers.

#### Dumping the Boss

Full-fledged seizure of control, with the accompanying battles with police, will likely remain an option for as long as there is class conflict. However, the less romantic plans for takeovers that are not dependent on workers courageously throwing themselves at bayonets seem a more practical use of our time (at least in the industrialized "democracies").

We must learn how to effectively challenge the legitimacy of a boss to rule. In some cases, the boss will surprise us by cooperating with the final dissolution of his or her power. This will likely occur because the union has achieved such power within a company that the owner would rather settle for a secure position within the cooperative than face an exhausting battle to defend her or his remaining powers. This would allow continuity between administrations, but would be largely restricted to small businesses where a level of familiarity and common purpose already exist. As it happens, the IWW is unlikely to be organizing *anything* but this size of shop for some time to come.

When we eventually do build a membership that is large and strong enough to go after bigger fish, we will have to deal with companies which have many stockholders. We will have to be able to

create situations where the stockholders are willing to sell dominant shares to the union rather than watch the "value" of their holdings plummet. Worker buyouts have a checkered history to say the least, but it will be one option we will have to prepare for. Assuming we have organized adequate Dual Power, the direct action tactics of our members should have a devastating effect on the price of stocks, thus making the cost of the buyout much more palatable than other ESOP (etc.) plans that have been tried.

#### International Material Solidarity

Words of support and cash donations are always welcome and better than nothing. Unfortunately, talk is cheap as money is scarce (at least in working class movements). We tend to forget, however, that we have another far more potent symbol of solidarity.

Our power has always been in our labor, in our technical skills, and in the strength of our backs. If we wish to remain intertwined with the struggles of others in our class, both locally and internationally, then let us organize around the skills we possess (which would translate into a dollar value many times higher than our pockets could produce in cash).

Why not send our technicians and engineers to help bring electricity, sanitation and irrigation to our sisters and brothers who need the help? Think what great use a simple computer and printer would make to the emerging labor movement in the old Soviet Bloc. From hygiene and nutrition, to organic farming and pollution cleanup, there are people within this union who are urgently needed, whether in a squat in New York or villages in the Andes.

This is where the resources of worker-cooperatives would shine in all their glory. And it is where coop members would have the hustle and bustle of their enterprise interrupted for a personal recommitment to the forces of emancipation.

Through such acts, personal relationships would develop between widely diverse peoples, with new coops being sponsored by the union in foreign lands, with logistical and legal aid provided for exporting their goods (and importing what they lack).

The most immediate step we can take along this road is to become familiar with the goods and services of our existing IWW solidarity shops (coops), and use them at every practical point. Even if a shop was more expensive than a competing (probably non-union) shop, the money would be well spent in keeping the shop in contact with the union, and as a partial repayment for the inevitable services—and inspiration—it provides the members in its area. It requires little imagination to see many other benefits from a policy that keeps money recirculating within our union, rather than losing it to the outside economy; we have to help ourselves before we can fully help others.

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the state-owned airline, threatened a 24-hour sympathy strike.

The coal miners, recently involved in some militant struggles of their own, also backed the controllers. "We will support them," Pavel Shushpanov, Chair of the Independent Coal Miners Union told the *Moscow News*. "Our union has donated 100,000 rubles to the air controllers and pilots. Should there be repressive measures against them, pit strikes are not ruled out."

Talk about labor solidarity? These people sound like Wobblies! We could use this kind of labor solidarity here. One positive thing has come out of the post-Stalin and Brezhnev periods in the USSR: Independent unionism is flourishing and hundreds of thousands of workers are taking militant action. Not too many years ago, labor activists in the USSR were thrown into concentration camps and nut houses. Only the official Communist Party-run "company unions" were allowed to function.

Although the Soviet state pleads poverty (and they are broke), it was forced, instead, to come to an agreement (albeit

not nearly adequate). It no longer has the muscle to bust worker organizations. The organization of Soviet workers is one of the most hopeful developments in the USSR, as the state and central economy continue to decay and disintegrate. All factions of the state bureaucratic ruling class, whether it be the old guard, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, or the "free market" opposition radicals, want to form some kind of "market economy," a euphemism for the corporate capitalist swindle. This sad state of affairs, where one gang of bosses is exchanged for another, allowing for the enrichment of a few, may well become the near future in that unhappy part of the world.

What's needed more than ever is the self-organization of the working class if the interests of the masses of the rapidly disappearing Soviet "empire" are to be served. The political and class instincts of this new working class appear solid, although some may still be fooled by the false promises of Western capitalist economics. And a class perspective is the best counter against the growing irrational ethnic divisions that are rife there.

## IWW Literature Available from Chicago

### Music

#### LITTLE RED SONGBOOK: Songs of the Workers to Fan the Flames of Discontent

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# IWW Preamble

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

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

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to 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 interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

## Join the IWW

**No Bureaucrats**—Aside from the modestly paid General Secretary-Treasurer and the office worker who staff our General Administration, the IWW has no paid officers. The General Executive Board is elected annually by the entire membership, and its job is to oversee the running of union affairs, not to set policy. All officers may be recalled at any time by referendum.

**Real Democracy**—All policy decisions are made by the members themselves by referendum. All branches maintain full autonomy on matters within their jurisdiction. Job branches (IWW groups composed of workers at a single job-site) set their own demands and strategies in negotiations, free of meddling internationals or sell-out business agents.

**Low Dues**—Our dues are structured on a sliding scale basis. Unemployed and low-income workers pay \$3 a month; those making between \$800 and \$1,700 per month pay \$9; and members making more than \$1,700 per month pay \$12 monthly dues. Initiation fees equal one month's dues, so a low-income worker can join for as little as \$6.

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- I affirm that I am a common worker without direct power to hire and fire.
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(continued from page 1)

and G-P contract out to the gyppos, and the job goes to the low bidder who is willing to cut the most corners. Competition among the gyppos is intense, and the corners they cut include quality of logging, equipment maintenance, wages and worker safety.

Logging is the most dangerous job in the U.S., according to the U.S. Labor Department. The death rate among loggers is 129 per 100,000 employees, compared with 37.5 for miners. Charlie Hiatt's father, Kay Hiatt, was killed in a logging accident when a stump rolled down a hill and crushed him. His son-in-law had his back run over by a loader. "I've been hit over the head by trees four or five times, twice without a hardhat," one choker setter told me. "Once I get hit in the face by a cable," says a logger. "I woke up two days later."

Okerstrom has one of the worst safety records of the Mendo gyppos, with three deaths and a neck-down paralysis in three years. In 1986, Okerstrom and L-P knowingly sprayed Garlon over an area where a logging crew was working near Juan Creek, poisoning 12-15 people. The loggers' skin turned beet red, they had severe headaches, diarrhea and nausea, one man threw up blood and another man's wife had a miscarriage after handling his clothes. The company maintained that the loggers just had the flu. When they tried to complain and to document the poisoning, Okerstrom fired two long-time good employees, Tom Fales and his son Frank, and threatened them with a lawsuit if they caused any more trouble.

But the Garlon spraying, like the PCB spill a few years later, was the exception in that it aroused opposition from the workers. Mostly loggers just accept the danger as part of the job. "These are tough guys," a logger told me. "Guys who will cut their hand off and put the glove back on with the hand in it and go back to work." So when these same guys, who rarely complain about damage to themselves, start complaining about damage to the forest, you know how close we must be to the end.

"There's very little logging going on out there. There's a lot of trashing," says an R&J logger. "We'll log an area and move on to the next landing, and R&J flies over it with a helicopter to check it for any trees we might have missed. That's when I realized how fucked it was." In cat logging jobs like these, the tractor is driven as close as possible to the logged area. A main cable is attached to a winch on the tractor, and five to seven choker cables are hooked on the end of the main cable. Each choker cable is wrapped around a felled tree, and when you pull five to seven trees at once, you're going to knock down a lot of small trees," says my source. "Oaks are no expense—if they're in your way you just mow 'em down. In between skids I sit on a bald mountain looking at another bald mountain. The yarder is crashing, whistles blowing, trees swinging around, branches flying off like missiles, dust flying—it's all death and destruction."

Cable logging is used in places where the slope is too steep for a tractor. It does less damage than tractor logging because the cables lift one end of the log off the ground as it is dragged up the hill. But cable logging enables them to log slopes that are too steep to sustain the damage. "I've seen canyons in this county that are 1000-foot straight down. And we logged them!" says an experienced Mendo logger.

A lot of the actual logging practice is in the hands of the guy on the cat. "I've seen roads built where they pushed the soil right into the creek," says a Hiatt logger. Even when done according to the forest practice laws, you are allowed to log right up to a stream. You don't have to leave any shade at all on a Class 3 (seasonal) stream, and you can take 50% of the shade in a Class 2 (year-round tributary to a fish-bearing stream). If there's a canopy left you can take all the conifers, and in the past, logging practices have been so sloppy that they have counted the fog as a canopy. "Really, I've seen it written into plans. It's horse-shit," said a long-time coast logger.

But the most urgent complaint I heard from the Mendocino County loggers I

what Harry meant when he said he logs to infinity—chipping up scrub trees and bushes to extract the last bit of biomass from the dying earth.

It's a far cry from the giant redwood and fir trees that used to cover our area. "The way I see it," says a lifetime Mendo resident working in the woods, "we're missing out on about 80% of what used to be here." Not just 80% of the forest, but 80% of the whole ecosystem. That number, deduced from life experience, is strikingly close to the numbers that Hans Burkhardt worked out on his computer. Hans figures that the standing volume of timber left in Mendo Co. is only 10% of what it was 140 years ago, before the cutting began.

"It used to be, you'd go out to Navarro or Ray Gulch and there would be trees. Now it's all clearcuts," laments a local logger. "I grew up around Fort

against.

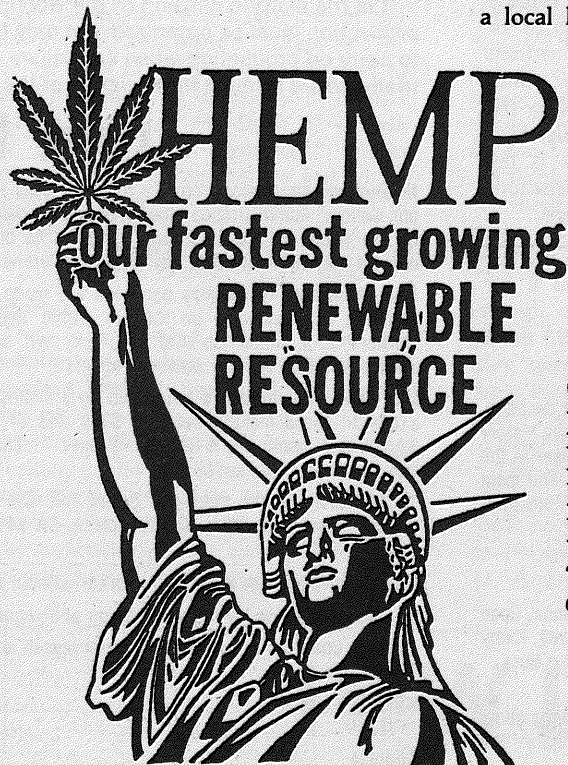
"It's going to be a war. It's going to be the biggest social change in our lifetime," one of the loggers told me. "But we're going to have to change, otherwise we're not going to have a place to live. If we keep destroying our home, we're going to run out of home. The problem is that the system is based on consumption."

The problem is that the forest is both biological and sociological. But there is a solution to both problems, according to the woods workers who talked to me. "Put the loggers to work doing restoration," said one after another of them. "I'm sure they can handle planting trees for \$12-\$15 an hour." "Why can't all these loggers drive their cats and 4-wheelers and haul things out of the creeks? It's full-time work to replace what we've destroyed." Of course the corporations are in no hurry to finance restoration. They're already in the run phase of cut-and-run. But, for example, when someone like Congressman Pete Stark sponsors a bill to tax old growth at 75%, that money should be earmarked for hiring displaced loggers to do restoration. "Loggers don't want welfare or relief funds," said my sources. "They want to work." Last week I went to the EF! Rendezvous in the Siskiyou Mountains. It's all public land there, and it's checkerboard clearcuts. Not as bad as Mendo yet, but heading the same way. Some of the local loggers from the nearby town of Happy Camp came up to our Rendezvous and told me their story. Lots of people got laid off after the election last year, just like they did here. One of the men I talked to lost his mill job and tried growing pot, but got busted and was losing his house. Another man was a logger who also got laid off but had a temporary job building a house for his boss. Both families—four adults and eight kids—had moved into the logger's house together. But now they were all getting kicked out of there too, because the landlord had sold the house to a yuppie who wanted to use it as a vacation home. "We're going camping, I guess," said the logger's wife. Born and raised in the mountains, they are determined not to be driven into the city, where many displaced timber workers are going. "We're going to Idaho. There's work there for some. There are places where you can stand on a mountaintop and not see a clearcut." I've heard other people say they're going to Oregon, but loggers in Oregon are leaving, and the problem is the same all over.

Last January, the Happy Camp loggers told me, they had a demo against the Forest Service to protest the unemployment. It was organized by the yellow ribbon people, and 450 Happy Camp timber workers and their families rallied in Yreka at the fair grounds. When I asked if it did any good, they said no. "It barely made the Yreka papers. Then we went home and we were still unemployed." And it occurred to me that yet another purpose of the timber management-sponsored yellow ribbon campaign is to prevent real or effective local organizing. Imagine what could have happened if, instead of just protesting the unemployment, the displaced timber workers had demanded jobs restoring the clearcuts. It's public land. Every environmental group in the country would have backed them up, and they just might have gotten funding.

But if we keep going the way we are now, both the forest and the loggers have had it.

(reprinted from the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*)



talked to was the cutting of baby trees. Before the '60s, they didn't even take second growth, they considered it junk. Now L-P's limit for a sawlog is 6"x8". Out of this they claim they can get two 2x4s, one 1x2, and chips. Things have gotten so bad that last year in Comptche some of the timber fallers actually walked out on a cut because the trees were too small for them to make money at their piece-work rate.

R&J is one of the prime offenders at cutting baby trees. "There was one cut on the Garcia last year where they needed 40-50 more years for the trees to grow. They were cutting trees 15" at the stump," said one source. Another told of an R&J cut in Manchester where they took 12" trees. A decent second growth cut will yield about 70,000 board-feet per acre. The trees in Manchester were so small that they yielded only 2500 board-feet per acre.

Hardwood logging is another new policy from L-P. There's no legal requirement to leave the oaks, but redwood loggers didn't formerly bother with them. Now L-P takes it all, as Harry Merlo promised, leaving our hills even more denuded and subject to erosion. They chip the oak and send it to their pulp mill in Samoa, or ship it to Japan to make fax paper. The chip market is always good, even in the winter, and L-P wants every timber dollar they can get their greedy hands on. In a recent timber harvest plan for 1100 acres near Covelo, L-P broke new ground in the field of liquidation logging by including the digger pines and manzanitas in their cutting plans. That's

Bragg, and every place I ever loved is gone," says another. "Anderson Creek, Indian Creek and Rancheria used to be loaded with steelhead. I remember one hole where they all met, and there'd be 250 fish in the hole, stacked three deep. Now we haven't had a run in four years."

Along with no trees comes no jobs, and between the recession and the overcut my sources estimate that unemployment in the woods is 50% this year. Some people are waking up. They can't help but see that there's hardly any loggable timber left in Mendo Co. But most of them are "too scared to admit the truth, even to themselves. When I talk about it they say yeah, but they refuse to take it seriously. They just put their heads in the sand and blame who they're told to blame." And that means us.

There's a lot of anger out there, and my sources were all afraid for our safety. "It's part of loggers' pride to attack Earth First!," said one. Last year some of the gyppos hired armed guards to watch their equipment. One guy who works for Hiatt tried to get people to meet at his house and go after EF with clubs when we were camped at Navarro Beach around the time of the Osprey Grove demo last year. Luckily we moved the night before, so we don't know if it was just talk or if they would have done it. But there was peer pressure on the job for people to join in. Comments like "I'll kill one of them" are heard on the job all the time. And this week's violence in Headwaters Forest has shown us once again the kind of hatred we're up

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