

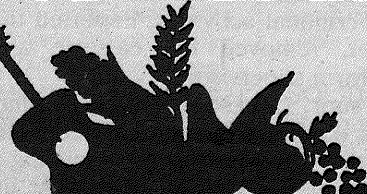
# Industrial Worker



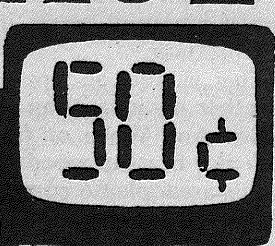
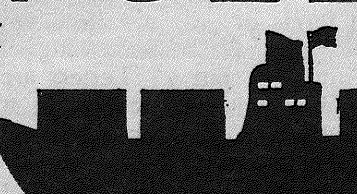
★ Education



★ Organization



★ Emancipation



Volume 89

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## We're Back in Paterson, NJ

The Industrial Workers of the World are back on their old stomping ground in Paterson, New Jersey, and they have hit the ground running!

Together with members of the Paterson Anarchist Federation, a bookstore is being opened, which has already been raided by police, and fired upon with weapons. Four members were recently arrested for postering; a memorial was held for Sacco and Vanzetti August 23; and the Group took part in a re-enactment of the famous Paterson Silk Strikes of 1913. The Group is also doing support work for political prisoners, and organizing against racism and police brutality.

Wobblies took part in the July 4 Silk Strike re-enactment. Folk singers and performers portrayed the labor leaders of the famous "Red City" of Paterson. Arriving at the Great Falls Bi-Centennial Festival, the IWW/PAF contingent moved past the bleachers to the front of the stage, where they turned their backs for the singing of Star Spangled Banner.

July 21, Wobblies and Anarchists again joined forces to greet George Bush's royal visit. A World War II

veteran tried to rescue the flag they were standing on, whereon a tug of war broke out and the anarchists were attacked by a couple of local blockheads.

A Sacco & Vanzetti memorial was held at Federicci Park in Paterson on the 65th anniversary of their execution. Paterson residents and homeless people joined the event, and members of the Salvation Army (across the street from the Park) came over and told how the state lets the right wing religious camp get away with injustices. Music, poetry and performance lasted for two and a half hours. A similar event is planned next year, and another in November to remember the 1887 Haymarket martyrs of Chicago.

On Labor Day, Wobblies took part in a parade through Haledon and Paterson, sponsored by Botto House American Labor Museum.

### Selective Harassment

September 24 was the trial date for 4 workers arrested for putting "Copwatch" posters on telephone poles.

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## Bingo Workers Turn Up The Heat

### UNION WOMEN



**FIGHT BACK**

X341341- Hours after being returned to their jobs by an NLRB order, 6 Bingo workers found themselves on the street again. In response to this new series of illegal firings, Boulevard Bingo's IU 630 Job Branch and Lehigh Valley General Membership Branch have again begun picketing and leafletting the Allentown, Pennsylvania bingo hall.

In late September, NLRB found the employer guilty of illegally firing 8 workers for the purpose of preventing "concerted activity." In early October, NLRB added 2 more workers to that list. The Feds ordered Boulevard Bingo to reinstate the fired workers and pay full back wages, an amount somewhere in the neighborhood of \$25,000. The ruling also stipulates that back pay awarded would increase by \$50 for every working day they were not returned to their jobs.

Realizing it was about to lose, shortly before the ruling the employer offered 5

workers (the ones with the strongest NLRB case) their jobs back. The 5 returned in early September.

After the ruling, Boulevard Bingo informed the IWW that it did not intend to comply with the ruling, and maliciously altered work rules to try and force Union members to quit. Workers who had never been issued a disciplinary warning in years on the job, suddenly began receiving 10 to 15 "warnings" a day. Within weeks one of the re-instated workers was "indefinitely suspended," and another was forced to sign a paper saying she had quit her job. The IWW immediately charged the employer with harassing and discharging employees for the purpose of preventing a labor union.

We also put in practice a new tactic of cultivating sympathetic contacts within the board of directors and members of the Pennsylvania Association of Songwriters Composers and Lyricists (PASCAL), and

Allied Air Force, the two "nonprofit" groups that run the bingo hall. We have also spread the word about Boulevard Bingo's illegal actions among the local business and music community. Contingency plans are in place for further tactics, if they become necessary.

The saddest thing about halting our 7-week July picket had been missing the daily entertainment provided by Bingo managers John and Charlene Havassy. They would run outside and scream obscenities at us, filming anything that moved, and dash back inside to call the police, who quit coming after the first few times. An insider remarked that John and Charlene were so upset by the picket that they didn't have sex anymore.

Fortunately the entertainment started up again as soon as we resumed our picketing. On the 3rd night of our picket,

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# Seattle Workers Deal With Employment Discrimination

On the evening of October 20, in central Seattle a standing-room only crowd of 150 turned out for a community forum on employment discrimination. The large attendance and spirited participation clearly demonstrated that job discrimination remains a significant problem in the Seattle area.

The forum, organized by the newly formed Employment Discrimination Committee of Seattle's Black Dollar Days Task Force, featured a panel representing different approaches to the problem.

Terry Koyano of King County Civil Rights and Compliance, gave a straightforward description of her agency.

Bill Hilliard, Director of the Seattle Human Rights Department, took the opportunity to respond to a city council report criticizing his department's long backlog of cases (a complaint filed today would not be assigned an investigator until 1994).

Alec Stephens Jr. with the National Conference for Black Lawyers, cautioned against taking too critical a position regarding the human rights agencies, pointing out that in spite of their limitations they remain a significant tool in the struggle.

The remaining 3 panellists more directly represented the workers' points of view. Jacqueline Jones-Walsh, with the Black Caucus of Trade Unionists made a very powerful statement of the impact of discrimination on workers and called for greater efforts to end this persistent affliction. Heidi Durham, representing the Committee for Equal Rights at City Light, briefly described her organization's long battle against discriminatory practices at this city utility, then went on to give some background on the problems at the Seattle Human Rights Dept. She

pointed out how placing the agency under the direct control of the mayor's office had undermined its independence and effectiveness.

Evelyn Brown, of People Against Racism at Nordstrom gave the most eloquent and passionate address of the evening, describing her efforts with fellow workers to battle discriminatory practices at that giant retail chain. She described their frustration with the legal system and their difficult struggle to get their day in court.

The second half of the forum featured questions and comments from the audience. The most common themes to emerge from the audience were frustration with the human rights agencies, and the deep personal suffering that employment discrimination causes. The most moving statement came from Connie Oliver who spoke of being exposed to toxic chemicals at Boeing, and suffering permanent disability from this poisoning. She spoke for a group of women in the audience who were similarly poisoned at Boeing, and described how they were discriminated against, first as women and then as disabled workers.

The forum closed with a statement from the Rev. Dr. Robert L. Jeffrey, Executive Director for the Black Dollar Days Task Force (Seattle). He called on all present to carry forward the struggle against employment discrimination, and polled the crowd to see who would be interested in organizing a city-wide rally, possibly featuring Rev. Jesse Jackson. With an enthusiastic response from all assembled, he announced an upcoming meeting to plan the rally and pursue the tasks of the Employment Discrimination Committee.

-Stan Anderson, X332445



## A Space in Philadelphia

Formally named the Voltairine de Cleyre cultural center, after an anarchist writer who lived in Philadelphia, the sign out front simply says "A Space." The storefront was made available to the local anarchist community by a very progressive land trust that owns the building.

We painted the drab interior, built a sink and counter, installed an espresso machine and a small fridge, all donated by members. Later we salvaged Oak floor boards and installed a new floor. Tables were made by members, with creatively painted tops and old bases.

The result is a very warm environment for meetings and cafe nights.

An outside group can rent the space for as little as \$10, if approved by consensus of the collective; and one collective member must take responsibility for the place on that date. Or, any member can do an event, subject to consensus, and must do one event per month to keep membership. It is open only for scheduled events, and all events are open to the public.

In November 91, sometime-Wobbly Tom Juravich's appearance was a wonderful success, and was attended by

a number of Lehigh Valley Wobs. After that show a meeting was held with workers at Wooden Shoe Books & Records, and they decided to form an IWW Job Shop at the bookstore.

From these beginnings, the Philadelphia GMB eventually came into being. Many of us are involved in several projects at once, so it has taken some time for each of us to place the Union in our lives, and find time to devote to it. In July 1992 we supported hospital workers' picket lines.

We have begun a new plan to make a health insurance plan available to the Union members. We have initiated an unemployed dues fund and a Wobbly educational fund. The latter will be used to stock a library with IWW and other literature, located at the A Space.

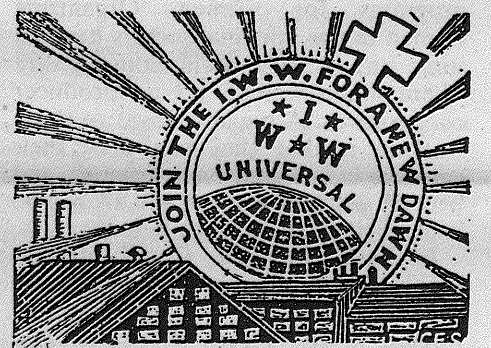
4 Wobs have founded Books Through Bars, along with comrades at New Society Publishers just around the corner. We correspond with inmates to find out what they would like to read, and what they're allowed to receive, then mail them whatever we have that is close as possible to what they want. Local booksellers and students have donated mailers and books.

IWW meetings are at the A Space every 2nd Sunday afternoon, and each 4th Sunday evening we hold the Wobbly Cafe. The cafe is actually much better than the meeting for getting things done, because people can brainstorm without waiting their turn and can bring guests and come and go as they like. The food adds something, too.

We encourage Wobs anywhere to communicate with us: Industrial Workers of the World at the

A Space, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia PA 19143.

-Bob Helms, X341465



## Bingo Workers Fight Back!

continued from page 1

John harangued the workers, screaming, "You'll never have a job here again!" Waving his arms and getting red in the face, Havassy told picketers that if the Union won, he would close down the bingo hall, declare bankruptcy, and re-open under another name.

The next night, pointing to IWW organizers, John screamed, "All our troubles are caused by you people coming in here and starting up trouble!" Working himself into a frenzy, Havassy called the organizers "commies," "radicals," and "outside agitators." Then he picked up a stick that was lying on the ground, broke it into little pieces and threw them at picketers as they walked by.

This failed to get a rise out of anybody, so John continued his performance by stepping up to IWW organizer Jeff Kelly, holding up his fists and screaming, "Come on asshole, let's go. Right now." Jeff merely laughed and walked away, and John repeated his performance to me. After I walked away too, Havassy stepped out onto the sidewalk into the picketers' paths, hoping that somebody would give him an excuse to start a fight. He finally gave up and left after several Wobblies told him we wouldn't start any trouble, but that we would defend ourselves if attacked.

By the end of October, it looked as though the bosses might be beginning to realize they were fighting a losing battle. Reliable sources informed us that John and Charlene were fighting viciously about how to handle the dispute. We also heard they were constantly arguing with their attorney, who was telling them things they didn't want to hear. In desperation, the Boulevard Bingo

attorney contacted NLRB to try and broker a deal to end the situation; all of the workers would be returned to work with 80% back pay. To demonstrate their "good faith" management sent letters to 5 workers offering a return to their jobs on Monday, November 2. One worker had already found another job and refused to return, but the other 4 agreed to report for their regular scheduled shifts.

Given what had happened the last time the Havassys re-instated workers, we expected this return to be short. We were not wrong. When they arrived at work, they found that the bingo hall already had scabs running the floor. The returning workers were ushered one at a time into the office for "orientation." Less than an hour later, Co-worker Cookie Serafin was placed on "indefinite suspension." An hour after that, Bill Pike was given a copy of management's new work rules, which he was told to read and return.

When Bill saw the illegal and absurd work rules (including giving mgmt the right to search any employee's person, locker or car on demand), he put the copy in his pocket and refused to give it back. Bill wanted to make sure that the Labor Board got a good look at the new rules. He too was "suspended indefinitely" and the cops were summoned to escort him from the building.

Later that night, Deb Recchiutti reported for her shift and was also subjected to "orientation." The bosses harangued her for 2 hours, demanding that she sign a paper saying she was quitting. Deb refused to sign anything and walked outside to join the picketers.

Next day, the axe fell on yet another returning worker. Mary Miller, a diabetic, was told she would not be given any breaks during her 6-hour shifts, to eat or take her medication.

When Mary insisted on taking her break for medical reasons, management fired her on the spot. Once again the boys in blue were summoned. While the cops had no choice but to ask Mary to leave the building, they minced no words in informing John and Charlene what slimeballs they thought they were. When John Havassy tried to shove an affidavit in one cop's face, the officer replied that he wouldn't sign anything, and was disgusted at the way the bingo was treating its workers.

In addition, one non-Union worker, who finally had enough of mgmt's lies and intimidation, walked off the job and, the next day, joined the picket line. The remaining workers, equally disgusted, may do the same soon. Of the 9 Wobbly workers who returned under NLRB's order, 6 are no longer on the job as of this writing, and we expect more firings in the near future. The Wobs have already filed additional unfair labor practice charges against Boulevard Bingo for these incidents, and workers plan to file lawsuits charging mgmt with violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Federal Disabilities Act, and the Federal Privacy Act.

The decision to use Federal legal action was not easy, since we distrust the bureaucrats, but it has proven tremendously helpful in 2 ways. It gives our organizing campaign a legitimacy that helps when we approach people for support; but the whole legal snarl is costing the Havassys a fortune. The bingo has hired Duane, Morris and Hecksher, an expensive union-busting law firm with offices all over the state. The ironic thing is that if we were dealing solely with Havassy's lawyer, this situation would have been resolved already. The lawyer seems to realize that mgmt doesn't have a chance on this one, and just wants to cut its losses -- he

has been desperately trying to cut some kind of a deal to end the conflict. Unfortunately, John and Charlene have arrogantly continued their illegal actions, thus digging themselves deeper and deeper into the hole.

From friendly sources, we hear that mgmt has already spent over \$10,000 in legal expenses -- for legal advice which they don't follow. The bingo hall faces \$25,000+ in back wages, possible fines or imprisonment for defying the NLRB order, and 3 to 4 years' litigation and legal costs -- all to avoid a union contract that won't cost them a dime! Not only are the Boulevard Bingo bosses arrogant, they are stupid as well.

Despite their \$100,000 treasury and their \$100/hour lawyer, bingo managers have lost every investigation and hearing. With volunteer legal help, LV IWW has won every time.

Despite our recent victories, however, the fight is far from over. To force the Havassys to comply with the NLRB ruling will take at least 2 months, or several years if the Havassys decide to drag it out. (Since our lawyers work for free, we can afford to keep it in the courts longer than they can.)

Even after that, we fully expect the mgmt to use illegal methods to interfere with the certification election. Ultimately the situation will probably not end until the bingo mgmt finds itself behind bars for violating a Federal court order.

Meanwhile, bills and rent continue to pile up while this fight is dragging on, and the Bingo Workers still need donations to our solidarity fund to keep their heads above water and keep up the good fight. 4 months is a long time to go without any earnings. PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR SOLIDARITY FUND SO WE CAN CONTINUE TO STAND UP TO BOULEVARD BINGO.

# International Notes

## UNION WOMEN MEET

Although women make up 40% of the world's paid labour force, union membership and leadership remains largely a men's domain. Nicetas Lucero of the Philippines Federation of Free Workers made this announcement at the close of a 10-day seminar for Union women held in Doorn, Netherlands October 24.

As the sole female on the board of the World Clerical Workers Trade Federation, Lucero feels she has penetrated a male dominated sector in the labor movement.

According to Lucero the Union movement in the Philippines is very strong, in contrast to places like Cote d'Ivoire and the Dominican Republic, who sometimes face imprisonment for Union organizing.

The seminar planned to set up a women's commission within the world confederation of labour (WCL) to push women's issues internationally; and to hold a women's conference prior to the 1993 WCL congress in Togo.

A women's commission in WCL will give women a voice at the top leadership level, as they attempt to get WCL to put its weight into issues of maternity and paternity leave, day care, education, and strategies to organize women working in the informal sectors.

Some male trade unionists need a lot of persuasion. Recently the Int'l Sec. of the Latin American labor federation CHAT, Luis Enrique Marius said it is more important to find jobs for the men so their families will be fed, than to improve the position of their wives.

Many unions around the world now have commissions and education programs for women. Organizing women in the informal sectors has had some success, such as in Cote d'Ivoire where union women set up producer cooperatives. A big advantage to these workers is that they can pool their earnings in a shared bank account, and become independent of the men who controlled their finances before.

In Latin America, CLAT affiliate FETRALCOS, a Union for traders and clerks, is fighting for the legal status of women in the informal sectors, and educates women so they know their rights.

Delegates at the seminar agreed to raise the issue of trafficking in women, within their respective organizations. In the Dominican Republic, CLAT recently pressed for and obtained stricter visa regulations to prevent women from being unknowingly lured into prostitution abroad.

The number of women in Union leadership positions around the world is slowly growing, according to organizers of the seminar.

**NICOSIA NURSES** Nurses and Midwives in the Commonwealth Nurses Federation (CNF) agreed on a plan of action to enhance their role in health care. They said in many countries beset by famine, drought or war, the nurse or midwife is often the only source of health care. They also said that midwifery and nursing are becoming increasingly important in the health care industry.

The Federation asserts that nurses and midwives must be in a position to influence health industry decisions at district, national, regional and international levels. Their plan thus calls for urgent action with emphasis on education, leadership and practice.

Delegates at the 10th Commonwealth Health Ministers Conference in Nicosia have been asked to convey the plan of action to their governments, with action to be realised within the next 3 years.

The 50-member Commonwealth includes Britain, Australia and New Zealand and accounts for about 25% of the world's population.

**AUSTRALIA** The Metals and Engineering Workers Union has begun an industrial campaign to win a 2 year agreement from employers for a new wage package. The campaign is centred around three key demands: a 1.5% wage increases every 6 months for 2

years; increased superannuation from 3% to 6% over the 2 years; and productivity increase bonus.

Industrial action began in the larger states in is spreading to the smaller states, despite a severe recession and rising unemployment. The solid support for the action stems from the fact that the real wages of a metal industry fitter has fallen by about 14% since 1987.



**EEC** The Council of Ministers of EEC adopted the controversial Directive giving protection to pregnant workers, nursing mothers and workers who have recently given birth, on October 20th. The Directive, part of the Commission's Social Charter action program, is one of the first concrete measures to be agreed by the Council on workers' rights.

The following measures will now apply in all EEC countries: Pregnant women must take 2 weeks obligatory maternity leave. Actual maternity leave is to be 14 weeks (improving Portugal's 90 day limit).

Benefits paid to women may not be less than those received by a worker stopping work for health reasons (the text states that the sick pay reference is purely technical "and implies no analogy between pregnancy and sickness"). Employers, workers and trade unions are to be informed by the Member States of the Commission guidelines for health and safety at work.

These guidelines must cover mental and physical fatigue. Employers must assess in advance any risks to the women concerned. If assessment reveals a health and safety hazard, working conditions or working hours must be adjusted accordingly, or the woman should be moved to other work, or given time off (employment rights are maintained, and payment for lost wages). Pregnant women may not be dismissed by their employer for reasons connected with their condition.

## CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT STATES

October 10-12, an International Conference Against Privatizations took place in Moscow, organized by a committee set up on the Russian side by the Party of Labor, Workers Party and KAS-KOR, and on the French side by the Workers Party. The conference adopted the following:

"Whereas all over the world similar plans, policies and institutions are oppressing peoples and workers;

"Whereas working-class unity to confront these plans on an international scale must be strengthened and broadened;

"We, workers meeting in Moscow, fully respectful of each other's opinions and analyses, hereby decide to establish an International Committee Against IMF Austerity and Privatizations. We call on workers all over the world to sign this appeal and to join our committee. We hereby decide to convene an international rally in Paris in June 1993 to listen to reports from delegations the world over. We also agree to publish a bulletin in Russian, French, Spanish and English to

exchange information and analyses."

Sept. 17, at a Moscow rally workers demanded to be paid for work done, credits for enterprises to obtain materials, and early retirement. A visiting AFL CIO representative said workers should not be tempted with alleged prospects of a free market economy.

Sept. 17, a free trade union of medical workers was created in the Regional Institute of Motherhood and Childhood. The founding meeting was held in an intern room, when the chief doctor banned them from the conference hall and demanded they leave the premises.

**Desnogorsk** - Teachers have been on strike since May. Town management, are offering apartments to scabs, while many teachers have no apartments. Donations can be sent to:

216532 Смоленская обл, Десногорск,  
школа №1 забастовочный комитет.

**SOMALILAND** In the absence of modern sector wage employment in the breakaway territory of northern Somalia, women and children in the "national" capital of Hargeisa scrounge to survive. So far unrecognised as a new nation in the horn of Africa, Somaliland has no agenda for social development and job creation.

Ill-treatment of children who roam around doing odd jobs such as washing dishes in eating places is common.

"Hawking petty items is the only occupation we can do here but the business is generally poor due to the low population," says Salma Rashid, a war widow with 4 children who depends on cigarette and sweets vending for livelihood.

Usually neglected in an Islamic society, Somaliland women would have slim chances to secure jobs even if the country had an employment program.

SOMAID, with offices in Canada, the United States, Germany, and Kenya, emphasizes women's education and training in basic skills. Economic activities undertaken by women include weaving, dress-making, sewing, handcraft and bakery.

## ZIMBABWE WOMEN

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in 1985 set up a women's department to integrate all the working women into the trade unions. From 1987-91, educators, organisers, researchers and study circle leaders were trained, while 160 workshops and seminars were held on women's rights at workplaces, their role in trade unions and creating awareness and building confidence in women workers.

But despite all these efforts, little progress has been made. Less than 10% of Zimbabwe's working women are Union members. About 55% of the adult population over the age of 15 are women. The ratio rises to 59% for the 20-39 age group. Women are 51% of Zimbabwe's population of 11 million.

Most of the women working in the formal sector are in the service sectors, concentrated in catering, education, health and private domestic services, which make up nearly 43% of total women employment.

Zimbabwe has 14 women members of parliament, 7 of whom are ministers.

Part of the difficulty of organizing women workers is the fear of losing their jobs once they engage in trade union activities, explains ZCTU coordinator of women's projects Miriro Pswarai.

"Ignorance born out of lack of knowledge as to what was really required of women to do in trade union work, and their attitude that the males are dominant decision-makers, aggravate the situation," she adds.

Numerous social pressures also restrain working women from union activities. The pressures are even worse for married working women, explains Pswarai.

"The husbands still want to wield control on women's activities, and some even demand their wives give them their pay cheques. The double-day burdens also put added toll on women since they also have to tend to household chores."

The managing director of a

Zimbabwean research organisation, who spoke on condition of anonymity, says: "Whether we are part of men's component or not, to me that's immaterial, because women can equally make their contributions so long as they are educationally emancipated."

Bibian Ganzua (35), a single mother, works as a house-keeper at a hotel in Harare. She criticizes men's "superiority complex" and women's ignorance which has led to their playing a second-fiddle even on issues that affect them directly. Ganzua feels everybody has a right, as an individual irrespective of sex, to join a trade union, receive fair treatment and justice, and be free of intimidation.

"Our womenfolk lack confidence and, as a result, we have become suppressors of our own selves because of not knowing our rights and how to exercise them," said Ganzua. "If your bosses know that you know about your rights, they will not touch you. But if you are ignorant and shy they will crucify you."

Pswarai is hopeful that with the formation of women committees throughout the country, the apathy, fear and reluctance to join the trade unions will be overcome.

35 affiliated unions were to attend a conference November 9-12, to create the ZCTU National Women's Advisory Council. (Adapted from IPS by Phillip 'neko)

**MEXICO** Jorge Castaneda, professor of political science at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, says the costs of "Free Trade" will be higher, and the benefits less than economists claim. "Mexican imports are growing at 25% a year, 4 to 5 times faster than Mexican exports. The country is flooded with imported products, and many Mexican businesses are going under. The theory is that the capital and labor in those that go under will go to businesses that can compete. But that may take...20 years.

"Nothing is included in the agreement to make those costs more bearable ... none of the provisions of the European agreement ... An enormous amount of money was transferred from northern Europe so the southern European countries could pay for all this.

"The Mexican authoritarian political system is alive and well and living in Mexico City. People are scared to say they disagree...critics like me can't be interviewed on TV or radio.

"If anybody wants to see democracy in Mexico, the simple thing is to link (free trade) with democracy."

**LABRADOR** "Not only is low-level flying poisoning our land but it is also poisoning our culture. On October 12, 1992, when we protested on the (Military) base in Goose Bay, we felt that it was time to let people know that we have not given up the fight for our land. We were arrested and will go to court on December 1, 1992, but we do not accept that we are guilty because we do not believe that Canada owns Nitassinan (part of Labrador).

"Now we know that there are more people supporting us in our fight. We feel stronger and have more hope for the future." Thank you. Angela Penashue, age 20; Janet Gregoire, age 16; Pamela Hurley, age 13. (Statement to ACT)

**INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT OF NIKE** Nike, which subcontracts sports shoe production in Indonesia, holds local competitions to win contracts, revised every month. The result is 24,000 workers in 6 factories earning only 30% of Indonesia's paltry minimum wage. The English magazine Ethical Consumer has launched a campaign to demand that Nike president P.H. Knight force the Indonesian subcontractors to pay their workers the minimum wage.



GEE TOTO,  
I DON'T THINK  
WE'RE IN  
KANSAS  
ANY MORE.

## Interview: Rosa Delia Galicia Lopez of the Union of Workers of International Export of Guatemala

**IW:** The IWW has been involved in protests against Van Heusen. What else can we do to help Guatemalan workers?

**RD:** In Guatemala, human rights are not respected, nor the right to organize freely, nor labor laws. One thing you can do is put pressure on the gov't to ask the President of Guatemala to respect the right of free organization in the factories; because it is difficult even to organize, and without organizing we cannot improve the quality of living.

The pressure against being able to organize is compounded by the presence of Korean and other foreign factories that employ child labor, more hours per day than what is legally allowed. But they do it and have been contracting youths 12 to 15 years old. These young workers have no labor rights because they are minors. At the same time they undercut the union's ability to organize due to the availability of that labor.

**IW:** Do you feel personally as an organizer that there is the possibility of repression or violence against you?

**RD:** Yes, we've had threats.

**IW:** As radical union organizers in this country, if we speak out, even against the unions here as a union organizer, we're in a lot of trouble.

**RD:** From my point of view the pressure has dropped in this country. They've lost the perspective of what is the struggle. I think this is due to partial victories, for example, increases in wages. By only focussing on wages, they've lost the greater perspective of what a working class struggle is and therefore, overall pressure has dropped.

In Guatemala also, you have unions and organizations that supposedly represent the interests of workers and yet they're basically very conservative. They fight for material well-being, one aspect of the struggle, but have lost a working class perspective.

In our case, we can't forget about these other unions. We always invite them to meetings and keep up the pressure on them so they don't forget what the workers struggle really is.

**IW:** What should the workers struggle mean in this day and age?

**RD:** I believe that we as workers need to find our points in common, find the ropes that bind us so that we can be united, because every day the government and the factory owners get stronger. Never fall into the error of thinking that just because we have achieved an increase in wages or a

better post, that we cease to be workers. We are always workers and we must remain united.

**IW:** In this country there were tremendous struggles to get 8-hour work days, but then people forgot the struggle to abolish wage slavery, so that instead of working for masters, we could work for ourselves and the community.

**RD:** You did gain the 8 hour work day many years ago but in my country that is a recent gain, much more near the surface. I have only been in the labor movement a few years, but many people have given their lives just for the 8-hour work day. Women have given up their lives so they would only have to sew in the shops 8, and not 12 hours per day.

We have to fight for these things but never lose sight of the wider struggle.

**IW:** What is a woman's role as a worker in Guatemala?

**RD:** In the factories, they give heavier work to men, and the textile work to women -- not because they're going to pay them more or anything of the sort. There's constant discrimination against women. They give this work to women because they're "more dextrous with their fingers" and they're cleaner so it works better in the clothing and

garment business.

There is sexual harassment by mid-level managers and it is constant. Many times there are sexual advances by these men and if a woman resists, he can change her position or even fire her and literally isolate her from where she's working. But as women, now that we're involved in this labor struggle, we know that we have rights, just as men would have rights.

**IW:** Do women feel there is equality between sexes in the labor movement?

**RD:** Generally in the labor movement there is discrimination. The men are more aggressive and are trying to get ahead. Within my union, since the vast majority of the employees in these factories are women, most of the union members are women and it is more egalitarian. But this is by exclusion, nothing else.

The fact that we are in a position in which we are organized and have been recognized as a union in our factory did not come softly. It took 3 years of heavy fighting, of being on strike, constructing shanty towns, marches, of incredible pressure.

**IW:** What's the next phase in the struggle? See Guatemala, page 11

## Columbus Native Solidarity Day by Lowell May

Exhilaration and disappointment marked the Columbus Day showdown in Denver October 10, 1992. Not for weeks or months but years, Colorado American Indian Movement and AIM supporters including Russell Means had, through repeated protests, vowed to stop the celebration of the original Columbus Day parade on the 500th anniversary.

Thousands were mobilized from around the country to make good the vow. State and Federal police converged for the confrontation. Complex negotiations involving the mayor, governor, and fed authorities fell through, with media in hot pursuit.

It was high drama on the high plains. Rumors of violence spread -- including speculation about

provocation by neo-nazis and KKK. A split in the local Italian American Federation (IAF), formal sponsors of the parade, served to polarize Denver's Europeans. All parties positioned themselves as champions of the moral high ground, freedom of speech or public safety. Amid all the hoopla, Means played it hard to the media: the parade would not be allowed.

The result? At the final hour, the police chief whispered in the ear of AIM leaders: the parade was cancelled, even as a truncated version of the parade was happening.

AIM announced to the 2,000-strong crowd, including members of more than 20 local supporting organizations, that the day was won -- even as a

breakaway group of demonstrators confronted the mini-parade and saw a half dozen of their own number arrested.

Means proclaimed victory to his TV cameras, even as representatives of the government and the IAF proclaimed victory to theirs. Exhilaration and disappointment on both sides.

Through it all, a major opportunity was missed not only in Denver but around the hemisphere. What does the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival suggest today, about the need for Italian American workers, German American workers, Irish American workers and all European workers, to join with Native Americans in demanding an end to all hierarchies.

## Discovery or Invasion?

by Woody Hildebrant

In 1905 Colorado was the first state to declare October 12, Columbus day, a holiday. So it is an appropriate place for the Invasion Not Discovery forces to stop the celebration of genocide where it started. To achieve at least poetic justice, I interviewed renowned Denver poets about Columbus day issues -- one before the demonstration, and one after.

**JOE NAVARRO, worker, poet, Chicano activist**

**IW:** What is your view of the Columbus day parade/demonstration? Will it be a confrontation?

**JOE N:** The thing that disturbs me is that the Italian American Federation is unwilling to compromise. Basically all they have to do is say this is a celebration of Italian pride. It doesn't have to be a celebration of Columbus-genocidal murder! The analogy I make is: German people celebrate Oktoberfest every year, that's fine, but if they were to celebrate Hitler's birthday every year I'd be very upset. I think the city has taken the wrong stand on this. They should have put more pressure on the organizers to change the name or not have the parade. So the consequences will be on the Italian Federation and on the city for failing to take a stand or compromise. If anyone is injured it will be because they were seeking justice and if violence erupts it will be instigated by the police or possibly the Ku Klux Klan who are rumored to have plans to come out and defend the Italian Federation. But in a sense it really clarifies the issues, because it's a defense of Europe against indigenous people.

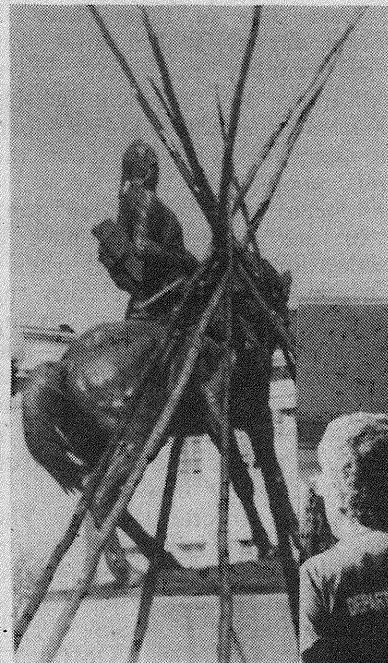
**IW:** Columbus day is celebrated in Mexico, while Chicanas here in Denver are protesting; what's your insight into that?

**JOE N:** The presidents of Mexico have promoted the idea that European

culture is superior to indigenous culture. Also promoted is the superiority of full Spanish blood. So it's no wonder the Mexican government is promoting the Columbus Day celebrations.

**GREGORY GREYHAWK, Marine Transport Worker, poet, hockey player, Wyandot.**

**IW:** As a Native American what's your insight into Columbus Day?



**GREG G:** Let's go back to that word 'discovery.'

If you asked the Indians on the beach where Columbus landed, they'd say they didn't feel discovered. Some people believe Lief Erikson discovered it, also Japanese artifacts have been found on the coasts of Chile and Peru.

So it's not a matter of "Who First?" it's a matter of public relations. It comes down to respect -- not getting insulted because you're ethnically or racially different. As long as you maintain these differences you maintain the fences and

boundaries that keep people apart. As long as you want to start a fight over somebody calling you a name, you're going to have conflict.

The Italians at the parade decided it wasn't worth the conflict over deciding who should get the most respect, so they decided not to have a parade.

I don't mind if somebody in Atlanta wants to wave rubber tomahawks. I'm not insulted. There are instances where, if people really wanted cultural recognition, they could rally together -- like the Oka rebellion in Quebec just outside of Montreal. The Injuns were sticking up for the trees, the preservation of the natural. The struggle of Oka included saving the Earth, and efforts of the poor to resist the big money meanies trying to take away the

**Police snipers atop State Bldg. across from AIM rally**



last natural beauty in the country. Meanwhile the Earth bunnies are waving crystals at cornstalks and protesting foam rubber tomahawks to look good for espousing a cause which is actually in danger of dissipating because so many people are worried about feeding their kids.

What do rubber tomahawk protests have to do with kids starving on the reservation? Superstition has nothing to

do with agriculture. Prayer sticks and vision quests are not going to fix the problems. When America goes to war it doesn't drop little tobacco bundles and prayer sticks on the enemy -- it drops bombs. When the Indians faced the British, French or Spanish, no amount of ceremony could save them from the technology of the Europeans.

It's OK to sit around and maintain your traditions when they separate you from the common element of everyone combined -- it's called divide and conquer. Here's my example.

KKK comes to Denver, whites support blacks at demonstrations; Mexicans celebrate Cinco de Mayo, whites support them; Indians protest

Columbus Day, whites support them. Integration? I'll tell you what integration is. It's taking 8 million dollars to study the feasibility of sacred lands in South Dakota being turned into a radioactive waste dump. Feasibility studies of gambling casinos and bingo halls on reservations -- business integration. Everybody wants a piece of the pie. Integration, into the great American economic pie. So much for the sacred crap.

If you people don't combine against the people who fix it so you can't combine, you'll never have the unity or paradise that you were seeking when you came over here in the first place. All you wanted was a piece of land and freedom from suppression in Europe. What did you do? To quote Joni Mitchell: "Paved paradise and put up a parking lot."

**IW:** How do you feel the principles of the IWW could be applied to overcome the conflict between different ethnic groups?

**GREG G:** You'll notice in a Union meeting, that everybody has a common interest -- to protect themselves, because they don't have money, and the guys that hire them can push them around. Myself, I believe the coalition of the whole mass of people should be based on Union principles.

*continued on page 11*

## From Around the Union



### Paterson IWW

continued from page 1

There have been all kinds of irregularities, with Paterson Municipal Court failing to give ample notice of court dates (to prevent them obtaining a permit to protest). 2 police involved in the case have since been involved in other scandals. Police chief Munsey has given out exaggerated stories to the press, who refuse to print the defendants' side of the story.

Paterson Wobblies say this is a case of selective punishment, because of the political views portrayed by their posters. According to the ordinance, no person shall post any publication, notice, etc. to any utility pole...without permission. But everyone knows that political candidates regularly use the poles, including the presiding judge himself! Everything from church meetings to strip acts are posted on the same poles at this very moment.

3 were "convicted" and fined a total of \$375. Anyone wishing to write letters of protest should write to the presiding judge: **Paterson Public Safety Complex, c/o Judge N. Guzman, 111 Broadway, Paterson NJ 07505.**

### Bookstore Attacked

A store front has been rented at 285 Preakness Ave. in Paterson. Within two weeks, and before the store was open, police made at least 3 visits. Cops accidentally discovered the bookstore when they spotted the workers fixing it up, barged through the front door and illegally searched the premises for some motorcycle helmets that allegedly had been stolen somewhere in the area. No helmets or any other contraband was found.

During the search, one officer said, "With my last dying breath I'll pull as many strings as I have to to make sure you close down!" Many threats of physical violence were made to the two workers who were there waiting for the electricity to be turned on. After local residents began to gather, the police left, saying, "You won't last here another day."

The next day (Oct. 7) another cop came to tell them not to worry and if they "had any problems just give him a call." Some police officers live nearby in the neighborhood.

Oct. 9, gun shots were reported about 12 am. by neighbors. Workers discovered the damage when they came by to drop off some books about 2:30 am. 8 bullets went through the door, and ricocheted around the walls, damaging books and magazines. The workers went to the police station and reported the shooting damage. When cops asked who they thought did it, one worker said, the cops. The police laughed at this, and eventually an argument broke out.

Finally the police admitted that those officers who had made threats would be the prime suspects, and then told the members to get out of the police station before they were arrested.

"The only people who knew we were in there were the landlord, who lives in South Jersey, us, and the police," said one worker.

Letters of support for Paterson Wobblies, or letters to Paterson Mayor, protesting the attack and police threats; and donations to help pay the fines, can be forwarded to:

Paterson IWW, PO Box 8532, Haledon NJ 07508.

Nov. 3, 1992.

As I write, the polls are still open and it is far from clear which of the bosses' candidates for U.S. president will get the nod. But one thing is clear--whichever won (and the result will be out long before this sees print), we're in for four more years of capitalist austerity.

Four more years of attacks on our living standards. Four more years of raids on our health and retirement benefits. Four more years of government taking the tax dollars it steals from our hard-earned paychecks and giving them to the corporations (as if they don't steal enough already from our paychecks--but I guess corporations can never make too much profit).

Four more years of attacks on our natural environment--on the air we breathe, the water we drink, the soil in which our food is grown, the forests which the bosses seem determined to turn into tree farms. Four more years of rising unemployment, longer hours, and mounting numbers of workers literally killed on the job.

In short, four more years of this capitalist "American dream." And to add insult to injury, in a few months the polytricksters will start gearing up for the 1994 and 1996 election seasons.

As I look through the various publications sent to me in the last month as a member of the business "union" I am compelled to belong to hold my job, I find 24 pages devoted to boosting the various (mostly) Democratic candidates, compared to 35 pages of other copy (most of it boosting the union officers). I exclude from these totals paid advertisements, the dozen or so letters from the "union" political action committee now in my recycling box, and the local newsletter--which publishes everything members submit.

### Letters continued from page 2

due to his illegal dealings with Evans.

Please send letters protesting my set up, demanding my transfer to another prison, return of my legal and personal property, and an investigation into administrative actions, to:

**Reginald Wilkinson, Dir.; Dept. of Rehab & Corrections; 1050 Freeway Dr. N.; Columbus OH 43229.**  
**Dennis Baker, Warden; MANCI; PO Box 1368; Mansfield OH 44901**

October 23

Dear Friends,

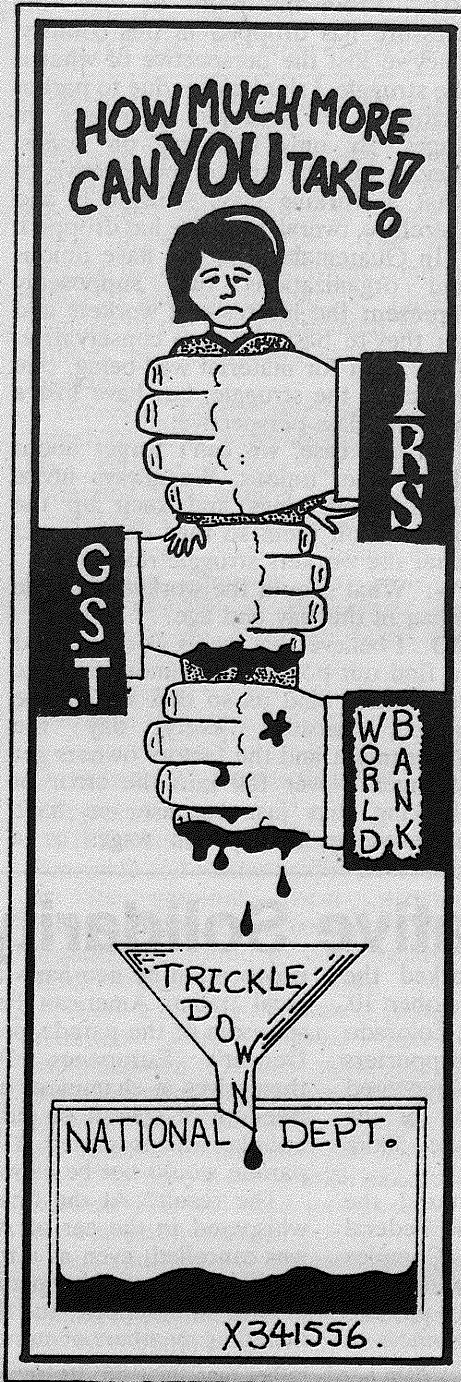
Below is an excerpt from the recent proposed Rule Amendment which the Dept. of Rehab. and Correction is attempting to legislate.

I think you will understand the significance of this rule change. It subjects prisoners to punishment for circulating any petition without the warden's permission. Also for being a MEMBER of any union (Amnesty Int'l, National Lawyers Guild) as well as punishment for ever having an insignia or literature of any organizations:

"Rule Number: 5120-9-06. (E) Class II offenses. Section 31: Engaging in unauthorized actions, individually or in concert with others, including but not limited to: (a) Writing, signing, or circulating a petition of any sort without authorization from the managing officer; (b) Acting to organize or participate in inmate organizations not approved pursuant to rule 5120-9-37 of the administrative code, including but not limited to unions and clubs; (c) Engaging in gang or disruptive group or other unauthorized organizational activities or meetings; or (d) Displaying, wearing, possessing or using gang or disruptive group or unauthorized organizational insignia or materials or signs or passwords." (Revised Rule Amendment Proposal, Ohio Dept. of Rehab. & Corr. 92/9/15; copy from IW Ottawa)

This proposed rule change has several state and 14th Amendment implications and should be vigorously

# Four More Years



The "union" leaders mostly endorsed incumbents for state office, even though the legislature has been cutting funding to our system for the past four years and is presently trying to slash our retirement plan. (Not, of course, that endorsing their mostly Republican challengers would have been any better.) They endorsed for president a man who, as governor of Arkansas, has funnelled millions of dollars of workers' tax dollars to corporations and worked diligently to ensure that the bosses were allowed to do whatever they wanted--whether to the environment or to their workers. I only hope they didn't spend much of the more than \$400 a year in dues they collect from my check on this idiocy.

Ultimately, despite all the sound and fury attending these elections, there is no reason to believe they will make any difference in our lives. If we continue to rely on our "leaders" to extricate us from this deepening crisis, we can rest assured that they will continue to lead us further in. Our wages are not falling, after all, because Bush is a mean-spirited ogre determined that we should be thrown out on the streets to survive on work-fare (though he may be all of that). Our wages are falling because we have not organized, here and with our fellow workers around the world, to compel better treatment. And because, as a result, the bosses have little difficulty finding some wage slave desperate to work under even worse conditions than those to which we have submitted.

If we continue as we have for the past several decades, we can rest assured that we will endure Four More Years of capital triumphant. If we want a better world, if we want more of the good things of life, we will have to organize and fight for them.

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opposed. Letters of protest should be sent immediately to JCARR before it becomes part of Ohio Admin. Code: **Mr. Thomas Shermon, Exec. Dir. Joint Cte. Agency Rule Review State House - Bsmt. Level Columbus, OH 43266-0604**

Dear Editors,

As to how to improve the IW's circulation: well, there are lots of little special-interest papers running around these days, lots of them (here in California, anyway) sold or given away out of vending machines. There shouldn't be any problem getting distributors for another odd-ball paper.

The real problem is winning over the neutrals, people who don't know us, haven't heard of us and either don't care or are suspicious. I have a suggestion for that. Way back when I was in school, the Socialist Party rag managed to sell well out of vending boxes simply because it always had great cartoons on the front page. It also had a few pretty good cartoons in the body of the paper. That's what made it sell, even to people who couldn't care less about the party "message."

Now, we can do better than that. The IW has always had a great library of graphics. Years ago I tried to interest the HQ in putting out a Wobbly comic book. Given the sales of Slow Death Funnies' ANARCHY COMIX, I figured we had a good market out there.

Give the IW a good showy graphic on the top of the front page (plenty of room for photos at the bottom), plus one full page of cartoons, and we'll have buyers. No, I'm not kidding. People will buy an "oddball" paper if it has good "funnies." Art seduces.

For that matter, why not go ahead and make a Wobbly comic book? I know lots of distribution networks where that can sell. Yours for the Works,

-Leslie Fish

Dear Sister and Fellow Workers,

I feel I must respond to Judi Bari's article (Oct 92 IW). First let me say that I do support the organizing work of Judi and support her resistance of the deeds of the FBI. Where I disagree comes out of my experience and study of FBI harassment and political cases. I have been an IWW member 22 years and worked on political cases since the 1960s. I worked directly on a number of the cases that Judi mentions when she talks of the FBI and COINTELPRO.

I was a target of COINTELPRO and the FBI. In the late '60s and early '70s the IWW organized the underground paper, *San Diego Street Journal*, and the street vendors. The books that the IWW sells on the FBI refers to what happened (but does not say that those involved were mostly IWWs). I experienced FBI dirty deeds through much of the '70s and the last time I am aware of their deeds against me was in '85 when they tried to set up a lawyer and myself to be killed in an El Reno, Oklahoma situation.

What I have learned, what the IWW learned, what Black Panthers and AIM and other organizations have learned is that an FBI tactic is to use up organizations' money and resources on legal cases. They use legal cases to tie up organizations and keep them away from the real battle fronts. They even use cases they know they will lose (like the suit against the book, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, about Leonard Peltier).

Also, no matter how many suits you win you will not stop the FBI's deeds. What should be done is to use suits, books and articles as a means of putting the FBI on the defensive, without tying up money and resources of revolutionary organizations. There are many liberal organizations one can use.

I am in complete solidarity with Judi on everything else. In Solidarity,

-Arthur J. Miller

# BREAKING FREE – Tintin

Unfortunately, this book *Breaking Free* is a work of fiction. We really wish it wasn't. Everyday it gets clearer and clearer that revolution is the only real option left to us. It might sound ridiculous to talk about "revolution" at the moment; but it's much more ridiculous to talk about carrying on as we are. Everyday our backs are being pushed harder and harder up against the wall: speed-ups at work, cuts in the dole, police harassment, attacks on our communities, deportations, the destruction of the environment. Not to mention the everyday frustration and boredom of living in a world ruled by money, where we work our arses off to keep the powerful few in a life of luxury.

All around the world — South Korea, Poland, South Yorkshire, the whole world — wealth and power are in the hands of a tiny few. But that's not to say we've taken it lying down. Time and time again we have fought back and shown that we are not powerless:

In the fields on the streets and in the workplace, our history is one of revolt and rebellion. A history of survival, support and mutual aid against near unbeatable odds.

This book isn't about how to make a revolution, because there are no right answers. And people who say they have the right answer are the ones who will try to ride on our backs: the politicians and bureaucrats who are as much of an obstacle to real changes as the ruling class. Whenever we fight back, we're not just up against the courts, the police, the press, etc. We find ourselves blocked, undermined and attacked at every turn by the Labour Party, by the leftwing parties and trade union bureaucrats. They want to sabotage our struggles, contain our anger and keep us fighting separately, when we know the only way out of this rotten world is to keep organize and stand together. Solidarity is strength. We can only create a world of freedom, equality and real community by breaking down their



divisions of race, gender, sexuality, trade, age and area, and realising our common interests and our common enemy.

Revolution means all sorts of things to all sorts of people. But it definitely doesn't mean swapping one set of bosses for another. A revolution is a complete and total change in the way we live: it will look like nothing we've ever experienced before. Revolution means putting an end, once and for all, to a world where people are treated like things, and where things (money, washing powder, the flats built by Longs) are treated more importantly than people. It means taking control of our lives and starting to produce for our own needs rather than their profits. It means putting an end to starvation, poverty, isolation and bigotry, so that

we can realise our full human potential of strength, intelligence, imagination, fun, love and caring.

No-one ever changed the world from the comfort of an armchair. We need to organise and act together. As revolutionaries we encourage and practically support struggles in the workplace and in the community. When we say "struggle", we don't just mean massed men at the factory gates: we mean women, too. We also mean local people trying to stop a new motorway, kids throwing bricks at the police, an estate united against private developers, black communities defending themselves against racist attacks, gay men and lesbians marching proudly through the streets...

Attack International

*Breaking Free* by J. Daniels, the book from which these Tintin adventures excerpts come was published by

Attack International  
Box BM 6577  
London WC1N 3XX  
UK

Write them for more about what they do and what they publish.

"Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the working class, and whatever assists in their demystification.

Sterile and harmful activity is whatever reinforces the passivity of the working classes, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated — even by those allegedly acting on their behalf."

## unions: schools of socialism

I visited my old UAW local a while back when they were holding convention elections. It had been several years since I left the factory. There was a hotly contested election to choose convention delegates. The delegates also get to vote on regional directors, they in turn hire so-called "international" staff."

The men who'd run the local a few years earlier were standing in the lobby of the union hall. The patches on their jackets announced that they were on the "international" payroll now, working out of the regional office. Each had given \$500 of their ample salaries to keep their boss in power.

There was still one Mexican, one Black, and a majority Appalachian White in their clique. But no women had gone with these opportunists to those life time jobs. When they'd been in local powersome seats on the executive board were filled by women, although there were no women on the more important shop committee. Their cronies in the local had continued the same tokenist structure with the current shop committee and executive board. This was a static cast of characters, people I had known years earlier, individualist survivors who beat the factory and the layoffs by going on the union payroll.

Most of us who'd worked there were laid off and gone. When I hired in there in '76 there were 17,000 members in the local. Thirteen years later there were 4,000.

In the union hall that day the international staffers had formed a gauntlet which rank and file voters had to walk through to get to the voting area. The implied intimidation of their presence watching, yapping, noting who was voting, violated the law, but hey, it was

creative voting (and vote counting) that'd helped them be what they are.

Between the staffers and the voting room were the reformers. The reformers won all the GM and Ford locals in the region that round. The entrenched crew won enough delegates in the Chrysler and the small and amalgamated locals to retain their guy in the regional directors job.

The incumbents used the classic tactic of those who haven't a clue what to do ('cept pay off cronies) but who know they want to keep power in their own clique. They used fear and claims that scary "others" would "take over the union." Political opportunists know that slandering the other guy doesn't have to have any factual or moral basis — if you throw mud and hatred some will stick. This affects election outcomes. It also undermines the ability of the union to build solidarity.

But if the "unknown" is scary the current state of the union drifting to oblivion through compromise, lack of vision and stifling of the membership is even scarier.

I spent some time talking with the folks from the reform slate. They were righteously pissed off about concessions. Most were positive about direct action. But only one gave me a look of recognition when I ventured a comment that the structure of a CIO union itself is a problem, and some seemed to be ambivalent about Quality of Work Life, the pacification program the incumbents had accepted without a fight.

The reformers were happy. Maybe they smelled blood. They did win the convention election overwhelmingly. The next year, however, they could not win the shop committee and executive

board. Persistence, especially when it protects ones job is easier for incumbents. Next year the Shop Committee and Board elections are sure to be full of mud-slinging and fear mongering.

I talked with Bob K. He'd been my committeeman in the engine plant. Had won the local presidency when I was there. Moved on up to the region staff later and now, a few pounds heavier, was well settled into his lifetime job with the old Reuther slate, a successful one party state which has controlled the union for the fifty years of its slow demise.

Bob is a coal miners son from West Virginia. He'd been recruited to move from West Virginia to Michigan in one of the drives General Motors used to conduct to import workers (now, of course, they take the factory to the low wage areas instead). After a few years in the shop his basic sense of solidarity, activism, and justice got him elected committeeman.

A passionate and bright person Bob has a natural grasp of how to play the union game. He could, and for a while did, help people get charged up for shop floor actions on this machining or that assembly line. By the time he'd moved across the street (from the factory) and into the Local President's office, it was organizing the committee persons to be demonstrative that paid him greater rewards. Early he got on well with the workers. Later he got on well with union bureaucrats.

He became a professional unionist whose greatest goal is to avoid returning to the factory floor. He placed his own careerist rewards — fame and fortune, or at least a well paid, secure job — above the needs of us folks from

where he'd come.

That day Bob told me, "I'm still a radical." Then he sorta looked away and back at me and said more quietly, "But we were the ones who gave all the concessions."

Marx called unions the schools of socialism. The Reutherites disowned that. They use the union as a school of passivity, a disciplinarian for the boss.

This opens the possibility of the life-time, high paying staff jobs characteristic of the CIO unions. The other possibility — union activity towards socialism — is much less stable for one building an opportunists niche.

Organizing can be a transforming experience. When a crisis jolts us out of the day to day work drudge we begin to look at the world, and ourselves and our co-workers differently. Working out how to advance the struggle over this or that issue brings all the years of experience of all the workers involved into one cauldron of possibilities. Because on the job organizing risks livelihood it affects families, friends and neighbors. It also effects and is influenced by other economic factors so it involves other working class people both locally and elsewhere. At best, working class response to crisis is a festival of new relationships and possibilities.

The experience is exhilarating. Rejecting the experts and professionals who say our demands must be compromised, choosing instead to "demand the impossible", and to base decisions on our own class instincts and needs and analysis is a release, a reaffirmation of being alive.

And the experience of taking risks

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

# Our Solidarity is the Union

On this page are excerpts from an important new book from Kerr Press, Staughton Lynd's *Solidarity Unionism* which should be read by rank and file workers across the continent. Lynd, a long time activist and legal services attorney is most known in the labor movement as the author of "Labor Law for the Rank and Filer" a pocket size pamphlet (due in a new edition from Kerr next year - watch page 15 of the *Industrial Worker*) which has helped many rank and filers.

Lynd trusts workers is a strong advocate of rank and file initiative and worker autonomy. In *Solidarity Unionism* he advocates the formation of local groups of active rank and filers from many workplaces, much like the General Membership Branches of the IWW. In calling upon the labor movement to find new structures for organizing Lynd points to the IWW structure as one of the best models around.

(*Solidarity Unionism* ©1992 Kerr Publishing, 1740 Greenleaf, Chicago IL 60626, write for catalog.)

## SOLIDARITY

In a family, when I as son, husband, or father, express love toward you, I do not do so in order to assure myself of love in return. I do not help my son in order to be able to claim assistance from him when I am old; I do it because he and I are in the world together; we are one flesh. Similarly in a workplace, persons who work together form families-at-work. When you and I are working together, and the foreman suddenly discharges you, and I find myself putting down my tools or stopping my machine before I have had time to think - why do I do this? Is it not because, as I actually experience the even, your discharge does not happen only to you but also happens to us?

Working people believe in solidarity, not because they are better than other people, but because the power of the boss forces workers to reach out to each other for help. Because of the vision and practice of solidarity, the labor movement with all its shortcomings does prefigure a new kind of society within the shell of the old. And by building organizations based on solidarity, rather than on bureaucratic chain-of-command, we build organizations that by their very existence help to bring a new kind of society into being.

## YOUNGSTOWN HOW-TO

There are a couple of things we would like to share with others who might want to try something similar (to the Youngstown worker solidarity group).

First, from the very first meeting a majority of those present have been rank-and-file workers, or retirees. Rather than fast-speaking professionals or academics setting the tone, it's been the other way around. While lawyers and academics (including the director of labor studies at the local university) take part, they are minority voices.

Second, we have discouraged lecturing, and rarely make long written presentations. We think that a broader consciousness has grown naturally from the experience of taking and acting together. Having lived through the way

## Staughton Lynd SOLIDARITY UNIONISM Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below



with cartoons by Mike Konopacki

big corporations trampled on people's lives in Youngstown, we find it easy to tolerate corporations doing the same thing to Indians in the Southwest, or to Nicaragua. Last spring four members of the Club went to Nicaragua and worked there for two weeks. One of them, an electric lineman, plans to return soon with a fellow worker, to help bring electric power to small towns in northern Nicaragua.

Third, we don't feel the need to come to a group decision about the correctness of a proposed action before a member does something. Instead the member will say: "I'm planning to do so-and-so. I need help. Anyone who wants to give me a hand, meet me" at such-and-such a time and place. Acting in this way gives us a chance to try things out in practice. It's like the experimental method in science. We're able to draw conclusions from what works and what doesn't.

## SOCIALISM

There is no way to prove in advance that there is a realistic alternative to CIO business unionism. We can only prove that an alternative is possible by doing it, by making it happen. Socialism is the only practical alternative to capitalism. We should turn our attention to defining clearly what kind of socialism we want.

## SOLIDARITY AND STRUCTURE

The essential principle of CIO business unions is verticalism. They are hierarchical organizations. Power flows from the top down: the international union officers appoint the staff men, the district directors depend on the international union for their share of the dues check-off money, the staff men take over the local union grievances after the first couple of steps, the grievance committeemen settle grievances without consulting the members who filed the grievances and who, more than anyone, are affected by how the grievances are settled.

If you like things done this way, you can stop reading right here. You may want to put your energy into electing new officers to run these top-down unions.

But if you don't like things done this way, a moment's thought will lead to the conclusion that the structure of hierarchical unions will not change sim-

ply by electing new people to run them. You will start looking for alternative kinds of structure.

The essential principle of the alternative kind of structure that one glimpses in the early 1930s, or in the very small steps that workers in Youngstown have made in the last few years, is solidarity. Alternative unionism is solidarity unionism. It's relying, not on technical expertise, or on numbers of signed-up members, nor yet on bureaucratic chain-of-command, but on the spark that leaps from person to person, especially in times of common crisis.

Most workers are forced to recognize that the power of the employer is much greater than that of any single employee, acting alone. The Horatio Alger myth that individual punctuality and application can overcome all obstacles does not correspond with the powerlessness experienced in a mine disaster, or a plant shutdown. If follows that the only realistic way to try to deal with such common problems is to act together.

The words, "an injury to one is an injury to all," express this understanding. Above all, this recognition is expressed in the action of ordinary rank-and-file workers, when they walk off the job in support of each other, or in other ways take risks for the good of all.

## WORKPLACE & LOCAL

Two kinds of committees - the committee formed at the individual workplace, with its elected delegates or stewards, and the committee of all kinds of workers in a given locality - recur and recur whenever working people organize for themselves, without somebody telling them what to do or how to do it.

The committee of all workers in a given locality, or as I have called it, the parallel central labor union, has historically also been the place where independent labor politics got its start. It is easy to see why. When workers of many different lines of work get together, they will naturally talk about and act on problems that affect all of them. ... In the 1930s strikes were broken by repressive police chiefs. Workers responded by nominating and electing police chiefs prepared to protect the rights of the people.

At the turn of the century, and in the 1930s, too, local labor parties also

campaigns for public ownership and operation of enterprises such as electric power, housing, and factories that their capitalist owners no longer wished to operate.

## NETWORKING

In describing new organizational forms - shopfloor committees, parallel central labor unions, nationally funded programs administered by democratic local bodies made up of workers and consumers - I am anxious not to be understood mechanically or over-literally.

Although the forms described are essentially local, in times of crisis shopfloor committees and parallel central labor bodies will reach out to make contact with their counterparts elsewhere. Polish Solidarity is a classic example. Another is the network of miners' committees in the Soviet Union, set up entirely outside the official trade unions, that succeeded in staging a nationwide strike in that immense country. Longshoremen in Spain, meatpackers and coal miners in the United States, have formed the same kind of networks in recent years. We don't need more proof of this phenomenon to know that it can happen.

## THE UNION IS OUR SOLIDARITY

According to the *Little Red Songbook of the Industrial Workers of the World*, the last verse of "Solidarity Forever" goes like this:

*In our hands is placed a power  
greater than their hoarded  
gold;*

*Greater than the might of armies,  
magnified a thousandfold.*

*We can bring to birth a new world  
from the ashes of the old.*

*For the Union makes us strong.*

We might ask ourselves, what does the last line of the song mean when it refers to "the Union"? This song was sung in the 1930s by striking rubber workers, auto workers, and steel workers, who must have assumed that "the Union" meant their own, new CIO union: the URW, or the UAW, or the USWA. But that is almost certainly not what Ralph Chaplin, the Wobbly author of the song, had in mind.

The Union in "Solidarity Forever" is not today's industrial union, with its collective bargaining agreements and full-time staff. The Wobblies did not believe in collective bargaining agreements. They were highly skeptical of full-time staff. When they used the term "the Union" they meant the one big industrial union that included all the working people of the world. This is clear from other Wobbly songs. Thus in "Are You a Wobbly?" the chorus says: "Are you a Wobbly? ... the One Big Union beckons to you"; and the second verse asserts:

*You like the idea, but then you  
say,*

*"How can we do it - when is the  
day?"*

*When all the poor folks, the un-  
employed folks*

*And everyone who works for a  
wage*

*Gets in the Union, One Union  
Grand*

A Joe Hill song, "There is Power in the Union," to the tune of "There is Power in the Blood," contains these lines:

*There is pow'r, there is pow'r  
In a band of working folk,  
When they stand hand in hand;  
That's a pow'r, that's a pow'r  
That must rule in every land:  
One Industrial Union Grand.*

The words "the Union makes us strong," therefore, simply mean "our solidarity makes us strong." They mean solidarity unionism.





# Notes on Good Strategy

Too often unions and other peoples organizations react to crisis. That is the boss or the landlord takes hostile action and we must respond. Too often unions seek only short term objective. Strategic planning means analyzing the situation and developing long range goals and then working on the specific steps to get from here to there.

Strategy is like the road map of where we are trying to go. Tactics are different. Tactics are the specific things we do to reach the strategic goals.

Good strategy is thought out in advance. Good strategy is flexible. It takes into account what's likely to happen. It also considers what's not likely to happen but might happen anyway.

Good strategy includes analyzing the situation. What are the facts about the company, the workgroup, union and community? Where are the strengths and weaknesses, the opportunities and the threats? Don't take for granted that everyone knows all this. Talk about it and compare different perspectives. The process will be revealing.

Good strategy builds on the experience of the people involved. It uses their skills to best advantage. It stays within their experience so that their values fit in with what they need to do as part of the strategy. It is based in people's culture, creating a sense of togetherness rather than of alienation

or isolation.

Good strategy involves people. It emphasizes not just where we are going but how we get there. People learn as much from the process as from the product. How we win an issue or achieve a goal can be as important to an organization and its members as what we win.

Good strategy has depth. It includes not just good ideas but the steps to carry out those ideas. Tasks need to be clear and people need to take responsibility for them.

Good strategy is rooted in reality. It starts with a realistic sense of what an organizations members can do and what they can't do. While it is realistic it is still challenging and seeks to change reality.

Good strategy is educational. through the process of planning and carrying out a strategy, people learn more about themselves, about the organization, about politics, and about power.

Good strategy is persistent. We should never expect to win the first round (though we might) of a struggle with the boss, rather we should recognize that this is a long and hard struggle. Similarly don't give up on individuals who don't respond the first time they're invited to get involved with the union, or if involved don't respond the first time they're asked to take on more responsibility. Be persistent. Be there for the long haul.

# The Dos and Don'ts of a Wildcat Strike

## DON'T

Don't drink on the line. Police will arrest people just to try to break up the strike.

Don't bargain individually with the employer or union representatives.

Don't use violence on the picket line. (However this is not a hard and fast rule.) Usually they have cameras and will use pictures of violence to obtain a restraining order against you. If there are no cameras, let the strike committee decide what, if anything, can be done.

Don't rely on courts. The courts are generally too slow in action, cost too much, and will not give decisions in your favor.

Don't get involved with the police. Anything you say to the police can be used against the picket line if you have to go to court (giving them more evidence to get a restraining order with.)

Don't rely on union officials. In most cases, it will require some pressure on local officials for them to give you any help.

## DO

Do be well organized. Form a strike committee and spread the responsibility among individuals working together: legal fund, strike fund, systematic picketing, spokesperson.

Do have a communication network. Leaflets - to inform other workers, union officials, and the people you are striking, about what's going on. Strike reports - so each striker knows exactly what is happening. Phone tree -

so one person does not have to do all the calling.

Do try to force the union to support the strike. As a rule, the officials will tell you their hands are tied and they can't do anything for you. But if you are persistent you can sometimes get unofficial support from the union.

Do get the support of as much of the rest of the industry as possible. With leaflets widely distributed telling them your story, your fellow workers are your friends and you can use their support.

Do inform the press. The press can help you inform the public. But try to keep control of the focus, keep it on the issues the rank and file group finds important, not what the reporters boss wants.

Do use the local union. If you can put enough pressure on the local, it is possible to get them to support you.

Do keep your demands specific and only the most ones should get emphasis. Many causes have been lost by getting involved with items that are only part of the main demand.

Do involve the whole family and community, because the families and community are involved. Spouses, children, neighbors and friends at other workplaces can be a great help. Your work place conditions are their conditions.

Do use roving pickets when necessary. In the case of freight, you can picket any truck that is handling your freight. Or in a factory or warehouse, if they move your work, put up pickets wherever they go.



# the case against democracy

I am a worker and a progressive and I am anti-democratic.

Having said that, let me say what I am not. I am not a Leninist or Stalinist or fascist. I do not support vanguard movements telling the working class the future.

I am simply a working class person who has studied and watched a long history of successful and correct working class struggle.

I am anti-democratic because:

Democracy claims to be universalistic.

Democracy implies that everyone gets to vote and decide on everything. In good democratic situations, we are all equal and our vote weighs equally.

Being universalistic completely contradicts the idea of class struggle. Marx stated that there are two classes that are fundamentally opposed: the working class and the bourgeoisie. Note that he said fundamentally opposed. Not somewhat opposed. Not opposed on some issues. Fundamentally opposed.

We have nothing in common with

people who own the factories and private industry. We own our labour and they use (and abuse) that labour to run the various things they own. They live by parasiting on my labour. They make money by producing things that tell me how to think, what to eat and drink, where to work, and how many children to have. Their industry gives me cancer, pollutes my environment, and kills fellow workers in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Democracy is like the slave asking the slave-master to participate in an election on the best conditions for slavery.

The IWW recognise such a fundamental difference in ideas. Read the constitution. Read the preamble in this paper.

A fundamental element of politically successful movements has been the decision to make decisions for themselves. This is based on the decision to exclude those who do not share the same ideas or goals. The union movement excluded the bosses from deciding what workers should do. The

women's movement excluded men from deciding what women want to do and be.

The idea is straight working class thinking. There is strength in unity and unity comes from being in a similar oppressed position. Those who are not in a similar position should be excluded from controlling the destiny of the movement.

Such an idea can be troubling. Is Margaret Thatcher my sister because she is a woman? Is Clarence Thomas my brother because he is african american? To the third world, is it better to be crushed by a tank driven by a lesbian army corporal? Is the Mexican worker who takes my job for half the money acting as a fellow worker? The answer should be that women, african americans, gays and lesbians, and fellow workers should not perpetuate existing models of oppression but reality is that such situations often occur. In such cases we must be consistent: we must educate those who are truly wage slaves like ourselves but we also must feel strong enough to exclude those who are not.

When we exclude scabs and sell-outs from our unions, we are saying that we no longer have anything in common with such slime despite our similarity in circumstances. It is not enough that you look like us or talk like us, if you sell us out. If you act like the bosses, you are the bosses.

Being democratic means everyone getting to vote on issues:

Since the British Miners' Strike I have rejected the idea of everyone getting a vote on an issue. In that strike, miners walked off the job without a unionwide strike vote. The strike itself was unionwide. The British Labour Party used the lack of a formal vote as a reason for their half-hearted support of the strike. They said the National Union of Mineworkers was being undemocratic. They were wrong.

In a strike you vote with your feet. The issue is simple: one out, all out.

If one worker votes to strike, you have the grounds for a strike. Solidarity is based on such an idea. Not on percentages or marks on paper. You do not leave some people out to dry in a strike

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

# Opportunism versus Class Solidarity – which side?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

together, of workplace self-organizing, changes us and affects the world around us.

The UAW Reutherites have spent decades living off the legends of the 30s. In the first place this is hypocritical. The Reutherites rode the upsurge of the 30s, but the function of the CIO was to stop working class rebellion and absorb its energy to the benefit of capital. In the second place the struggle is not just one explosive moment. And it certainly is not about substituting a new overseer for the old one.

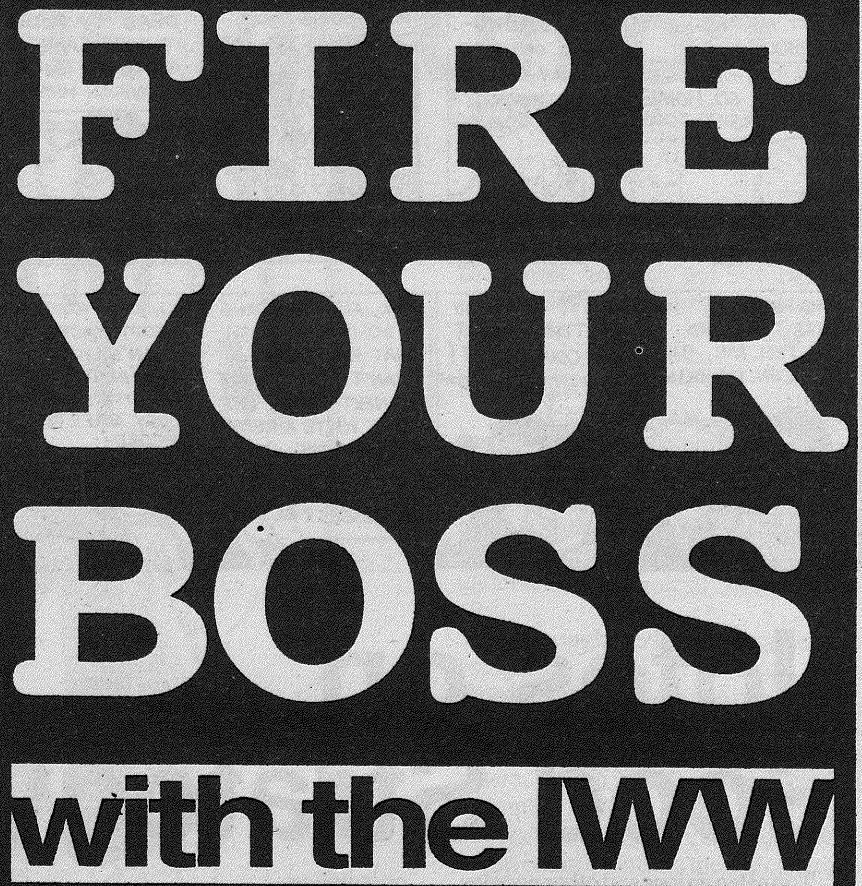
The re-energizing of the IWW in the past few years has come from various risk-takings. The changes this year in the publication you are now reading, the *Industrial Worker*, have been a result of risk-taking. We put the good idea of decentralization into practice, not knowing exactly what to expect. The results are now becoming apparent, they're positive, and we look forward to next year with excitement.

The IWW general office location became "non-permanent" a couple

years ago. This is also an experiment. Can we emulate the lessons of the Coordinadora in Spain? This is a dockworkers union that moves its central functions – called the secretariat – to different locals for a couple years at a time. The local comes up with a commitment to the secretariat and performs its functions. No more need for burn out or a "professional headquarters" with no passion. I cannot predict the results, but it is an important challenge for the IWW to face. I do know that when we trust ourselves, when principled committed people respond to the challenges, we do okay.

I try to imagine Bob's job disappearing. It's functions taken up by people on the shop floor. A liquidation sale at Solidarity House. Horizontal, regional, local to local communications improving drastically. The UAWs monthly *Solidarity* being edited out of the locals like the *Industrial Worker* is. The ability of members to express solidarity unionwide increased

I dream of revolution too.



# The Case Against Democracy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

just because the majority decided not to strike.

Even one worker must have the power to start a strike. Think about it.

We allow the bosses to divide and conquer if the union doesn't empower each worker with the power to take all the other workers out on strike. No vote. The first stopped machine is the signal; not the final count of a ballot two weeks later. This prevents the bosses from isolating individual workers or groups and it forces the issue to a head straight away before the bosses are prepared with their lawyers and courts.

Being democratic implies secret voting on issues:

I don't believe that voting should be secret. This especially applies in workplaces. If you vote against something, I want to see it. I want you to have the courage to raise your hand or union card in front of everyone else.

Some say secret voting stops others from exercising influence over your vote. We should have the right to exercise influence over your vote. If you vote against striking when I demand it, you should identify yourself and look me straight in the eye and tell me why you are selling me out. No bullshit. No hiding in curtained closets. Up front. I want to know who are my friends and enemies.

Voting should open and by card. You can't cheat in a show of cards. No proxies. No false ballots. Everyone can count. Everyone a visible member.

The Real Reasons for Being Anti-Democratic:

Some say that we should support democratic governments and labor parties because it means that there won't be tanks in the street and we won't disappear in the night.

Reality check. Our class has seen an awful lot of tanks in the streets of the democracies: from the Paris Commune to Kent State to London every Christmas. Haymarket to Chicago 1968. Vietnam to the Philippines. They have put tanks in the streets at home and abroad any time they have felt threatened and being a democracy has not changed that fact. Tell Leonard Peltier or Fred Hampton that they were safer in a democracy. People disappear in the night in the democracies with alarming frequency. It's not enough to say that we support democracy because there are worse alternatives; there are also better alternatives.

We should reject the sham of so-called western democracy for what it did to us. It freed us.

It freed us of our land, our heritage, and our community. It freed us of our oral histories. It freed us of our humour, our identities, and our sexuality. It freed us of our communal welfare. It usually manages to free us of our lives.

It gave us all this freedom so that we could sell it our labour.

What did we get in exchange. Childcare? Welfare? Better health or housing?

No, we get to sit in 'democracy' circles and decide how to make the company even more profit in a tight economy. 'Democratically' decide how

to exploit ourselves within limits they still control.

And you wonder why I am a worker and progressive and anti-democratic.

What does this mean about organizing

Does this article argue that it is wrong to decide things by consensus or collectively. No. But because something is voted on does not give it the endorsement of being good. Hitler came to power on democratic electoral decisions. The Swiss threw out their Turkish workers on a popular referendum. Many a trade union has excluded women or blacks on a vote of its existing members. Being popularly decided is not the way of measuring whether something is helping the working class.

Some things should not be democratically decided. One union should not democratically decide to support the progressive strike of another union. Solidarity says there is no decision. Similarly, one worker should not democratically decide to recognize the "dropping off tools" by another. The call to strike is loud and clear.

Some things are decided by action. It doesn't matter how many people in Congress voted for the war, this is not a justification for killing those Arab or Asian workers. You alone decide whether to crush them with your tank and you alone should be responsible if you kill them.

Some things are decided by exclusion. Once you choose to exclude that scab, you have made a decision. The decision that women organize together is a decision that unites and their should be no guilt at excluding those who are

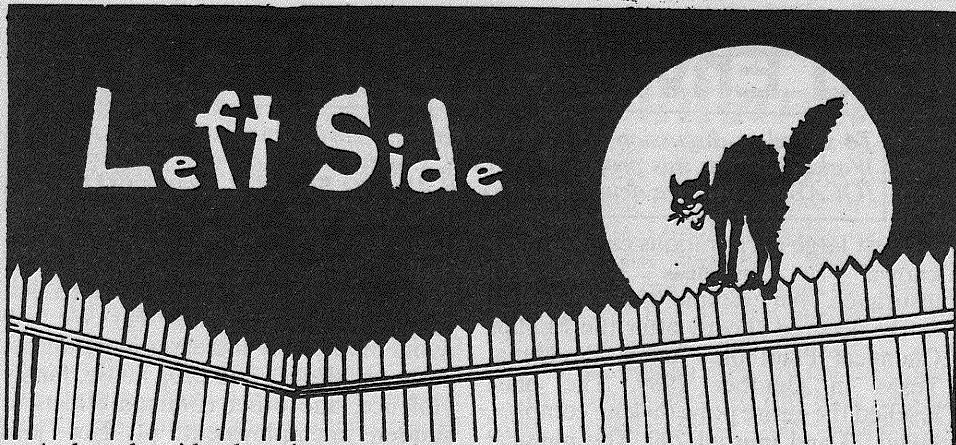
not in a similar position. Power comes through both the act of uniting and the choice to exclude.

Some things are decided by discussion. The way forward for the movement, the best tactic for a mobile picket, whether Smith will scab on you. These sessions are more the sharing of common ideas. They do not require definitive votes or even consensus. Those who agree will know what to do with the information. Those who don't know what to do with the ideas, probably didn't belong there in the first place.

Some things are decided by history. Whether the New Deal actually advanced radical labour or Herbert Hoover was a nazi are ideas which are decided by history. We shape them and change them but each historical juncture will change their interpretation.

Some things don't need to be decided. Which laundry detergent works best, which political candidate slept with his family pets, which lay-offs will help the company stay profitable are not decisions we have to make. We can change the whole agenda so that these inane questions are banished as the stupidities they are. Petty issues and collaboration with the bosses are not decisions on anything and should be treated as they shit they are. Like shit, try not to step in it and if you do step in it tell as many people as you care about that it is shit. As soon as possible, get rid of it before the smell stays with you.

Most of all, trust your working class guts. Some ideas just don't work and you should always go with your guts. One worker standing alone can shake a union or workplace to its core. As long as they are confident in themselves.



# Left Side

At last the side show is over and we here in Freedomland have a brand-new top banana. As the old saying goes: the more things change, the more they stay the same. Compared to the previous top banana the new one *looks like* a fresh breath of air. And an air of optimism pervades the atmosphere.

Once again the Reprobates have given way to the Dementiacrats after 12 years of reprobation. The old president has gone down in history as militantly anti-labor but much of his anti-labor shenanigans were done with the complicity of the "opposing" political party.

Bill Haywood was asked many years ago if the IWW was looking to overthrow or otherwise change the government. Big Bill replied that the IWW had no interest in the halls of parliament nor were they concerned by whoever happens to be occupying those hallowed halls. Just let the working class have control over the machinery of production and one could stick the government safely into one's vest pocket.

If you actually believe that your duly-elected senators, congressmen or women, ministers of parliament or whatever are accountable to you the electorate, you jolly well have another belief coming. Just look at recent history and draw your own conclusions about who these duly-elected representatives are accountable to. Was it in your interests that the unions have for all practical purposes been driven back to ground zero? Or that more and more jobs are being exported to parts of the World where labor is cheaper?

One old wag in a previous century quipped that the politicians get votes from the poor and money from the rich on the promise that they will protect each from the other. Another wag from the same century said that if voting changed anything, it would be made illegal.

Those who have control of the machinery of production are the ones who control the economic, physical and cultural life of the rest of the Planet and I don't just mean the human species. They also have a deleterious impact on other forms of life as well. You can drive along the highways in the Pacific Northwest and enjoy vistas of living forests but just take one of the side roads and you will see vistas of denuded hillsides. The air you breathe is unhealthy not only in the large cities but is getting progressively more fetid in the open country.

The life of the Earth is determined at the workplace. If the workplace is controlled by a few whose only interest is immediate profit, this control is only

going to benefit those few, and the rest of life on this Planet be damned.

As our late Fellow Worker and historian Fred Thompson said, the problem of the human race is that too many decisions are being made by far too few people. Power, like wealth, benefits those who have it. If only a few people have power it is used for the benefit of those few people.

Do not be deceived by the promise of a new broom sweeping clean! The rumbles of dissatisfaction vibrate through the land and those who manipulate us have decided to regale us with a little variety in the theater. So what if one political party says to the other, "Now it's your turn to catch the flack!" The system we live under is still intact. Remember that over the past few decades your wages and buying power have been going down as prices, rents and taxes have been going up. And that you keep getting less and less and paying more and more, no matter what political party happened to be in office. Lest one may be inclined to blame it on the 2-party system, take a look at other countries that have "socialist" executives and you will see that they have the same kinds of problems that we have, if not more so.

It makes no difference who we as electors choose to be our administrators as long as the machinery of production remains in the hands of a few. We can vote until we are blue in the face and the system we live under will continue.

As all power is at the point of production, that is the only place where we have any effective vote. Yes, as more of us are out of work, the process of voting at the point of production becomes increasingly more difficult. Therefore it becomes incumbent upon those of us who are still working to make use of our potential power and organize ourselves. Organizing ourselves means we must communicate with our fellow workers all over this planet so that one group of workers cannot be used to underwork another group.

The Indians believed that the land belongs to those who work it and it is for us workers to assert that the machinery of production belongs to those who do the work. True, we common folk are terribly chaotic and unorganized but the Earth is better off in our hands than in the hands of the profiteers any day!

Once the machinery of production is in the hands of those who do the work, government can indeed be put in one's vest pocket. That's all the government that is needed; for workers to be able to control their own workplace.

C.C. Redcloud

## Native Solidarity Day

*continued from page 5*

IW: Mexican president Salinas de Gortari encourages Mexicans to look at their roots as Spanish rather than indigenous. Why?

GREG G: If Mexicans want to social climb and say they're Spanish, that's fine. But let's face it, there may be a handful of native born pure Spaniards in all the Americas. It's the old money at the top, it just happens to be white. You can believe, if there was old Mexican money or old Black money at the top, the exclusivity would still remain.

IW: Could you suggest any practical solutions to resolve conflicts?

GREG G: A couple of things. One, people revolting against the oppression of their particular minority should combine with others whenever they

demonstrate and demand attention. I do want to see Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, Chinese, all at each other's rallies together! In this country we're broke and going under and because of the divisiveness, we're never going to get anything done. If I don't show up at the Black rally that means I don't support it and the common public thinks there isn't enough support.

What we all have in common is a diminished piece of the pie. We don't want the whole pie, just enough to feed the kids. Without combination, we're all going to suffer. From a Union point of view, we're all in one great union -- the Human race! What I'd like to see is the aliens come down from Space. All of a sudden it wouldn't be Black and Mexican and Indian, it would be WE against the aliens. But wouldn't it be nice if, rather than make 'em feel different, the aliens could join the UNION too!!!

# 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.

**To Join**—Fill out the questions below and mail this form with your check or money order to IWW, 1095 Market Street Suite 204, San Francisco, CA 94103.

- I affirm that I am a common worker without direct power to hire and fire.
- I agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization.
- I will study its principles and make myself acquainted with its purposes.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State/Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Total amount enclosed: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Initiation \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Dues \$ \_\_\_\_\_

*\* Membership includes a subscription to the Industrial Worker.*

## ...Guatemala cont. from page 5

**RD:** There is much work to be done. The very first thing is to prepare to educate the rest of the workers in case of a time when the present leaders are not there -- whether they're not alive, or just not there. Teach them, why is there a labor movement? Teach them, what are our rights. Given that the vast majority of Guatemalans have never had formal education and have never been to school, we must insure that they know what human rights are.

Our union must enter another collective bargaining process in '93. We have a project all ready for childcare and we're going to push for its implementation. We want a literacy program within the factory to teach people how to read and write.

The primary thing is to educate to prepare people to take over the leadership positions because, regardless of whether the older leaders are there or not, every two years the directive has to turn over, by our own internal laws.

We're doing this so that what has happened here, doesn't happen there: that we don't forget why we're struggling, don't get to a point where we've got the job security, decent wages, an 8-hour day and just drop the rest.

**IW:** What is happening in Guatemala with the environment and how does it relate to the worker's struggle?

**RD:** One thing is, we use a great quantity of dyes and bleach, both of which affect the skin, and which are generally disposed of--not even in the water system--they're just thrown out. So there's a terrible situation around the factories because they're just throwing the stuff out. Some gets into the ground water and some is thrown

onto dry ground.  
**IW:** Is there any message that you would like to get to the real rank and file workers?

## Real Peace means they have to respect us as workers

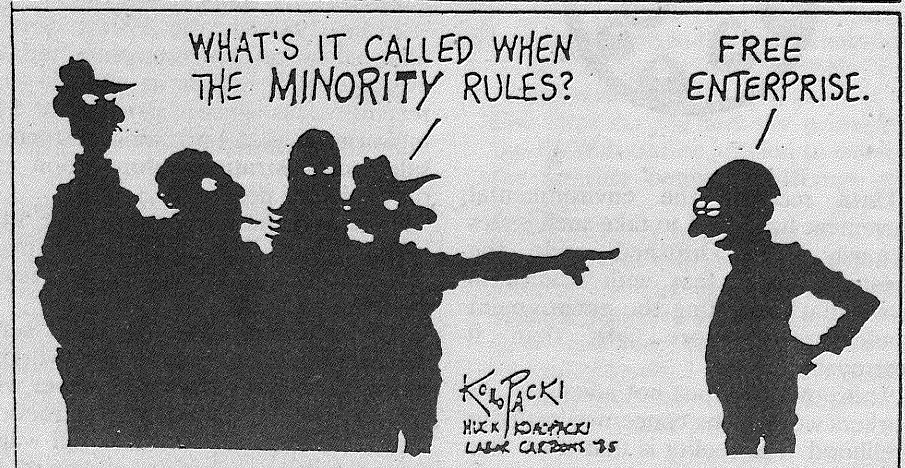
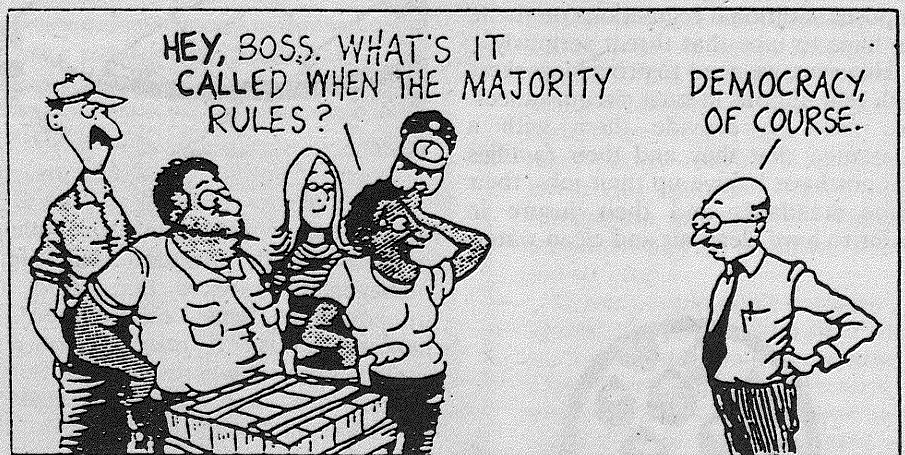
**RD:** The first thing is that my being here is not about me or my union but about all workers in Guatemala. We're struggling for a real peace, and that means that they have to respect us as workers. I would ask for the solidarity of the North American worker, because solidarity is extremely important between workers here and workers there. You should not forget us as workers and we should not forget you as workers.

**IW:** Have there been any slow-downs or sabotage happening on the job or direct action to exert pressure?

**RD:** We've gone for the legal path of trying to recognize the rights that we have and pushing to gain more rights. To sabotage the plants with all the problems would mean unemployment and the situation there is so bad that we've decided to go the legal routes.

Pressures have been put on the owners through concentrations of workers, by marches, by worker's meetings -- a tactic used where we call people out and have actual worker's meetings. Also the construction of shanty towns and the occupation of the central plaza. We had one 5-day march that went through the country. These are the tactics we are using to exert pressure.

*(Interview conducted October, 1992 by Wobbly organizer Orin Langelle)*



KOPACKI  
HUCK/HORACKI  
LABOR CARTOONS '85

# The Conflict between Jobs and Environment

## An Economic Agenda for Workers

### Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Intl. Union

To stimulate discussion between workers and environmentalists, Industrial Worker presents this proposal from Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW). For more details, contact OCAW, PO Box 2812 Denver CO 80201.

The only way out of the dilemma of jobs vs. environment is to make provision for workers who lose their jobs in the wake of environmental clean-up, or who are displaced or otherwise injured by economic restructuring, or military cutbacks and shifts of manufacturing facilities overseas.

What it will take is an ambitious, imaginative program of support and re-education -- going far beyond the inadequate and deceptive "job retraining" programs that really mean a downward spiral to low-paying service jobs or unemployment.

The US G.I. Bill after World War II, an innovative and successful program, is the precedent upon which the Superfund for Workers is based. The GI Bill helped more than 13 million ex-service men and women between 1945 and 1972 make the transition from military service to skilled employment in the private sector. This program had a formidable price tag, but the country approved it as an investment in the future.

Education became the key to economic recovery. Education remains just as powerful a force today and is the basis of a concept supported by OCAW called the Superfund for Workers.

OCAW members are concerned with the environment -- our record over the years demonstrates this fundamental fact. And naturally, OCAW members are concerned about their jobs.

There is a major contradiction to be overcome. We want jobs and a clean environment. Environmental organizations demand a clean-up of toxics and a halt to the continuing toxification of the environment. However, they lack a clear idea of how to accomplish that desirable goal without a loss in jobs or a mass movement into jobs that pay only minimum wage.

#### Displaced Workers

According to the US Dept. of Labor, about 1 million workers with 3 or more years seniority lost their jobs every year during the 1980's, 1 in 10 of which were laid off from petrochemical companies. Very few of these jobs were lost because of environmental regulations -- less than 2,000 overall, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

Does this mean we should not worry about job loss from environmental regulation? Not at all. Corporations can close down their facilities whenever and wherever they want to. They can do so for good reasons, bad reasons, and no reasons at all. When they threaten to take our jobs away if the government imposes additional regulations on them, we have to take that threat seriously.

However, we need to provide workers with real options in such circumstances. We need to provide them with a guarantee that they and their families will not have to give up their jobs, their living standards and their future in order to have clean air and clean water.



Until recently the environmental movement has failed to take such issues seriously. They brushed aside the question of job fear with studies to prove that protecting the environment would create more jobs than it destroyed.

This position is just not adequate. As workers we must be concerned with our livelihood. The reality is that if we lose our jobs, we will face extreme economic

hardship.

#### Realistic Program

We need to hear a more realistic program from those who care about the environment -- a program that provides working people with job and income guarantees. As one of our members put it, working people should be treated at least as good as the dirt the EPA and other agencies have earmarked for cleanup and restoration. We have a program to protect ourselves against companies dumping hazardous waste. We need one to protect ourselves against companies dumping workers -- a Superfund for Workers.

Corporations are in a different position than the average working person. The companies, especially the transnational ones, don't suffer from a shutdown. Their operations just continue somewhere else.

Workers do not have such flexibility, so it is essential that the environmental community reflect on this fact. We are not asking environmentalists to change their agenda. However, we urge consideration of our economic dilemma and the creation of an agenda that considers the economic impact upon workers.

#### Government, Corporations, and Profits

In national forests of the Rocky Mountains, Alaska, and the Eastern US, timber stands have low value and are costly to bring to market for a number of reasons. The pricing formula used for sales from the national (owned by the taxpayers) forests involves a minimum bid that guarantees profit to timber buyers but ignores the cost of growing and selling trees.

Moreover, the Forest Service uses its



timber sale contracts to finance purchaser-built roads and land management services that often are uneconomic and environmentally destructive. As a result, below-cost timber sales -- where the US Forest Service does not recover its costs -- dominate in 76 of the agency's 120 administrative units.

From 1982-87, the Forest Service national timber program generated, on average, \$0.8 billion in annual gross receipts. The agency spent about \$1.2 billion each year on road construction, sales administration, reforestation and other timber programs.

This cost the US Government \$400 million a year. The Forest Service plans to extend this program, which will result in greater losses.

The government would better serve the environment and the workers involved, by not cutting the timber with its resulting environmental destruction, and instead paying workers full wages for not cutting timber or building roads.

Most large corporations carry what is known as "business interruption insurance." An example of how well this works occurred shortly after the Phillips Chemical Plant blew up in Pasadena, Texas in October 1989. The blast levelled the entire polyethylene complex, killed 23 and injured 290. The physical damage to the plant, estimated at \$700 million, was compensated by normal insurance.

However, a little-understood feature called business interruption insurance also allowed Phillips to collect an estimated \$750 million for income lost during the 32-month rebuilding period. Out of pocket costs to Phillips in this \$1.5 billion explosion were only \$70 million, or 5% of the entire loss. Imagine being out of work, and receiving 95% of your wages.

Why should we not consider job loss insurance that pays 95% of our wages?

#### Government Subsidies for Corporations

FIFRA stands for Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. The law in its original form provided compensation to a company whose product was found to be a hazard to public health.

Any company whose pesticide products were banned received compensation for lost sales, and the government paid for storing the banned product. In one case it cost the government \$45 million for lost sales and \$145 million for storage. Of course, workers who lost their jobs because of the ban got nothing.

In addition to these examples, remember that Congress has been willing to pay farmers billions of dollars not to grow food; it has set aside large sums of money to clean up hazardous waste dump sites and to relieve polluting companies of the financial burden of restoring a spoiled landscape.

#### The GI Bill & Education

During World War II, most Americans expected that once the war was over, there would be a return to the desperate depression conditions of the 30's. Of course, 17 million men and women in the services would not just sit still and accept massive unemployment. This reality was the reason for post-war planning, even in the midst of total war.

In October 1943 the Roosevelt administration presented to Congress a proposal to allow returning GIs to be paid while attending college. There was a great deal of resistance from Congress and also, surprisingly, from the educational community.

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, was afraid that "Colleges and universities will find themselves converted into hobo jungles...and veterans would become educational hoboes."

Between 1945 and 1946, 400,000 veterans enrolled in colleges. A year later the campuses held 1.5 million vets.

While the GI Bill had many shortcomings, it is still considered one of the most advanced pieces of social legislation ever enacted by the US Congress. It was a major catalyst for the economic leap forward of the post-war US.

We are now in a similar situation of transition. What is lacking is the social vision.

#### What About the Cost?

The anticipated automatic response to a Superfund for Workers is "We can't afford it."

But it is important to realize that this is a political -- not an economic -- question. Can we afford the \$2.3 trillion Pentagon budget, and the \$500 billion savings and loan bailout?

The estimated cost of \$40,000 per year per person for income, tuition, and health benefits to a million workers would be offset by: (1) These workers would continue to pay taxes and

contribute to the economy by spending. (2) The government will save costs of social services such as food stamps and unemployment benefits. (3) We will avoid predictable increases in treatment costs for alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, and other common effects of sudden unemployment. (4) New jobs will be created in teaching and student services, school buildings and facilities. (5) Local economies will receive a boost.

The savings and loan crisis has shown us all that hundreds of billions of dollars can be committed with hardly a second thought to pay off the greed, larceny and corruption of the "big guys." Why



can't a much smaller sum be found to provide environmentally-displaced workers with a guaranteed income and a chance to start life over?

#### The National Debt

What about the national debt? Can we afford a Superfund for Workers when we are already in hock up to our eyeballs? The experience of the GI Bill at the end of World War II is again instructive. In 1945, the national debt was actually larger than the entire gross national product (GNP). Today the national debt totals only about one quarter of the GNP. In 1945, the annual deficit was 22% of all the goods and services produced in the country. Today, it is 2.3% of total production. If we could afford a GI Bill in 1945, we can certainly afford a Superfund for Workers in the 1990's.

The massive restructuring of the world of work must be born out of a national movement. This redefinition of the relationship between work and income requires a new movement dedicated to resolving the conflict between jobs and the environment.

Paying people to make the transition from one kind of economy - from one kind of job -- to another economy, another job, is not welfare. It is not a hand-out. Was the GI Bill charity? No, the members of our armed forces had earned the right to a little consideration. They deserved a helping hand to make a new start in life. And so do those of us who work with toxic materials on a daily basis, who face the ever present threat of death from explosions and fires, in order to provide the world with the energy and materials it needs.

A Superfund for Workers would guarantee workers who lose their jobs due to any environmental regulation or incident their full wages and benefits until a comparable job can be found. In other words, as with any unjustified firing, workers would be made whole in terms of wages and benefits.

The Superfund for Workers should also provide full tuition and fees -- in addition to wages and benefits -- to every environmentally-displaced worker who wants to further his or her education. As a matter of public policy, workers should be encouraged to start their lives all over again if they wish, to go back to school and earn advanced degrees that will help them find a job in the expanding, knowledge-intensive sectors of our economy.

# Economic Measurements in Constant Dollars

The figures below have been gleaned from the "Survey of Current Business" and publications of the US Bureau of Labor Statistics. As is shown, output per worker has been growing in real terms since 1950. Yet, it seems that the general standard of living for people who are employed (as opposed to people who are employers) has gone down.

Year	GNP \$Billions 1982 Dollars	How Many Workers producing GNP	Avg. Output 1982 Dollars per Worker
1950	\$1,203.7	63,377,000	\$18,992.00
1955	\$1,494.9	62,170,000	\$24,045.00
1960	\$1,665.3	65,778,000	\$25,316.00
1965	\$2,087.6	71,088,000	\$29,366.00
1970	\$2,416.2	78,678,000	\$30,709.00
1975	\$2,965.0	85,846,000	\$31,393.00
1980	\$3,187.1	99,303,000	\$32,094.00
1985	\$3,618.7	107,150,000	\$33,772.00

It is true that many commodities now sell for lower real prices than they did earlier. This is most apparent in the electronics area, e.g. televisions, radios, computers and so forth. As the amount of labor time it takes to produce a commodity goes down, so should its price in a free market. (Over time, the effects of supply and demand on price tend to balance out, barring global monopolies.)

The cheapening of commodities by the reduction of labor time necessary for their production is a general tendency of the economy. Some commodities which have not undergone extensive automation may appear to be way out of line with the prices of yesteryear. Measuring prices in constant dollars is a way of bringing these things into perspective. Houses for example, if they are of the same quality (materials etc.) as those constructed in earlier times, may appear to be vastly more expensive than those of earlier times, if one does not deflate the price.

The point of my comparison is that in terms of a steady measurement, like constant dollars, one can see that the real productivity of labor has grown tremendously since the 1950's.

The problem is that the real wages haven't grown with this productivity. If one takes the figures for total people in the workforce given by the government and divides that figure into the total amount of money paid in wages in any

given year since the 1950's and then measures that money in constant 1982 dollars, you find the price of labor as a whole, runs between a wage of \$7,000 and \$10,000 per year. So, while real wages have remained relatively constant, the real dollar total of goods and services has exploded. If these wages can only buy \$7,000 to \$10,000 worth of the commodities that are being produced and if the recession-depression is real (ask anyone who is unemployed for the answer), then it stands to reason that the best way to get the economy going again would be to see that more money goes into the pockets of those who produce the wealth.

This is more of a trickle up theory, if you will.

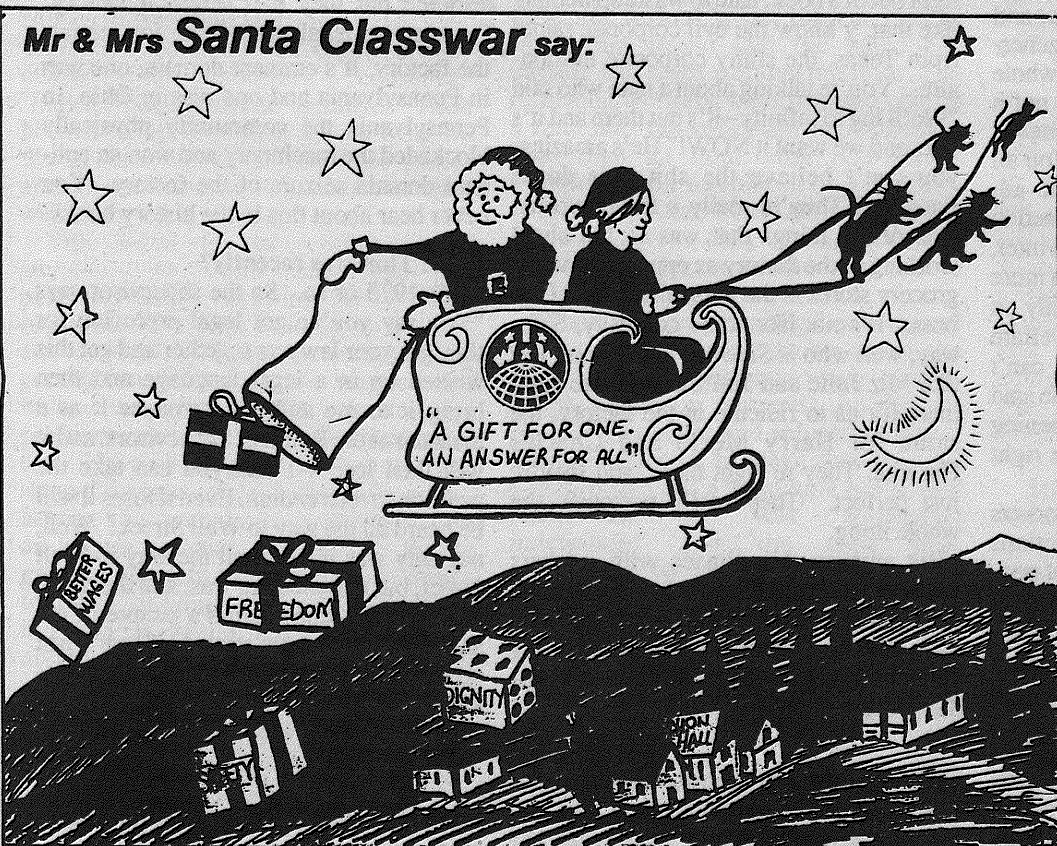
That's one goal of the IWW. In fact, we think that labor is entitled to all the wealth it produces. We see the wages system as inherently unjust and our strategic goal is to abolish it. As to our expectations, as a class they should be at least as high as what we already produce.

Join us!  
I.W.W.

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(by Mike Ballard)

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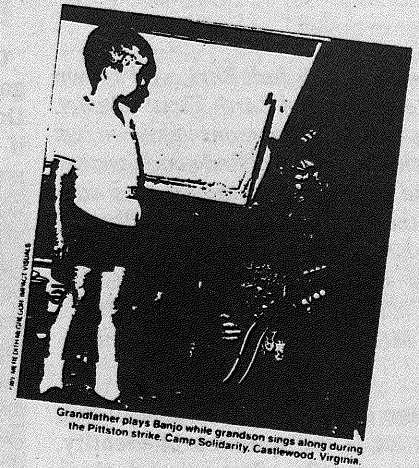


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## IWW LABOR CALENDAR 1993

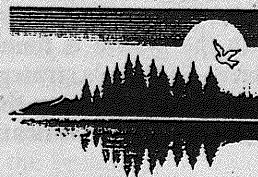


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## A New Dawn



More than once in the past 8 years, the Dept. of Energy (DOE) had conducted underground nuclear bomb tests, while a Peace Camp population on the site, with a Western Shoshone permit to Gather, Go and Come, were arrested for civil resistance on the same day.

After the Las Vegas DOE action, the 65 mile walk to Nevada Test Site took place. Wobs from Denver and Seattle-Tacoma participated in all events. I chose to walk to Yucca Mountain, proposed site of a high level nuclear waste dump. We were guided on the back roads by *Citizens Alert*.

Saturday was reserved for the All Nations Healing Ceremony for Mother Earth, and the Western Shoshone requested that this day be free from arrests. Workshops included Conversion efforts in the US and Kazakhstan, and many others.

Mass actions were coordinated for Sunday's arrests, but 2 enterprising Belgians took a midnight stroll and decorated walls in the closed DOE town of Mercury. Paiute dancers, Havasupai performers from the Grand Canyon, and singers and musicians entertained.

Most of the 530 arrested were placed in "the pen." Strict gender separation is enforced in "the pen" in order to prevent procreation of peaceniks. To save time, the Nye County Sheriffs efficiently wrote Trespassing Citations on the hour long bus ride to Beatty,

then released arrestees immediately on arrival.

Native elders spoke out and marked the beginning of a reversal of the last 500 years of injustice.

The DOE has announced that Rocky Flats will be closed; by 1995 over 4,000 Colorado workers will lose their jobs. The government has an obligation to retrain these workers and bring the C word out of the closet -- CONVERSION! All 17 DOE facilities need to be closed, and converted to new peace-time industry jobs. The Cold War is history, the future is ahead, and the New World Order is Peace and Justice. Not even the military industrial complex can now hold back the dawn!

by zimya a. toms-trend

## Prisoners Exploited

A work program at Ely State Prison was closed Sept. 11, after the company buying the product withdrew due to allegations of false claims to the federal gov't., by 3 former employees.

The program had employed 25 inmates at less than the minimum wage, said the former employees. In May 1991 Cormark, Inc, a subsidiary of Commercial Drapery Contractors Inc, contracted with Nevada Dept. of Prisons for the production of draperies. (CDC has 13 other prison shops in the US). Cormark spent \$200,000 for equipment and training inmates with the agreement that Prison Industries will pay Cormark for providing a turn-key plant.

The 3 workers investigated Cormark, with letters to the US Air Force, Navy and other federal agencies to uncover false claims made to govts.

They filed an action in US District Court, Central Dis. California CV 92 5596 R, alleging false claims, criminal and racketeering activities, and failing to withhold income taxes and social security. They allege no taxes were withheld, piece work pay was non-existent, and the workers earned from 75 cents to \$2.30/hr. Workers were led to believe that Compensation to Victims of Crime, taxes, and room & board assessments would be paid, which did not happen.

The inmates also mailed 45 letters to customers, Prison Industries Advisory Board members, and gov't. agencies to warn them what was going on.

Faced with the allegations brought by the inmates and the loss of customers, the company pulled out. Inmates Krause, Wills and Bean say they are being retaliated against for their action. They were placed in segregation.

Senator Raymond Rawson, R-Las Vegas said the inmates only seem interested in confounding the system and causing damage. But the inmates encourage other prisoners to exercise their constitutional rights to use the mail and file legal action, when they become aware of criminal activity. Kenneth Lee Krause #17686; Edward F. Wills #12394; James Edward Kimsey #23465; David R. Bean #15574; Ely State Prison Inmates, PO Box 1989 Ely, NV 89301 - 1989.

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# Foundations of Future Forestry

An interview with Judi Bari, well known Wobbly agitator and Earth First! activist. Judi was bombed by persons unknown just prior to the beginning of Redwood Summer 1990 and is currently plaintiff to a case against the FBI for their lack of effort regarding her attempted assassination. This interview was conducted by Chris Carlsson and Med-o in late April '92 at Judi's home in Mendocino County, California.

CC: One of the things we like to talk about a lot is the question of identity. How many people, when you ask them "who are you?" will tell you about their jobs, or how many will tell you about something they really care about?

JB: Most people tell you their job, I think.

CC: Yeah I guess most people assume you are expected to answer with what you do for a living. But I find that almost everybody that I talk to for a little longer actually has something else that they do. Whether they're an organizer, a musician, a wind surfer, they define their life with an outside activity. And that's really a healthy response to the work-a-day life. Why should you put your identity and your soul into this godawful miserable experience? It's already bad enough getting this measly shit money out of it--

JB: Well I guess I did when I was working because I proudly identified with the struggle. I had a bumper sticker that said "POW: Post Office Worker." I proudly identified both with the job and the fact that we were resisting on that job. I think that's one of the ways for people to identify with the jobs even in a shitty society.

CC: As a resistor?

JB: Yeah. I never had a bumper sticker that said "Kiss me I'm a carpenter" but I did have one that said Post Office Worker...

CC: Isn't there a spontaneous critique of capitalist "efficiency" in various forms of sabotage? Can you see that



leading to a broader vision of a world worth working for?

JB: I think that the machinery to a factory worker is just so alienating, that it's just a natural instinct to destroy it. It would take a lot more than destroying machinery here and there, it would take political organization, that's the problem. People are always gonna trash machinery though, no matter what. If you work on machinery like that, it's really a natural experience, this isn't a question of "are you an evil radical in your factory, and do you sabotage--" Any industrial job I've ever worked at, I imagine it's the same in the technocratic-industrial jobs, people spontaneously fuck things up. It's like the only rebellion you have. It's not organized resistance, it's just gut level rejection. Sometimes it's a way to get a break, like if you throw pieces of pallet into the conveyer belt, the thing will break and they'll have to come fix it and you can wait.

CC: Yeah, in an office you can just hang a sign on the xerox machine saying "out of order."

JB: There you go! These cultures really do translate, we just have to learn the integrating language. That's the thing about the Wobblies and Earth First! that makes them powerful beyond their numbers because they combine the natural instinct to sabotage the machinery of oppression and destruction with political organizing.

CC: Self-management is a common goal of contemporary radical workers. Does this play a role in your politics, and if so, can you discuss the problem of workers adopting the values and concerns of the marketplace in order to survive?

JB: Yeah I absolutely believe in workers' control, both on the job and in political organizing also. I think that the people at the action get to decide what happens. I don't think the decision gets made at some central office and then you tell your little greenpeace clones that you will go here and do that. Workers' self-direction is important not only on the job but also in political activity...

CC: So what's going to excite people now? Certainly it's not because they're workers that they're going to get involved with anything. On the other hand, as we know perfectly well, the real social power that exists to really fuck with the system is found in the workplace. So there's strategic power there, but it's not necessary that there be this psychological identification...

It's basic to Wobbly philosophy and to most proponents of labor organizing, that you have to somehow act on your social function as a worker, as opposed to thinking about taking advantage of the strategic power at work as a part of something else--

JB: Well, what we've done is, exactly what you're saying. We worked with the workers on workplace issues, and we formed alliances on broader issues, and pretty soon the workers that we were defending on the PCB spills were defending us on the destruction of the forest. So the people in Earth First! who say I'm a sell-out for wanting to work with workers in extractive industries, well I call it the "Future Ex-Logger Coalition" because by the time that they're ready to work with us they've had it with the job.

CC: So do you think they really embrace an ecological agenda?

JB: Oh well they certainly do, yeah. When I interviewed workers about working conditions, what made them begin to question the company in many cases were sentiments like "I went out to my favorite spot and it was gone. You know I used to take my son fishing, and now there's no more fish."

One of the episodes at the Fort Bragg rally, the famous dramatic confrontation in the middle of town when the Earth First! rally comes face to face with the yellow-ribbon-waving-crazed-drunk- alcohol-abusive, ranting and raving, and we offer them the microphone. These 3 loggers get up there and the first one just rages, and then third one gets up, and he's 5th generation with the whole accent, and the whole trip, (we didn't know him, he was not a plant, he was somebody we'd never worked with before), and he said "You all know me, I grew up with you," he addressed the loggers, and he said "I used to log in the summer and fish in the winter, and now there's no more logs and no more fish. I never wanted to put my family on welfare, but I put my family in welfare because I can't do this anymore, I can't keep destroying this place I love." He said he was going to dedicate his life to opening a recycling center, so he can have right livelihood.

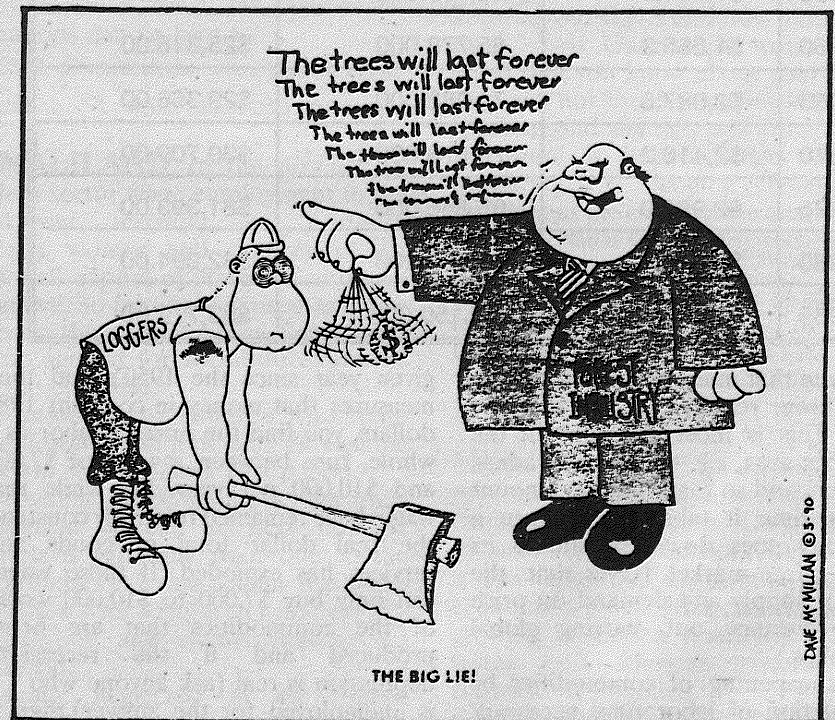
There is a group of ex-timber workers who want to do some kind of reparations and right livelihood. The coalition of people who criticized us from the environmental movement, who criticized us for advocating the interests of extractive industry workers, they don't understand what we're doing at all.

Not in any way, shape or form are we advocating for traditional unionism, even though we had Georgia Pacific workers wearing IWW buttons to work. Right now Georgia Pacific's redwood section is less than 1% of the overall operation. It's basically a pulp and paper company, primarily

based in the south. Then they have this little Western Division up here that does redwood, and it's about one big mill. Before they would recognize a Wobbly union they would definitely close the mill. There's just no question that we don't have a single chance in organizing for traditional labor goals. We're looking at an industry that's on its way out.

What we're talking about is what we're going to do after it leaves and how we're going to seize control of our community so

way. When L-P announced that they were moving their redwood mill to Mexico, people were really outraged, and the Board of Supervisors and everybody were having meetings to discuss it, and L-P's response in their typical arrogant manner was "We don't understand what everybody's so mad about, where's the pat on the back for all the good things we've done?" [laughter] So everybody was up in arms and we went to the Board of Supervisors meeting to talk about--the Mexico plant was the first time we asked for eminent domain seizure. We



that we CAN do what we think needs to be done after it leaves. That's the broader question that we're working: community control of our community so that it won't get gentrified, and the timber workers won't be displaced. Right now we're controlled by out-of-state corporations.

CC: I wonder how you imagine controlling the outside capital that might be coming in?

JB: I don't think you can solve all the problems without a revolution! We're doing traditional labor organizing, we advocated for the workers who got PCB dumped on them, we advocated for the worker who got killed in Ukiah mill and got criminal charges brought against Louisiana-Pacific, we interviewed workers about their working conditions, but that's the narrower thing.

We're also talking about this broader thing of resource destruction, of out-of-town evil corporation-- L-P is a wonderful adversary. Harry Merlo, the guy that's in charge of L-P is Snidely Whiplash! We have this perfect villain, stereotypical, right out of a book, hate to waste something like that, y'know the evil corporate raider from Texas, the slimy corporate millionaire... You're talking about a nian who said "We'll log to infinity--it's out there and it's ours and we want it NOW!" He's amazing, you can't believe the shit he's done! [laughter] They're really a fun company. One of the things that was so fun about working in the factory as opposed as to the grocery stores is the personification of the boss. It's not like some company, Safeway, well who is Safeway? But here, just like Miz Julie and Jim Strong were right there for us to ridicule in the factory, the same for Harry Merlo and Charles Hurwitz. They're right there, and they're just perfect. They really personify the whole thing.

But anyway the alliance with workers based on workplace issues has been translated into a larger question of the resource base, finally leading to our demand for eminent domain seizure of the timber industry by the county.

CC: Socialism in Mendocino County!

JB: You know what happened after we did that, besides that they tried to kill me for it... The other thing that happened is that it got immediate notice--it wasn't the first time we asked for eminent domain, by the

were't totally dismissed although we weren't taken one bit seriously. It's like, oh, those radicals, yeah, right, sure.

But the second time we came back was six months later and this time we came back with workers and we made the same demand again, and this time we were taken very seriously, so seriously that, well one of the Board of Supervisors members, the crazy one, said to us "let's meet at lunch to talk about this." Twelve of us were able to stay and met the Supervisor in a public restaurant in Ukiah during a lunch break to talk about how to go about seizing the resource from the biggest landowner and corporate boss of Mendocino County. There was absolute silence in the restaurant, you could hear a pin drop. People were so shocked at what we were saying, and in the middle of the meeting the state senator's aide comes running in (he had got word through the grapevine) to find out what we're up to. What the county supervisor was saying to us loudly in public was, "OK, you say there's--(see I knew there's a legal precedent because of my union background but they'd never seized a resource but they had seized a factory. There's two legal precedents for seizing the factory. It's eminent domain, one was in Pennsylvania and one was in Ohio. In Pennsylvania the community physically blockaded the machinery and won an eminent domain seizure of the factory. You never hear about this in the history books.

CC: That was recently?

JB: 1975 or so. So the supervisor says "You say you've got legal precedent for this, get your lawyers together and get this written up in a legal language and then bring it to me and I'll introduce it as a measure at the Board of Supervisors, and it will then lose 4-1 and you can take the position to referendum. Even if loses it will be heard all the way to Wall Street." Well, not only was it heard all the way to Wall Street, but that meeting was, and the result was the rifle scope across a picture of me and the death threats started. There's just no question in my mind that there's a relationship between those two things.

So the reaction was very swift and sure, "well, OK, she wants to seize the resources, let's kill her!" [laughter] So you see, that was even broader. We started from workplace problems, we went to resource destruction, and then we started to demand eminent domain. That was certainly taking it into a broader context!

# MUSIC

## LOOK TO THE LEFT

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A rockin' Wobbly reports from the front lines of radical labor & environmental organizing. Corporate terrorists, displaced workers, FBI infiltration, and direct action. Includes "Who Bombed Judi Bari?", "Arizona Power Lines" and more.

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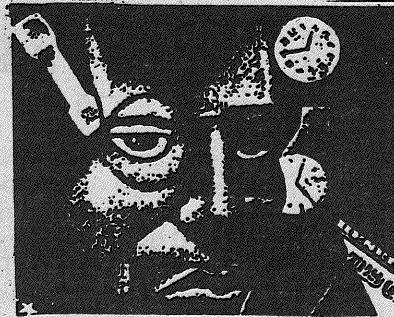
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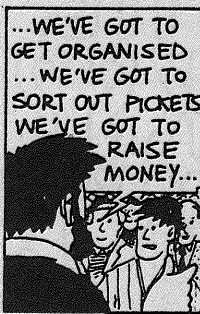
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# Sex Work and Violence in Asia

## The Flesh Trade

Japan's rapid economic growth has been accompanied by growth in the sex industry, an inseparable part of the whole. The shortage of young Japanese women willing to work in the sex industry has been filled by migrant women from Asia. An estimated 100,000 women come to Japan every year. While 70% are Filipina, Thai women are increasing, followed by Taiwanese, Koreans and Malaysians.

Women, expecting to find legitimate employment, are "imported" by the Japanese mafia at a cost of around US\$7,000 and sold to brothels and bars for up to US\$15,000, depending on their looks. Forced to earn as much as possible by prostitution, those who resist face physical violence.

During a 3-year period beginning in 1986, 1,200 Asian migrant women sought refuge and assistance at HELP, a women's shelter in Japan, because of human rights violations such as physical violence, abuse, non-payment of wages, and so on.

## Sex Industry

There are up to 800,000 prostitutes under 16 years of age in Thailand, according to the Children's Rights Protection Centre. Expanding tourism, promoted by the government, creates more demand for prostitutes and poor farmers are selling their daughters to the sex industry in Bangkok and other tourist resorts. The price of a girl is from US\$ 500 to US\$ 1,000 and the cash the farmers get or the money their daughters earn after paying back the debts, is usually spent on building or repairing houses, buying a motorbike or agricultural machinery, or other consumer goods.

European pedophiles, preferring even younger girls around 10 to 14 years old, come to SE Asia in large numbers. Not allowed to abuse children in their own countries, they find it relatively easy to buy a very young girl in Third World countries.

## Development

Poverty is the key issue in most Third World countries, and it is the poor and women who are most affected by

violence. In the past 2 decades, the gap between rich and poor nations has increased, as well as the gap between rich and poor people within nations, both in the First and Third worlds.

Consumerism spreads to the Third World as part of development. Giant transnational advertising companies provoke materialistic greed. Commoditization of women is usually accompanied by violence, as in forced prostitution.

Transnational corporations use advanced technology in Third World countries without the safety precautions that would be required in their home countries. The 1984 Bhopal disaster in India is an example. The Union Carbide chemical plant explosion released poisonous gases that killed at least 8,000 people outright, and as many as 300,000 were seriously injured. Most victims' reproductive functions were damaged. A high rate of miscarriages, stillbirths and malformed babies has occurred.

A similar situation causing health problems for women occurred in Ipoh, Malaysia where a Japanese transnational chemical company, Mitsubishi, formed joint venture with a local company called "Asia Rare Earth." In processing monazite from tin tailings, radioactive wastes were dumped without proper treatment, and since 1988 women suffered miscarriages and other health problems. The women there organized and took action to demand the removal of this factory.

## Military Violence Against Women

Military aggression has always been accompanied by rape and sexual abuse. Between 1938 and 1945, Japanese soldiers raped women in China and SE Asia, and carried away thousands of young Korean women as prostitutes.

The US Army in Vietnam was no better. Many books have been written by former US servicemen about raping of village women and purchasing prostitutes in Saigon.

In Vietnam today people are struggling to survive under terrible economic conditions. But the most shocking experience is to see the victims of Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant sprayed by the US military on crops and jungles from 1965-70 to expose enemy troop movements. The herbicide contains dioxin, a carcinogenic and mutagenic poison. Women who have been exposed to it suffer not only cancers and so-called "mole" pregnancies, but unbelievable fetus malformations such

as absence of brain matter or no eyeballs, two heads, three legs and various reproductive organ complications.

20 years after the Agent Orange spraying, women who were poisoned as children continue to produce malformed children of their own. The US government has refused to make amends for this chemical warfare disaster that is clearly a crime against the Vietnamese people.

During the 80s in the Third World more than 10 wars were fought, mostly

with weapons bought from the First World, producing uncounted numbers of refugees.

On a recent visit to Kampuchea where millions died, I was shocked to see so many widows and orphans. Because the female/male population ratio there now is 2 to 1, the burden of rebuilding falls heavily on women.

## US Military Bases

Though US military presence in Asia was reduced after the Vietnam War, US bases remain in many countries, and prostitution around these bases is dreadful.

The US military was forced to leave the Philippines in 1991. A few years previously, 12 girls age 10-16 were hospitalized in Olongapo City with severe complications of venereal disease. When an Irish priest reported this terrible abuse to the media, he was intimidated and threatened by US military authorities and the local government.

I recently visited Pattaya beach in Thailand, a flourishing tourist resort, with a Thai feminist group campaigning against AIDS. I was shocked to see some of the 9,000 US navy men on R&R (rest and recreation) in "baby a-go-go" clubs lining the streets. Around 5,000 prostitutes work in these clubs; many of them 13-15 years old.

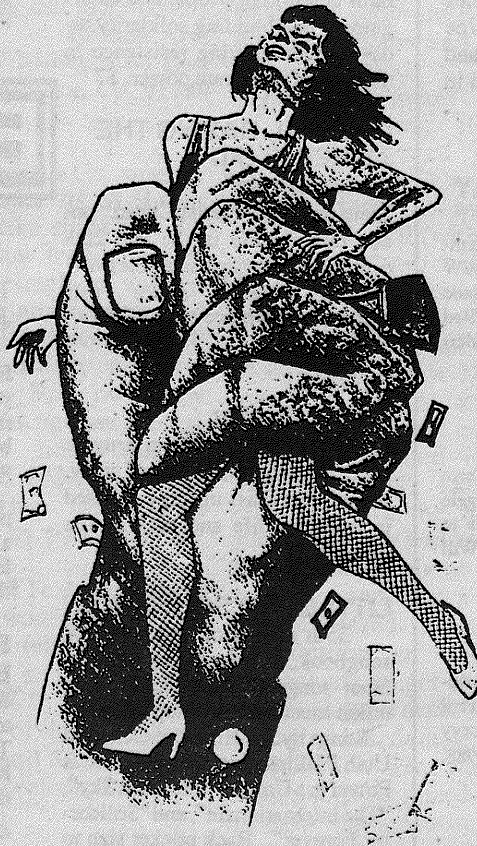
The situation around US bases in Okinawa, an island of SW Japan, is much the same, but Filipina women have replaced local women. Because of the stronger yen, the price of sex with a Japanese woman is very expensive for the GIs. In darkened clubs, Filipinas dance on stage as watching US military men drink beer, and video projections of sex and violence run continuously in the background.

## Oppressive Regimes

In many countries under military dictatorship, women who resist in any way, can suffer imprisonment, sexual torture, and sometimes execution - all without trial. Recently, a young woman factory worker was detained and sexually tortured in a South Korean police station. She was brave enough to expose this crime, and women's groups made a national issue of this case.

-Yayori Matsui

from NEWSLETTER international communications project c/o ASIA Universitaet Hannover: Welfengarten 1, W-3000, Hannover 1, Germany. Fax: +49 511 717 441



IF YOU THINK THE SYSTEM WORKS?  
ASK THOSE WHO DON'T!

## 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 the 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 means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for 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.

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Justice William O. Douglas

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