

**AUGUST 1996** 

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EDUCATION ORGANIZATION EMANCIPATION

### Mersey Dockers Near Victory

Atlantic Container Lines, the biggest shipping line using the Mersey (Liverpool) port where 500 dockworkers have been locked out since October, has moved its operations to Thamesport. This follows the refusal of Liverpool tug boat men to cross a Mersey dockers' picket (forcing ships to dock under their own power) and the decision by Swedish dockers to delay unloading all ACL ships by 12 hours.

Although the Mersey Docks & Harbour Company says it can survive this, other shipping companies are likely to follow suit – especially if dockers begin picketing their shops as well. The company is attempting to recover some of its losses by suing the U.S. International Longshoremens' Association, demanding millions of dollars for "loss of business." MDHC claims that ACL stopped using Liverpool because of threats to its ships in U.S. ports.

Canmar, another major company still using Liverpool docks, is considering leaving the port, as is the Canadian CAST line. Canadian members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union stopped work in early July on a Gear Bulk line ship taking paper pulp to Liverpool.

A crisis meeting of the Liverpool Ship Owners' and Port Users' Association was held the first week of July to discuss growing problems for port users.

### We Will Win!

Jimmy Nolan and Jimmy Davies of the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards Committee issued this statement shortly before the decision of Atlantic Container Lines (ACL) to quit the Liverpool port:

Our accumulated knowledge over the last 18 months bears witness to the fact that the British working class is confronted with the most obnoxious political machine, using Parliament to legislate against the people.

All our assets, paid for by our fathers and mothers, indeed by ourselves – through surplus value, taxation and insurance – have been privatised or are in the process of privatisation.

Freedom and democracy are non-existent at the workplace. The economic base is controlled by a minority who use political legislation, trade union laws and employment contracts to create economic fear...

This is what the Mersey Docks and continued on page 10



# **IWW Strikes Computer Firm**

IWW members at a small computer memory company, Memory USA, are on strike for union recognition and a contract. Memory USA is a Kensington, Californiabased firm which sells SIMS over the web. All three employees walked off the job July 2 because of a lack of worker's compensation insurance and concerns over unsafe working conditions.

When workers presented their concerns to Memory USA owner Alexander Lerman, he called the injured worker into a private meeting and offered to cover the costs of her treatment if she would leave the job. Outraged workers walked out to demand compliance with worker's compensation law and a safe workplace.

Since the walkout began Memory USA has obtained the legally required worker's compensation insurance and workers have joined the Industrial Workers of the World. Workers are on strike to obtain union recognition and fulfillment of their other demands. Their demands are as follows: No dismissals without just cause and due process. Worker's compensation coverage for all employees. Memory USA must pay all unpaid unemployment insurance premiums. Paid vacation time consisting of half a day per month of employment and national holidays. Flex time for family and medical needs. Union recognition and negotiation of a full written contract.

"We feel our demands are very reasonable," notes Memory USA worker James Field. "For the most part all we are insisting on is compliance with state and federal labor laws."

Workers are particularly concerned over health and safety issues. In addition to the worker who suffered a knee injury, workers are suffering symptoms of Carpal Tunnel Syndrome. But the owner has refused to discuss ergonomic measures to protect workers from this crippling condition. Instead, he prefers piling up profits by exploiting his workers and denying them basic, legally required protections.

Members of the San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch joined the picket line July 2nd. Workers have observed no deliveries since the strike began. Memory USA has either shut down operations since it now has no workers, or has relocated its operations out of the residential neighborhood where it has been operating illegally since its founding two years ago. The company terminated negotiations July 10th, and brought in an attorney to stonewall. A National Labor Relations Board hearing is scheduled for July 19th; it appears the Board will order a representation election despite the fact that the entire workforce are dues-paying members of the IWW. As the boss stonewalls at the bargaining table and the NLRB, workers are trying to turn up the pressure on the company.

Please call 1-800-409-0600 or email buyer@mu.com to demand union recognition and a contract for the striking Memory USA workers. The strikers are maintaining a web page at http://burn.ucsd.edu/~jfield/ mustrike.html



### **NATIONAL PICKETING HITS BORDERS BOOKS** When Borders Inc. decided to fire IWW member Miriam Fried in the aftermath of their narrow defeat of the union in a NLRB election at their Philadelphia store, Wobblies responded by setting up picket lines across the country. See pages 8 and 9.

# **K-Jack Metal Workers Strike**

Thirty K-Jack workers walked off their job July 2 over grievances reported last issue. The day before, they had demanded negotiations with their boss and been refused. They haven't walked as a union, but rather as a group of workers who simply could not endure their conditions any more. Most of them are undocumented workers, which of course makes formal organization that much more problematic.

The company manufactures newspaper vending machines. Workers are supposed to be paid minimum wage, but they don't receive their first check until they've worked two months. The checks owner Jack Chalabian has been passing out for the last two months have all been bouncing. Workers are locked in and forced to work overtime. The working conditions are unsanitary. Workers are not being covered for workplace injuries, and there is no safety or first-aid equipment in the plant. The list of abuses goes on and on. Five non-strikers have been joined by three new scabs, all of whom are being paid in cash (even scabs have their limits). While most delivery trucks are crossing the picket lines, Teamsters Local 884 has offered to reinforce the picket lines. And an air conditioning repairman honored the line after talking with workers, noting that he wasn't interested in doing work for a company that doesn't pay its workers.

line. The photographer was forced to take refuge from K-Jack's owner in a local business. Chalabian is now facing misdemeanor battery charges.

Members of the IWW's Los Angeles General Membership Branch have been working with the K-Jack workers for the past two months in their efforts to resolve these conditions. When a majority of workers decided they were afraid to organize into the union (five years ago the owner pulled a gun on workers who tried to organize), local Wobblies assisted some workers in filing lice, who took statements from the workers and promised to initiate an investigation for check fraud (that investigation appears to have been dropped).

While Chalabian refuses to pay his workers, he sports fancy clothes and cars and owns much local real estate and a construction business.

What You Can Do: Call or write K-Jack Engineering Co. (1522 W. 134th St., Gardena CA 90249-2299, phone 310/327-8389. Ask for president Jack Chalabian) and demand that they pay their workers the



In This Issue... IWW Assembly Plans Set New 'Labor Party' Formed What Kind of Unionism? Bosnian Miners Appeal Bosses Feed Off Misery

On July 12th, a blackjack-wielding Chalabian chased a *Los Angeles Weekly* photographer taking pictures of the picket wage and false imprisonment claims with the state labor department. Those charges are presently being investigated.

But conditions inside the plant continued to deteriorate, and on July 2nd workers decided they had had enough. They marched into Chalabian's office demanding to be paid their wages. Instead he called the po-

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two months' back wages due them and negotiate their workers' grievances.

Also check local newspaper racks to see if they were manufactured by K-Jack. K-Jack vending machines bear distinct identifying stickers, and are used internationally by papers including *Barron's*, *Detroit Free continued on page 3* 

### **AUGUST 1996**

### An Important Paper

PAGE 2

The letter of criticism in the July issue causes me to write this long-intended letter.

As one who has been involved in labor matters for 60 plus years, I find the Industrial Worker to be of utmost importance in keeping informed about union and labor activities around the country. Along with Labor Notes and the Teamster Convoy Dispatch, these are the only reliable sources of what goes on on the labor and union front these days.

In the 1930s through 1950s, the national press had some real labor reporters and their accounts could be relied upon, but those days are long gone. Even Business Week used to have a dependable labor reporter. Enclosed is a subscription for a friend in California who is one of the old breed of labor clerics. He has been arrested over 100 times for picket line and sit-in activities...

Congratulations on great editorial job and labor reporting.

- Walter G. Hooke

### Remembering Spain

The following exchange of letters arises from a book review by FW Mike Ballard published in our January 1996 issue:

Dear Mr. Ballard,

I want to thank you for your article, "Remembering Spain." I find the book reviews are my favorite part of the newspaper, although I also greatly appreciate the news of workers actions from across the U.S.

I do have a question about your assessment of Bookchin's philosophy: Why is he wrong in pointing to the need for worker organizations to link up, and perhaps be led



### THE VOICE OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

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# **Readers' Soapbox**

by, municipally based and environmentally oriented socialism. It is my impression that the disdain organized labor has held toward these latter two movements has been one cause of its declining impact in the U.S. and the rampant corruption within our largest unions...

In my work for the Institute for Local Self-Reliance I have seen radical leadership from unionists, environmentalists, government bureaucrats, civic activists, business people, teachers and even elected officials. Each are striving for the same goal: a decentralized society where the economy and political system are controlled at the local level by workers and citizens. The combination of practical and direct actions and political organizing was the goal of the IWW.

Why do you feel that this is not an appropriate strategy for today? Is it because you feel that only labor unions can lead us to an ample life for all? I don't doubt that worker-controlled unions are a necessary

part of a good society. But are they the totality of good society? Are they the only agents, acting independently, that can bring about positive change?

Neil Seldman, Washington DC FW Ballard Responds: Thank you for your kind words about my review of To Remember Spain by Murray Bookchin. Regarding your question about my assessment of Bookchin's philosophy, I believe you were referring to this piece of my review: "Murray also carries around his share of ideological baggage, which impels him to make remarks like, 'The limitations of the trade union movement, even in its anarcho-syndicalist form, have become manifestly clear. To see in trade unions (whether syndicalist or not)an inherent potentiality for revolutionary struggle is to assume that the interests of workers and capitalists, merely as classes, are intrinsically incompatible." Mr. Bookchin believes that the recuperative tendencies of capitalist reform make and re-

make the worker over in the image of, 'obedience, hierarchy, the work ethic, and authoritarian discipline in the working class as a whole; indeed, in many of the 'emancipatory' movements as well.'

"Is there then nothing to be done, according to Mr. Bookchin?

"No; not unless we abandon hopelessly outdated strategies like the self-organization of the working class into unions whose strategic goal is the abolition of wage-slavery and instead adopt Murray's strategy of self-organizing a municipally based green socialism."

My intention was not to disparage workers from linking the struggles which they wage with the employing class with "environmentally oriented socialism." My criticism of FW Bookchin is based on his disdain for the revolutionary potential of the contemporary working class. Indeed, it is the official position of the Wobblies to not only "abolish the wage system" but to "live in harmony with the Earth." That's in our Preamble and I fully endorse this approach to emancipation. If that means "environmentally oriented socialism" to you, then continued on page 5

IRECTORY

Job Branch= 5 or more members in workplace GMB=General Membership Branch IU=Industrial Union Del=Delegate

GOC= Organizing Committee.

- IU 330: Building Construction Workers
- IU 450: Print & Publishing House Workers
- IU 460: Food Processing Workers
- IU 510: Marine Transport Workers
- IU 610: Health Service Workers
- IU 620: Education Workers
- IU 630: Entertainment Workers
- IU 660: General Distribution Workers IU 670: Public Service Workers

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IU670 Berkeley Recycling Ctr. Job Shop- del: Jojo Mends, 1231 Second St., Berkeley 94710 San Francisco Bay Area GMB- PO Box 40485, S.F. 94140. e-mail: sfgmb@iww.org Offices: Redstone Building, 2940 16th St. (at Capp), #216-2, San Francisco 94103 415/863-WOBS Long Haul Resource Center, 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley 94705 510/845-0540. Mon, Thurs 4-7 p.m., Tues, Wed, Fri 3 - 6, Sun. 6 - 9p.m. GMB meets 3rd Saturdays at Long Haul, 1:30 p.m., Open Delegates Meeting 1st Saturdays at Long Haul, 1:30 p.m. General Organizing Committee meets 4th Saturdays at the San Francisco office. GDC meetings as needed contact: 510/549-0358.

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### **INDUSTRIAL WORKER**

### AUGUST 1996

## Construction Workers Line Up in New Jersey Around

Construction workers in Cape May County, New Jersey, have organized the Cape May County branch of Building Construction Workers Industrial Union #130 and asked the IWW General Executive Board to issue an Industrial Union Branch charter. The first issue of their newsletter asks "Who Gets the Big Bucks in the Construction Industry?"

"Cape May County's largest industry is Construction.

"Each morning we, over 4000 construction workers in Cape May County, rise to toil another day. With our sweat, energy and expertise we put together buildings... At day's end we have produced a value far greater than our take-home pay."

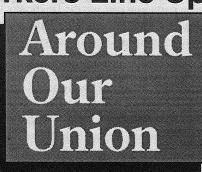
The article goes on to consider the role of bankers, realtors and contractors — all of whom profit from construction workers. The Cape May Wobs propose to cut these parasites out of the process altogether, forming a workers' cooperative. "No longer will we use up our entire labor power to support a system where we do the most and get the least. With our cooperative society we will pool our labor, our expertise and our resources. In true Wobbly fashion, we will dictate our own conditions, elect our own bosses, [and] work like honest men and women, with pride, integrity and self respect."

They are demanding a \$20 hourly base wage, and setting up a journeymen certification program. The Cape May Wobblies can be reached at P.O. Box 261, Cape May Court House, NJ 08210.

# Workers Helpline in Aberystwyth, Wales

For most workers today, work has become a stressful torment, a situation where they are daily subjected to conditions of bullying, blackmail, sexual harassment, fear of being laid off, etc. Job security has been a thing of the past. Work pressure has for many increased, whilst the number employed has been drastically reduced. What defence was afforded by the trade unions in most cases no longer exists, and in many cases unions have made no-strike agreements with employers, collaborating in the exploitation of the workforce.

However, amongst the rank and file there is still a spark of resistance and militancy. On 10th June a group of Wobblies, trade unionists and concerned workers met to set up a Workers Helpline Organization Aberystwyth (WHOA).



Recognising that in most cases workers are not organised – or even if they are organised in a trade union their officials may be unwilling to 'rock the boat' – there was a need for an organisation that could give information, help and support to workers faced with industrial problems.

In many cased employers are taking advantage of the ignorance of the worker as to his or her entitlements, safeguards and agencies which are able to help. In setting up this helpline we are acting in the role of community-based shop stewards.

The worker who has a problem can phone in and he or she will be informed as to what the legal position is with regard to their employment situation, any European legislation overriding British law, the precedents set by similar cases at industrial tribunals, courts, etc., names and addresses of agencies which can help, and clarifying the various options open to them that they may be unaware of; functioning in a similar way to shop stewards in a factory but situated in the community.

Whilst recognising that the law is biased in favour of the employer, we believe that where a worker is able t show that conditions of contract, health and safety legislation have been flouted, action can be taken and the workforce united.

This is a pilot scheme which, if successful, we hope will be copied and set up in other areas.

— Aberystwyth IWW

### **Lining Up Portland**

A Portland branch of the IWW has coalesced. An Organizing Committee met weekly for a couple months, then called our first membership meeting on 3 June.

We have 8 members so far. Most are musicians, but we've also got members organizing in computer chip manufacturing and food service. A couple of itinerant electricians also join us when they're in Portland.

In addition to establishing infrastructure such as a mail box and voice mail, and developing a literature base, we're sponsoring a benefit concert for Utah Phillips (on

### PREAMBLE TO THE IWW CONSTITUTION -

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 interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all 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 the 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.

27 July at Laurelthirst Public House if you're going to be in town). We've also put together a Collective Library by compiling a list of books, articles, music, and other material that each of us has and is willing to loan to others. A food buying club, negotiations with club owners, and a union garden are among the projects being discussed.

- Mark A. Miller

### May Day in Anchorage

About 30 people gathered at Cyrano's, an Anchorage, Alaska, bookstore May 1 to sing and talk and remember the history of May Day. Friends came, some were musicians, others workers, and young moms came with their kids. All joined in the singing...

The new songbook added class to the evening. Local Wobs also arranged showings of a film on the Mondragon Cooperatives and "Resistance, Sabotage and Music" at a June 22 anarchist conference.

-Ruth Sheridan

### Solidarity with Melbourne Outworkers

IWW Melbourne members joined a protest organised by the Textile, Clothing & Footwear Union of Australia - Victoria outside Westco shop in Melbourne. Wearing shirts made by an outworker who has to date not been paid they protested that the same shirts were selling inside for \$39.95 each. She was to have been paid \$1 each, which is outrageous enough, but the sub-contracting company operating for Westco has not paid her at all!Leafletting and a speak-out against the new sweatshop industry caused many passersby to stop and be educated. From their leaflet:

'The labour Behind the Label.

"We all go shopping for clothes. We spend billions of dollars each year on clothes in Australia. We consider what they look like, how much they cost, and how they fit. This is usually the basis on what we choose to buy. Often we do not have any idea where they are made or how they are made. The label tells us, country of origin, size, washing instructions and type of material used. In Australia and other countries around the world women working at sewing machines produce the clothes that stock our shops. The work environment varies a lot. They may be made in modern factories and paid award wages. But often they are made in small cramped sweatshops or in a room or garage at home for low wages. We aim to assist workers in the clothing industry especially outworkers to have the right to a living wage, the right to organise, and a safe and healthy working environment. This does not mean that clothes need to be more expensive since wages are as little as 5% of the final price."

The leaflet urges shoppers to question

### Police Gas Anti-Klan Protesters

A dozen Wobblies were among 600 demonstrators who protested the presence of a dozen Ku Klux Klan members at a June rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan. 270 city, county, state, and University of Michigan police in riot gear were used to protect the Klan at a cost of nearly \$100,000.

Police escorted the Klan into the city and gave them the use of a balcony on top of the city hall as a podium. An eight-foot fence was erected around the city hall. Signs on the fence warned "Touch this fence and you will be maced."

Police used the excuse of "taunting" to justify their use of pepper gas against demonstrators near the fence. While the large majority of demonstrators engaged in no illegal activity, a few did respond to the gassing by throwing rocks and bottles at the helmeted and shielded police behind the fence. Police then shot a dozen tear gas cannisters into the crowd, victimizing hundreds of protesters and passers-by who had done nothing illegal.

Even after police had escorted the Klan out of the city the tear gas barrage continued as demonstrators were chased blocks away from city hall. The pursuit only waned when the demonstrators marched onto Main Street where residents were out shopping and dining at sidewalk cafes.

Despite the police assault, few people were injured. One demonstrator suffered a broken leg when he tripped in a hole as he ran from a police attack. One Klanswoman was hit by a rock thrown over the 200 ft divide between the Klan and demonstrators. 30 police were treated for tear gas because the wind was not in their favor. The hundreds of demonstrators who were gassed treated their own injuries. Eight demonstrators were arrested on charges of assault with intent to do great bodily harm. Cases against two of them have already been dismissed for lack of evidence.

No police were arrested despite incidents of random assault. One resident was downtown to pick up a suit at a cleaners. A cop said "You're standing too close to me." The resident responded "You're standing too close to Me!" and was maced.

Keisha Thomas, an African-American teenager, received national attention for shielding a white male with a confederate flag on his back from an attack by some protesters. She was later maced and police sought an arrest warrant when she tried to do the same thing as police attacked another demonstrator. The case crumbled when the charge against the assaulted demonstrator was dismissed.

Scab photographers from the Detroit Free Press were removed from the anti-Klan rally by demonstrators. The following day at the arraignment of the arrested demonstrators, supporters refused to speak to a

stores about where clothes are made and under what conditions, and to urge retailers to issue a guarantee that garments are not made by sweated labor.

### K-Jack Strike ... -

Press, Houston Chronicle, La Opinion, San Diego Union-Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, San Jose Mercury News and the Toronto Star. Check your local newspaper vending machines, and contact companies that use K-Jack machines, inform them of the situation with K-Jack workers, and ask that they stop acquiring K-Jack equipment until the grievances are resolved to workers' satisfaction or face the risk of local boycotts of papers using K-Jack vending machines. In some areas there are reports of wheatpasted flyers and stickers on K-Jack vending machines reading: "This vending machine produced by slave labor; for more information contact 310-327-8389"

scab Free Press journalist.

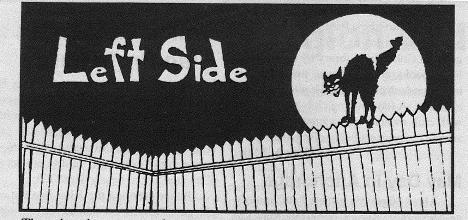
Two coalitions involved in organizing the demonstration have called for an independent investigation of the police tactics at *continued on page 9* 

Readers might also contact newspaper unions in their area and request that they lend their solidarity to the struggle of K-Jack workers for justice.

K-Jack workers also need financial assistance, as only the 11 with government working papers are able to collect unemployment insurance during the walk-out. Teamsters Local 884 has opened its food bank to the strikers as has a local church. However, workers need help meeting their rent and other urgent expenses.

For more information, or to contribute to the K-Jack Workers' Strike Fund, contact: Los Angeles IWW, 1724 Westmoreland Blvd., L.A. CA 90006, 213/368-4604

#### **INDUSTRIAL WORKER**



PAGE 4

The other day yours truly went to the local currency exchange to pay a few utility bills as well as make out a money order. He had a couple of \$50 bills set aside, which would adequately take care of those financial obligations. Upon passing the two fifties through the window slot, the clerk held both of them up to the light, perusing them carefully. No offense was taken as it is well known that larger bills attract more attention as well as suspicion, plus the fact that professional counterfeiters like to print large denominations that can be easily passed off on harried clerks or bartenders in order to receive change money.

I had recently seen the new \$100 bills that were issued by the Treasury Department in hopes of foiling the counterfeiters. The portrait of Benny the Frank is much larger, as well as being more conspicuous. The feds announced they would spend up to \$32 million in a world-wide publicity campaign promoting the new, supposedly counterfeit, C-Note. But just the other day an item appeared in the paper stating that within two months of the new bill's release, Secret Service agents had found at least 14 counterfeits of the new C-Note that were passed in business establishments in one city alone.

One of the most successful counterfeiters in the history of that noble following was some old retiree who printed his own dollar bills. As has often been the case with many retirees, what would have been an ample nest egg during their working years has by the time of their retirement (after the ensuing years of inflation) become a mere shadow of its former self.

Such was the case with said retiree. He only printed dollar bills for his own use, to supplement his dwindling savings and pension. They were by no means outstanding examples of the counterfeiter's art. They were, in fact, so crude and poorly executed that agents marveled at the fact that store clerks had accepted them. It took the agents quite some time to track down the culprit at his home, where he had his own printing press.

That was many years ago. Now the old duffer would have a hard time keeping up with inflation.

Most of us, in fact, have a hard time keeping up with inflation. It gives pause to one's imagination if the government itself is not the champion counterfeiter of all. Today's minimum wage would not be so bad if we still had the prices of the '40s. Four dollars an hour would have been fantastic then. But some of our duly elected representatives are fighting like Hell to keep the minimum wage from being increased. Because this is an election year, other politicians are making vociferous opposition to the aforementioned, but after the election don't hold your breath waiting – at least until any increase can be well eaten up by inflation.

As one old wag from the past century put it, "The politician gets money from the rich and votes from the poor on the promise of protecting each from the other." Need one be told which is the promise best kept? We were taught in grammar school that governments exist to protect the many from the unscrupulous few, but in reality you know who is being protected, since one can just as well deduce who can pay out the best protection money.

Once again this fair Windy City is playing host to one of the organizations of windbags who are competing with the other battalion of purveyors of bovine byproduction as this is another presidential election year. Already there is speculation as to whether there will be a repeat of what took place during the last convention in 1968, when the local constabulary went simian-diarrhea beating everybody they could catch up with. All this under the protection of the National Guard.

Two groups are out to disrupt the forthcoming convention. Rots of ruck, children, but yours truly can think of a far better way to freak out those babies. Supposing if on election day everybody stayed home! There would be an effective

### Prosperity

The prosperity's getting so thick in these parts you can see the financiers tripping over each other in their haste to jump out the windows. Or so you might believe if you kept your nose firmly buried in the financial and editorial pages and did not notice the throngs of unemployed workers begging on the streets. The July 6th *New York Times* reports, in large type, that hourly wages "jumped" (by a whole 9 cents) for the

second straight month. Stock prices tumbled on the bad news, and well-paid economists moaned about the dangers of run-away economic growth.

In the interests of science,

I'd like to recommend a simple experiment – why not replace these Wall Streeters with the residents of our city streets. The panhandlers would likely have a much better grip on the reality of the economy we're living in, while the economists might benefit from more intensive exposure to the wonders of this economic system they so love to promote...

### Waffling toward the Millenium

You'll find a report on the founding convention of yet another labor party on page 6. Delegates (more precisely, the piecards who ran the show) adopted what our reporter describes as a pro-worker economic program, but ducked questions such as union scabbing (one of the sponsoring unions is scabbing on a Los Angeles truckers' strike), women's right to abortion, workers' right to live where they choose regardless of national "borders," and a host of other issues.

Not that the record of labor parties inspires confidence. At best they have been a waste of time and resources, at worst they have pushed through strike bans and other anti-labor measures that no party without a foot in the labor camp would dare attempt...

### 91 years, and going strong

The IWW is marking the 91st anniversary of our founding as this issue goes to press. And we're doing it in style – on picket lines, holding the bosses' feet to the fire. In Los Angeles, Wobblies are aiding immigrant workers at K-Jack in their efforts to force their boss to pay their wages and treat them like human beings. In the San Francisco Bay area, Wobblies are on strike against Memory USA, one of the many high-tech sweatshops dotting the landscape.

And across the country Wobblies are picketing Borders stores (operating under the Borders, Brentano's, Planet Music and Waldenbooks names). While Borders tries to portray itself as a hip, friendly place, it pays its workers rock-bottom wages and demands special discounts and payments from its suppliers. (Independent bookstores have sued several publishers, arguing that those payments – larger than the average industry profit margin – violate anti-trust law.) Borders executives rake in huge salaout a press release denouncing the fiends. Two or three years later, the Board orders the boss to rehire the fired worker(s), but it's a rare union that survives the operation.

### Tear down the Borders

**Editor's** 

Notebook

When the IWW was younger and more naive we tried the NLRB route. But we've learned a bit since then. So when Borders fired fellow worker Fried, we hit the picket lines – leaflets in hand – letting them know that an injury to one is an injury to all.

> Borders is a big company, and there's a lot of money behind it. Butthey'relocked in a fierce battle with Barnes &

Noble to become the dominant book retailer. Both chains have spent millions fighting for an extra percentage point or two in sales. Borders is #2, but investment bankers believe they are gaining ground with their Borders superstores.

So it's possible we can persuade Borders that firing IWW members is too expensive, and force them to back down. At the very least, we can make it clear to Borders – and to bosses everywhere – that they can't abuse Wobblies without paying a steep price.

### Minimum-wage "unions"

Alert readers will have noticed that FW Chase's column is missing from its usual spot. He wrote a great column this month, probably his best so far, but shortly before I went to press he replaced it with the much weaker one you'll find on page 10. (The original took on that anti-democratic, concession-loving miserable excuse for a business union, the United Food and Commercial Workers; it was distributed to our IWW-News email list and some members took exception, claiming that such a frank exposition of the facts would undermine UFCW efforts to herd workers into their dues-collecting machine.) I had decided not to print Fred's substitute, having developed an aversion to mush during my days on government surplus food. But this way you can see the results for yourself - and maybe get a sense of what was there before it got ground up and watered down.

I've been watching the UFCW ever since they stabbed the P-9 Hormel workers in the back as part of their strategy to equalize meatpacking wages by slashing the wages of higher-paid workers to bring them into line with the non-union plants. They pursue a similar strategy in retail. Tens of thousands of UFCW workers earn less than \$5 an hour with no benefits, but pay dues to support fat cat bureaucrats. Most these workers belong to amalgamated "locals" carefully structured to shield the piecards from any danger of rank-and-file insurgency.

If the minimum wage hike goes through, many UFCW members will see their first pay raise in years. And others will be protected against concessions, as UFCW negotiators have accepted the minimum wage as the floor below which they cannot cut wages while offering up concessions to the bosses.

message to those who control us.

Some years back when one of the principal cities of Brazil had a mayoralty election, both the incumbent candidate and his challenger were snowed under by a write-in vote; the new rhinoceros at the local zoo. The election commissioners with a straight face decreed that Mr. Rhino could not be seated as he was not born in Brazil. In another mayoral election in Chile an election campaign was taking place and the manufacturer of a foot powder brand put up billboard around town saying "Vote for the candidate of your choice, but vote for Lavapies!" A write-in vote snowed under the two-footed contenders.

There are those proponents of the electoral process who would indignantly proclaim that the citizenry of those two cities were frivolously throwing away their votes. However, a clear message was sent to the politicians that the electorate were fed up with their purveyance of the male bovine by-product and they were compelled to pay a little better heed to the concerns of the people, which resulted in a better response than had one of the "legitimate" contenders won the election.

Face it, our economic, cultural and "political" destinies are determined at the point of production! As long as the point of production is in the hands of a small minority, it shall be nothing other than the same old bellywash. If real democracy is to be achieved, it can only be when the point of production is owned and controlled by the workers who do the producing.

ries and lucrative stock options, while workers who band together to fight for better conditions are threatened and, as in the case of FW Miriam Fried, fired.

Firings of union supporters are, unfortunately, not uncommon in this country. It's one of the bosses' favorite ways to remind workers who's in charge. Most unions respond by filing an unfair labor practices charge with the National Labor Repression Board. If they're really pissed-off, they put Some IWW members argue that we should step aside now that the UFCW has expressed interest in "organizing" Borders. But we owe it to our fellow workers to offer them a choice – a real union, ready and able to fight the bosses. Anything less is selling them short.

- Jon Bekken

As Big Bill Haywood replied when asked if the IWW was looking to overthrow or take over the government, "Just give the workers control over their own job and you can put the government in your vest pocket!" In plain, simple terms all the presidents, prime ministers, senators, congressmen and what-have-you are nothing more than that part of the worker's earnings that he or she never gets to see.

Another wag from the previous century said, "If elections changed anything, they would be made illegal."

Don't vote. It only encourages them.

-C.C. Redcloud



## Job action targets Hexcel **IWW General Assembly** in Salt Lake City, Utah

The 1996 IWW General Assembly will meet August 31st and September 1st in Salt Lake City, long renowned for its hospitality to Wobblies. In addition to the usual program of reports on IWW activities around the globe, industrial organizing workshops, consideration of constitutional amendments and other union business, nominations for officers for the coming year, etc., there will be a job action on Labor Day.

Several months ago, Hexcel announced its plan to buy 'Hercules' graphite fiber plant near Magna, Utah. Hexcel promised OCAW Local 2-591 there would be "no significant changes" in operations. They lied.

After months of unanswered questions, on June 19 Hexcel produced a list of conditions under which it would keep the union workers. These included cutting wages from an average annual of \$33,000 to \$23,000, slashing health benefits, gutting the seniority system, etc. They gave the union five days to respond.

The union called a special meeting the next day to discuss the matter. On June 24th, union members voted to tell Hexcel to go to Hell. On June 27th, Hexcel locked them out.

Because of years of "right sizing" there is not a union member at the plant with less than 13 years seniority. Most have gone from youth to middle age working for Hercules, working every shift the company could devise and putting in lots of overtime to get a little ahead. Hercules is refusing to honor its contractually obligated severance pay, but has offered to pay pennies on the dollar to workers who agree to swallow Hexcel's demands.

On the last day at work, Hexcel passed out employment applications to every worker, and gave them until July 8th to reapply for their own jobs. The company has announced its intent to pick and choose who they let back in the plant. If the workers go back at the wages Hexcel has set many will lose their homes. If they don't they will be out of a job and unable to feed their families. On July 8th the workers marched to the plant in unison (except for six who turned in their applications early) and turned in their applications. If the company takes them back they will be working with 20 scabs brought in to maintain operations during the lock-out, without a union contract, but with an active union on the job.

mon"). They may not know much about the IWW, but they know some basic facts. The shirts express one of those facts.

Kenneth Wulle, an IWW-OCAW dual carder, says: "I am sure that if the error of Hexcel's ways is pointed out to them in a tactful manner that they will immediately correct their mistakes and thank the IWW for helping them become a caring and responsible corporate entity.

"If not, I guess we'll have to try something else."

Arrangements have been made to use an OCAW hall for sleeping space during the General Assembly. They're asking \$10 a night for a space on the floor or a spot for a camper or trailer in the parking lot. The money will go to a workers' relief fund to aid the Hexcel workers. There will be coffee and donuts in the mornings, a park across the street, and good companionship.

Salt Lake Wobs have established a contest to name this latest perfidy, which isn't quite a lock-out and certainly not a strike. Winners will get two CDs of labor music. Send context entries, reservations for crash space, etc. to Salt Lake IWW, POB 520514, Salt Lake City, Utah 84152-0514.

### Readers' Soapbox... Who Will Build the **New Society?**

### continued from page 2

we're both on the same wave-length. It goes without saying that the IWW also sees the workers as the class which can and should replace capitalism with a society of their own design, by building that society "within the shell of the old" one.

## Farewell, Fellow Workers —

### Frank Cedervall

Wobbly organizer and soapboxer Frank Cedervall died June 24th of natural causes at age 92. In the '30s Frank and his brother Tor made Cleveland an IWW stronghold, organizing thousands into IWW shops which remained with the Union until the red scare of the '50s. Jimmy Hoffa claimed to have learned his oratory skills by observing Frank in action.

During an organizing drive among charwomen in 1935 Frank and Tor were assaulted and beaten by company goons. Tor ended up in the hospital. The brothers also endured several legal battles during their years of organizing. But the charges used to harrass them for their organizing activities were all dismissed.

Frank and Jennie Anekite, another Wobbly were married in a ceremony conducted by the IWW General Defense Committee. Frank was fond of introducing Jennie as "my Fellow Worker whom I married". They had one daughter, Pat Lewis, who is active in her teacher's union.

In 1938 Frank retired from active organizing. "After seven years of being beaten up and kicked around I left active IWW work." he said in a 1980 interview. "But I always kept up my membership."

In retirement in the 1970s Frank resumed his soapboxing activities and some organizing efforts on behalf of the Wobblies. In 1978 he spent a week on a picket line at a small bookstore in Ann Arbor Michigan, often alone when other Wobs were away at work. By the end of the week, Frank had negotiated a contract. He returned to Ypsilanti Michigan in 1984 at age 80 to stir an audience with his oratory at an IWW sponsored "Celebration of the Worker."

Memorial services were held in Frank's home of Willoughby Ohio, near Cleveland on June 29th. Approximately 100 family, friends, and labor activists were present. The IWW General Secretary/Treasurer presided over the ceremony.

In a letter written for the assembled, Frank stated: "My creed if you should ask, is a simple one. I find the words of Thomas Paine, "The world is my country - to do good my religion" - sufficient to satisfy any ethical or moral standards one should comply with." Frank lived up to this creed. He is missed. We'll carry on his work.

that they create the social wealth in society, not the capitalists. The capitalists exploit the workers through the wages system of slavery, which steals the product of their labor from them in exchange for what workers' own skills sell for on the market. Not only does the employing class exploit workers though, they also rape the Earth, which they see as their private property. This kind of an education, the kind one gets in the Industrial Worker, and from all Wobblies, is the kind which promotes class-consciousness, the best antidote to reformism and recuperation known to me. I don't know many from the "radical leadership from unionists, environmentalists, government bureaucrats, civic activists, business people, teachers and even elected officials" who would agree with me on this question; but if there are any of them out there I would urge them to join with us in the One Big Union, excluding, of course, those in employing class. With class-consciousness, workers see reforms as the crumbs from the table which our class prepared; a table from which we are barred by the minions of the State. Sure, we take the crumbs – the welfare, the food stamps, the unemployment payments, social security and Medicare; but that doesn't mean we don't want everything, we've created. On the other hand, without class-consciousness, in all likelihood, we'll continue

### **Bob Tibbs**

A grape flew through the air and barely missed Jerry Tucker's head. "Hey Tucker, you see what they're serving here?"

It was 1969. Jerry (now associated with the dissident New Directions Movement) was still in good graces with the UAW, which had asked him to help coordinate the grape boycott in St. Louis. A breakfast attracted 200 straight-laced union officials.

It was Bob Tibbs' way of introducing himself. Bob was picking grapes out of his fruit cocktail and using his spoon to flick them at the head of the St. Louis AFL-CIO, seated next to Tucker at the front table. "If you're going to boycott grapes, you've got to boycott them!" Tibbs yelled as he sent  $\mathcal{G}$ another grape flying.

Bob Tibbs succumbed to leukemia on June 17. Bob was business agent of Gas Workers Local 5-6 of the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union from 1962 until he retired in 1993. From 1967 to 1977 Bob edited Gas Future, which was the first mainstream union paper to oppose the Vietnam War

Bob spent his life vigorously supporting labor's efforts, including the PATCO, Hormel and Pittston strikes. The high point of his retirement was getting arrested in Decatur IL in 1995 while marching in solidarity with Staley workers. Bob was never satisfied with "bread and butter" unionism. He actively opposed the Gulf War, helped build a St. Louis labor-environmental alliance against NAFTA, and spoke out against the dangers of nuclear power.

In 1958 Bob married Shirley, who, in recent years, was his partner in breathing life into the local Wobbly chapter. Many St. Louis Wobs thought of Bob as a father who they could always turn to. Bob was cofounder of Common Grounds Coffeehouse, where St. Louis Wobs meet the third Friday of the month.

The minister at Bob's funeral was Rev. Michael Vosler, a Wob. It included labor radicals telling stories of his life, singing of "Solidarity Forever" and the "International," and songs by steelworker Eddie Starr.

Donations in Bob's memory should be sent to help work among the poor in St. Louis: Rev. Michael Volser, Epiphany United Church of Christ, 2911 McNair, St. Louis MO 63118.

### Donations in memory of Frank Cedervall

Jennie Cedervall, Willoughby	OH	150
Donald MacRitchie, Oakland	MI	150

### **Utah Phillips Solidarity Fund**

Regina & District Labour Council,	
Regina, SK Canada	\$50
Robert & Judith Frey, Newport OR	20

If the workers are back on the job by Labor Day, they'll be looking for support for a decent contract. If they're on the street they'll be looking to shut the place down.

OCAW members are wearing Wobbly t-shirts featuring the first sentence of the IWW Preamble ("The working class and the employing class have nothing in com-

It seems to me that FW Bookchin sees the workers as fatally flawed with the poison of reformism and while I do see the recuperative effects of reformism, ever channeling workers into actions which are acceptable to the ruling capitalist class, I don't see how things would be any different, if workers, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population in municipalities, were to organize for green socialism, instead of organizing Wobbly unions where they have to sell their time and skills for money. My own opinion is that taking Bookchin's approach would be a lot less effective and even more subject to ruling class manipulation through reformism.

I think that the most effective way to resist the diversions which reforms pose for the movement towards to freedom is to educate our fellow workers about how it is

#### **Charlene Sato Memorial Fund** Carol Myers Scotton, Columbia SC 20

### **Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund**

John Christensen, Minneapolis MN	35
Tim Acott, Portland OR	10
Bob Heald, Montpelier VT	50
Bernard Hesse, St. Paul MN	5
Brad Stuckey, Kent OH	5
Frank Adams, Asheville NC	20

Many thanks, fellow workers, for your generous support.

to be bamboozled by all kinds of politicians, including green ones, not to mention the labor fakers, who tell us that the best we can expect is a "fair day's wage for a fair day's work." In other words, we will remain nothing, when we should be all, to paraphrase the old "Internationale."

> For freedom from wage-slavery, Mike Ballard

## Labor Party Founded in Cleveland

Over 1,300 delegates from 46 states, most of them union members representing over one million workers, met June 6-9 in Cleveland to found the Labor Party, billed as a new alternative to the boss-financed Democratic and Republican parties. As the first serious attempt at forming a laborbased political party in the United States in fifty years, the Labor Party reflects the increasing dissatisfaction of working people (and some union leaders) with politics as usual, and has the potential to be an important forum for exchanging ideas and strategies among militant workers.

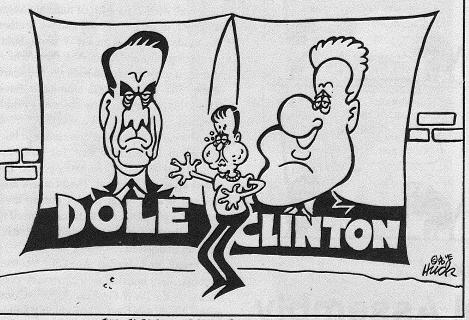
Voting was heavily weighted in favor of endorsing unions, particularly the nine national unions that officially endorsed the convention: Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE); Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE); International Long-shoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); California Nurses Association; American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE); United Mine Workers (UMW); International Brotherhood of Dupont Workers; Textile Processors. Each of these unions were allowed to cast 100 votes, totaling more than a third of the 2,661 total votes at the convention. In addition, delegates from OCAW, UE, BMWE and ILWU locals held about 650 votes. Delegates from the 36 Labor Party Advocates chapters accounted for only 152 votes combined.

A strong pro-worker economic program was passed by the convention, with perhaps the two most important points being a call for a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to a job at a "living wage" (i.e., above poverty level-estimated at about \$10 an hour) and changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to organize. The full program ("A Call for Economic Justice") includes 16 sections: Guarantee Everyone a Job at a Living Wage; Two Months Severance for Every Year of Service for Laid-off Workers; Restore Work-

### **378 Unionists** Killed in 1995

Hundreds of union members were murdered and thousands of others injured or arrested across the world in 1995, as global competition led to arising number of abuses. "The growth of world trade has led to an increase inviolations against trade unionists, as countries compete for capital investment and lucrative contracts from multinational companies," said the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

378 people were murdered in 1995 for being union members. The vast majority, 339, were in Latin America. Unionists in Columbia faced death threats, disappearances and torture almost daily. Twenty unionists were murdered in Sudan, which restricts any form of trade union activity independent of the government. (Amnesty International reports that six Sudanese unionists active in clandestine union activities since independent unions were banned were arrested June 4, and are believed to be in secret detention centers known as "ghost houses" where torture is widespread. They include Mahjoub al-Zubeir, president of the Sudanese Workers Trade Union Federation (SWTUF); Yahya Ali Abdallah, SWTUF secretary general; and Nasur Ali Nasur, SWTUF treasurer.) More than 5,000 people worldwide were arrested for union activities in 1995 - almost 1,000 more than in 1994. Workers who demonstrate for better working conditions or wages are likely to find themselves facing policemen with clubs, tear gas or bullets, the ICFTU said.



THE ELECTION OF NINETEEN NINETY SICK

ers' Rights to Organize, Bargain and Strike; End Bigotry: An Injury to One is an Injury to All (!); Guarantee Universal Access to Quality Health Care; Less Work, More Money; Protect Our Families; Ensure Everyone Access to High Quality Public Education; Stop the Corporate Abuse of Trade; End Corporate Welfare as We Know It; Make the Wealthy Pay Their Fair Share of Taxes; Revitalize the Public Sector; End Corporate Domination of Elections; Build a Just Transition Movement to Protect Jobs and the Environment; Worker Inspectors to Enforce Safety and Health Regulations; Reclaim Control of Workplace Design and Technology.

A high point of the convention occurred on the second day, when it was reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer that Mayor Michael White (a Democrat that owed his election to strong union support) had called for the repeal of laws providing municipal workers with collective bargaining and arbitration rights.

Regular business was suspended as convention delegates joined Cleveland workers for a demonstration at City Hall (blocking traffic for a number of minutes), then occupying the lobby of the Mariott hotel where White was rumored to be conferring with his advisors.

White's betrayal of union workers in Cleveland seemed like a made-to-order illustration of the need for an independent party, and the ideas in the Labor Party platform would seem to have the potential to energize large numbers of workers. Unfortunately, the convention failed to outline an effective strategy for challenging the two bosses' parties in the electoral arena. A resolution was passed barring local Labor Party chapters from running or endorsing any candidates for office until at least the next convention. It appeared to this observer that support for this approach came mainly from the national endorsing unions (with the exception of the ILWU, whose amendment to allow the running of candidates for local offices was defeated) and that the majority of party members present were in favor of adopting an electoral strategy. While some members have expressed hope that this strategy may be changed at the next convention, the prospects seem dubious. The Interim National Committee, established to make policy for the party until the next convention, consists primarily of representatives from the endorsing national bodies, and this committee will be responsible for apportioning the delegate strength for any future convention. The rationale offered for barring Labor Party participation in local elections was that "electoral action comes only after recruiting and mobilizing workers with sufficient collective resources to take on an electoral system dominated by corporations and the wealthy" (from a resolution entitled "A New Organizing Approach to Politics" - in its original form, the resolution called for first "mobilizing hundreds of thousands of workers"). It seems likely that the real motivation for this approach lies in the reluctance of top union officials to directly confront their "allies" in the Democratic Party.

It seems unlikely that the Labor Party will be able to recruit workers in large numbers as long as it continues to define itself as a "non-electoral party." For the time being, it will probably function as a coalition of some of the more progressive and militant elements of the official trade union movement; similar to Jobs With Justice, but with a more detailed and class-based program. It's also possible that union officials will find themselves under more pressure from the rank and file in coming years to transform the Labor Party from a "pressure group" into a real political party, as the attacks on working people from the bosses' parties intensify. Much may also depend on the success or failure of other third-party efforts; particularly the New Party, which has already achieved some success in electing independent progressive candidates to local offices around the country.

— Bill Bumpus, X344478

### North American wages fall

Since 1984, real wages have declined 8.4% in the U.S., 4% in Mexico, and 0.4% in Canada, according to the NAFTA Commission for Labor Cooperation. Meanwhile, part-time employment (often with little or no benefits) has gone up - especially in Mexico where part-time work accounts for 57.3% of total employment.

### **McDonnell Douglas Workers Still Out**

Some 6,700 St. Louis area machinists have been on strike against aircraft manufacturer McDonnell Douglas since June 5th in a battle over outsourcing and job security. Workers in California signed a contract a few months before the strike began, exchanging toothless job protection language for modest pay hikes. Hundreds of jobs have already been transferred to non-union plants in Arizona and Georgia and overseas.

The strike is also being undermined by union scabbing. IBEW members voted to continue working through the strike when the IAM rejected a proposal for an agreement that the strike continue until both unions had won contracts. The company has also imported some 200 scabs from Texas, and is using management and other white-collar employees to maintain production. One pilot has already died in an airplane rebuilt by these ill-trained scabs.

There have been only intermittent negotiations since the strike began. Although the company made \$770 million in profits last year and paid its CEO \$38 million in stock options, workers have received only one raise in the last four years.

At an April 11 negotiating session, McDonnell president Herb Lanese said the company closed its St. Charles, Mo., plant in 1990 (putting 300 workers on the street) "out of spite ... to prove to the union that we could do it." "You in the IAM think of the people in Boeing in Seattle and the people at Lockheed Martin as your brothers and sisters," Lanese added. "You have to look at them like I do, as your mortal enemy. I wish they were dead. I wish their children would starve to death. I wish they would lose their houses. When you all get that mind set, then we'll be in synch." No doubt he feels the same way about McDonnell Douglas workers but was too diplomatic to come right out and say so. The company has shredded the records of that meeting.

### Trailmobile Workers Settle

After twice rejecting proposed contracts Charleston, Ill., workers locked out for five months by Trailmobile ratified a three-year agreement that offers modest wage hikes after four years of a wage freeze and allows the union to continue charges pending with the National Labor Relations Board. Trailmobile owner Edward Wanandi withdrew a demand that the local union president apologize for the UPIU's campaign publicizing the Wanandi family's close ties to the Indonesian armed forces. "We haven't demanded that Wanandi apologize for the hardship this lockout has imposed on our families, so our members don't think he deserves an apology simply because we have told the truth about the Wanandi family's history of exploitation in Indonesia," UPIU Local 7591 President Gary Collins said.

### **ANC betrays South African** workers with privatization

South Africa's ruling African National Congress said privatization was "inevitable" in response to a sit-in by protesting telecommunication workers and broad demands for increased workers' control. The ANC's Labor Minister made the comments on the same day members of the Communications Workers' Union occupied their boss' office in Pretoria. Privatization was delayed in January when the ANC agreed to negotiate with unions about the "restructuring of state assets."

### Fired for not advertising

The Orange County (Calif.) Transportation Authority has fired a vegetarian bus driver who refused to distribute coupons for free Carl's Jr. hamburgers to passengers on his route. Is distributing advertising in his job description?

### Longshore workers in slow down

A slowdown hit Oakland and other West Coast ports in early July as some 8,000 longshore workers pressure waterfront employers for a new contract. Oakland has been particularly affected by the unofficial job action, but ships' cargo deliveries have also backed up in Los Angeles (where longshoremen are working behind CWA picket lines), Portland and other harbors.

No strike is planned, and the slowdown has been strictly a rank- and-file action, union representatives said. The ILWU said it hoped to wrap up negotiations soon. Container loading reportedly dropped from the normal rate of 25 boxes per hour to five per hour in the ports of Oakland and Portland.

### PAGE 7

## Palestinian workers need real unions

On February 2 the congress of the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU) was closed down by the Palestinian Authority. There was no official explanation, but apparently Arafat had been told that the opposition was poised to take over the Federation. Building a Palestinian civil society will necessarily involve confrontations with the Palestinian authorities. Unfortunately, the PGFTU is not able or willing to meet this challenge, and Palestinian workers pay the price of this reluctance.

After a 10-year split in the trade union movement in the West Bank and Gaza, the different factions (Fatah, the Democratic Front, the Popular Front and the People's Party finally united in the PGFTU at the end of 1993. However in practice the unification has not produced a substantial change.

There has not been a general election in the union movement for more than 10 years. Elections were held in a few local unions and workplaces, but only a few. Unions were front organizations for the different political parties, and union activists were party activists and bureaucrats appointed by their respective parties.

Less than 5 percent of workers are organized. As a former woman unionist put it, "The union only shows up at workplaces when things get so bad that both the workers and the employers call the union." The unionists are very far from the reality at the workplaces. Many represent trades in which they never worked, while others have never been workers at all. They are appointed bureaucrats and in many cases unable to advise the workers on concrete matters.

The system of party appointments is

# 16 Days Work for a Pair of Sneakers

To earn the \$70 Nike charges for middleof-the-line running shoes, the Indonesian laborer who assembled them would have to put in almost 16 days of work – if she earned what Nike says is its "average" pay in Indonesia: twice the country's minimum wage of \$2.20 a day. (Many workers say Nike actually pays less; it took four years of desperate struggle for Indonesian workers to get the minimum wage up to \$2.20.)

In Vietnam, where Nike has begun to manufacture, it would take longer. The minimum wage there is \$30 a month. Double it – as the Nike praises itself for doing – and you still need more than a month of labor to earn the equivalent of one pair of midpriced Nike sneakers.

The Washington D.C.-based Campaign for Labor Rights claims to be in "solidarity" with Nike workers. However, it does not assist union organizing but rather seeks "independent human rights monitoring." A similar campaign led by the National Labor Committee last fall in "solidarity" with Gap workers resulted in negotiations which were closed to the workers themselves. When Nike workers make \$360 per year and their CEO makes \$864,583 per year (plus \$4.5 billion in stock) it is our entire economic system that is a "human rights violation." And workers in countries like Indonesia are already taking direct action, in concert with students who effectively control their campuses through strikes and takeovers. The Campaign should focus its "solidarity" on them, not more lawyers for "negotiation" and "monitoring."

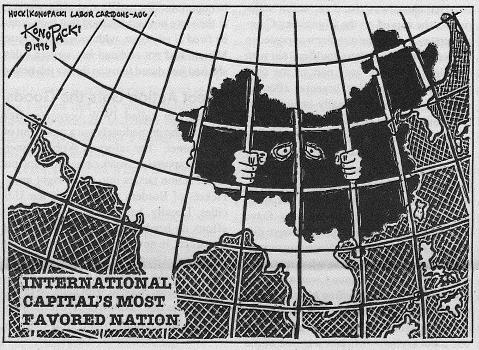
reflected in every aspect of the PGFTU. Seats on the executive committee are divided between the factions, as are seats on district councils.

The PGFTU is far from capable of defending the rights of Palestinian workers. This is a disaster at a time when the Authority is establishing itself and the "new Middle East" is emerging. Workers face grave challenges on all fronts. The general economic situation is steadily deteriorating. Almost all Palestinian workers have been expelled from their jobs in Israel. Unemployment is about 70 percent in the Gaza Strip and 50 percent in the West Bank and is constantly rising. Thus workers are obliged to accept low wages and poor working conditions.

At the same time, workers' basic rights are seriously threatened by the Authority. The draft labor law now being negotiated is worse than the Jordanian labor law which has been in force in the during the Israeli occupation. Several articles seem to be remnants from the turn of the century – for example, the right of employers to pay their workers in goods instead of money. Nothing is mentioned about environment or workplace safety.

The PGFTU is not able to put any pressure on the authorities at all, and so the chances that the final labor law will be better than the draft law are very slim. But this doesn't seem to worry the PGTFU as much as an emerging union center headed by Haider Ibrahim, based in Tunis. The two Fatah trade unions – the Tunis and the local – seem to be competing over who is the most loyal state union.

The banning of the PGFTU congress was a dirty trick on the part of Haider Ibrahim. Apparently he wrote Arafat warning him that oppositional groups were to take over. Security forces then showed up and banned the conference. The leadership of the PGFTU was not that dissatisfied with what happened. A handful of delegates extended the terms of the incumbent officers while Authority police waited outside, and adopted the first constitution ever in the history of the PGFTU. This constitution



are struggling for job security, fair wages, and a stop to violent repression by their bosses. The workers have built supportive links with radical unions around the world like the Swedish SAC and the International Workers Association. The workers welcome support letters c/o Amirul Haque Amin, National Garment Workers Federation, GPO Box 864, Dhaka, Bangladesh

### Moroccan food workers

300 workers went on strike Feb. 18 at a yeast plant in Cassablanca to force negotiations which have been demanded since 1993. On February 26, 200 workers at a yeast plant in El Jadida struck in solidarity. The workers formed their own security forces to defend their strike and workplace. Their common company - owned by the family of a former Morrocan Prime Minister - lockedout the striking workers. On April 17, police attacked a workers' demonstration in Rabat, sending 18 workers to the hospital. The International Union of Food Workers asks people to fax protests to Prime Minister Abdellatif Filali, Rabat, Morocco, 212-7-76-99-95, Employment Minister Amine Demanti, Rabat, Morocco, 212-7-76-88-81, Somadir General Management, Casablanca, Morocco, 212-2-24-84-68.

### Korean workers strike against bosses and piecards

The general-strike oriented Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) is up against two foes: the Korean Employers Federation (KEF) and the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU). The KEF refuses to accept workers' demands for a 40-hour work week and the FKTU refuses to accept closed shops.

In late June, the KCTU's 420,000 members supported a car workers strike in the face of state violence. Car workers joined already striking subway workers in Seoul who were protesting mass firings.

"If the government uses force, or intervenes in the disputes, our members across the country will go on strike industry by calls for transforming more than 170 unions into 12 sectoral unions. Many fear that the PGFTU leadership will negotiate a "fair" distribution of unions and seats. One party will "get" the health union, another the metal workers union, etc. In the meantime, ordinary union work will have to take a back seat and elections will be postponed again, especially those for the executive which has the unfortunate habit of reappointing itself.

Palestinian workers need unions, and if the union movement works directly and in a determined fashion at organizing in the workplace, a true union movement can be built from the bottom up. The principle of democratic elections is of paramount importance. If the members of a union are not allowed to choose their own representatives, the "unions" are but bureaucratic institutions without any legitimacy.

The unions need to establish their independence from the Palestinian authorities. The interests of the workers are clearly incompatible with the interests of the authorities, and the union movement will have no legitimacy if it is not independent.

— Sos Nissen

### Bosnian Miners Appeal for Aid

In May the NUM Durham area organised a visit to Britain of four Bosnian miners. Since the return of this delegation to Bosnia, Bosnian miners have been forced to take strike action since the authorities have not paid them the £335 per month that they were promised. They also require assistance in raising funds - £3500 per miner - to buy safety equipment for half of their members who are at present not working for the lack of this equipment.

The Bosnian miners played a central role in defending their multi- cultural communities and their union represents miners from all ehtnic backgrounds. They have a proud history of struggle, and the survival of their union is central to the survival of the union movement in Bosnia Herzegovina.

Financial donations payable to the Tuzla Miners Aid Fund can be sent to the Miners Hall, P O Box 6, Red Hill, Durham, UK. Excerpts from the union's appeal follow:

"The situation is very bad for miners throughout the countries of former Yogoslavia but worse of all in Bosnia... Throughout the war our union has fought for the basic principles of trade unionism. Now without international solidarity we cannot maintain our union.

"We need solidarity and help in three ways.

"1. Support for an independent union. We need financial and moral support to maintain a functioning, independent union. Most of the unions' property and equipment has either been destroyed or requisitioned during the war... The poverty of our members makes it impossible for us to restore these things so that we can carry out our union activities. We do not want to be dependent on government or mine management or on any political or religious group ... "2. Solidarity with the mining communities. The war and poverty has not just hurt the miners but also their families and communities. We need the assistance of working people and their unions to re-equip our schools, hospitals, clinics, libraries, etc and to restore a normal human existence.

To protest Nike's oppression of workers, call the company at 503/671-3579.

### Bangladesh Garment Workers call for support

Clothing workers in Bangladesh who are routinely beaten on their 16-hour shifts

### Claiming what is ours

Eighty-six families in Estrella Polar, Guatemala are "reclaiming our right to the land" by taking it over from a landowner who evicted them May 30 after they demanded ownership in lieu of back wages. And hundreds of squatters in Guatemala City are organizing public protests against evictions from their landlords and over 180 police agents dedicated to repressing them. industry," said Kwon Young-gil, head of the KCTU.

### 160,000 Filipinos strike

On June 18, 160,000 workers in 348 unions at 568 factories in Manila went on strike for an increase in the minimum wage and abolition of income taxes for workers. Ten thousand strikers marched in the streets of Manila chanting "The working class is the liberating class!"

### General strike in Ontario hits government austerity

Workers in the civil service and major factories in Peterborough went on a one-day strike June 24 to protest government cutbacks and regressive labor legislation. Twelve thousand strikers rallied in the city and heard speeches from the New Democratic Party whose government in the early '90s forced a regressive "social contract" on unions. "3. Restoration of production. We need Dm1000 to enable each non-working miner to return to work. (Personal safety equipment - boots, overalls, caps, lamps, as well as some mining machinery).

"Throughout the war our union has always tried to defend all working people and many of our members have made great sacrifices in order to maintain the right of all people to live and work together..."

— Fikret Suljie

# **Fighting Union-Busting at Borders Books**

In the winter of 1995-96, an IWW organizing campaign began at Philadelphia's Center City Borders. Borders workers were noticing a gradual "tightening-up" by management since the store was sold to K-Mart, and then later when it became a public corporation. New policies changed the spirit of the working environment and it began felt like any other impersonal, low-wage drudgery. Workers at Borders start at \$6.25 an hour, after three years some only make \$7.00 an hour.

In short time, 31 IWW union authorization cards were signed and submitted to the NLRB, and an election was set for March 27th.

### Promises, promises...

Borders launched a massive anti-union campaign, cloaked as a friendly plea for loyalty. Emotional appeals for a second chance to fix their mistakes permeated management's captive meetings. Vague promises of "more decision making power" and "better communication" were made if the workers could just find it in their hearts to vote "no." Management even hinted that they were happy for this opportunity to learn what their workers' concerns were. A new vice-president of human resources, who started as a bookseller and many trusted as a down-to-earth person, was put into place. The company's said she had all kinds of plans and should be given a chance. Employee evaluations were done during this time as well, with glowing reports and compliments for all.

This friendly facade cracked occasionally when scare tactics came into play. Workers were told that their compensation came from a fixed pool of money, and if they got a raise it would mean reducing benefits or having less books in the store. Manager Katy Ruggenburk illegally met with workers privately to interrogate them. A union-busting law firm was brought in. An atmosphere of distrust and paranoia was cultivated. This was very painful for many booksellers who were friends with the assistant managers after working together for many years. Borders blamed this atmosphere on the union and got away with it - on March 27th the IWW was defeated 25-20. Most "no" votes came from the back office staff who are generally higher paid, work closer to management, and have more input into store operations. The majority of the bookselling staff voted "yes."

After the union's narrow defeatr, even the pro-union voters expected some sort of positive response from management - a token raise, more control over working conditions, the slightest "thank you." Borders Group officials made handshaking-type visits with the rabble, but nothing changed for the better. For the first time, people had to work on Memorial Day. A new program of "mystery shoppers" was set up to test customer service skills. A memo written by General Manager Dave Stewart was posted in the staff room stating that the union was a thing of the past, and that talk about it was discouraged. Workers who cast their vote with the company felt betrayed, and some expressed interest in organizing for the next go-around. A core group continued talking to booksellers at other Borders. Several of them set up a meeting with the United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 1776. UFCW, at the time, was trying to organize a few other stores in the Borders system.



Miriam Fried (L) and Amy Menzer (who quit Borders after the election defeat) picketing Borders' Philadelphia store. They are speaking with a Temple University professor who decided not to shop at Borders until FW Fried gets her job back. photo: Bob Helms

ist. Her name was listed on union statements, she served on the Organizing Committee, and her phone number was posted in the staff room so workers could call her with questions. Miriam was part of the core group that continued to organize after the election, and she personally visited other booksellers in the Borders chain.

The inconsistently applied policy barred acceptance of checks with addresses different than the address printed on the supplied identification. Many cashiers ignored the policy, and managers routinely overrode it. She spoke with General Manager Dave Stewart saying that these policies were difficult to follow, and were damaging morale since workers never knew what to expect from management. Stewart was unwilling to discuss this matter, telling Miriam: "You have no decision-making power and no responsibility for decisions. That's what makes you a bookseller." Miriam was one of the few people that followed the policy that had booksellers calling managers over to the register every time an irregularity occurred, and told Stewart she didn't know if she could follow that policy anymore. He asked if she would follow the policy. Her answer was, "I don't know." Miriam was fired.

Twenty minutes later, Miriam walked past the time clock after collecting her personals, and saw Stewart hanging a note which read, "Miriam Fried is no longer employed at this store." He asked her, "When are you leaving?" Miriam hung up a note explaining the situation, waved good-bye to her friends and went home.

The last time someone was fired from Borders Center City was a few years ago for stealing. No one had ever been fired for making recommendations on policies her opinions. She and the rest of the workers at the store now understood that they could be fired at any time, with or without cause. Miriam had not violated any written rules, she had just dared to try to do her job better.

### **Direct Action Gets the Goods**

Miriam called IWW organizer Bob Helms, who immediately put a report out on the internet. The informal Wobbly emergency response network came alive and put direct action tactics into effect right away. Pickets of Borders sprang up in ten U.S. cities. Locally, her plight and the IWW's efforts on her behalf received attention in the streets, in newspapers, the radio, and on television. General Manager Dave Stewart and Borders Inc. President Richard Flanagan continue to be flooded with calls. Workers have told us that customers have left slips of paper in books commenting on her case.

This overwhelming of support ensures that when Miriam gets a settlement from Borders, it will not be lost in a political vacuum. Union organizers are fired every day quietly, and go through their appeals with the NLRB. After the proceedings, they are re-hired or not, just as quietly. The loud and consistent pressure that the IWW has brought to this case has set an example that has resonated throughout our city. After meeting us at the pickets, we have made dozens of contacts with people interested in organizing their own workplaces.

In Miriam's own words, "The IWW has done a tremendous job of calling attention to Borders. I think it will be a huge benefit not just to my reinstatement, but also toward getting Borders organized and toward getting the public to look at what these huge national retail chains are doing to workers." Miriam's eventual reinstatement will be a powerful, clear and public show to their customers and workers of their attempt at union busting. Customers who express their concern via e-mail receive a strange, depersonalized form letter beginning, "You, perhaps more than anyone, understand how important store employees are to Borders." Hilarious parodies of this lame effort have popped up across the internet, and picketers have fun trying to read it with a straight face to interested persons.

Back in the store, two days after Miriam was fired a new and stricter employee manual was issued, further alienating workers.

Thomas Carney, Borders Group Inc. vice-president and general counsel, wrote the IWW on June 20th threatening a lawsuit if we continued making "defamatory statements" in our fliers. The statement in question was the headline "Worker fired for organizing union" from a flyer distributed in Boston and elsewhere. The Philadelphia IWW immediately made this letter public, photocopying it and displaying it prominently on our table. We haven't heard from Carney since the Philadelphia Daily News broke this development and quoted Shannon Matthews, a union organizer and current Borders employee, saying, "They waited a couple of months and then fired her on what I see as pretense."

Adding to the embarrassment, Noam Chomsky wrote a letter June 25th stating, "The information available indicates that she was fired on an unsustainable pretext, and that the real reasons had to do with her organizing activities for IWW. Needless to say, that would be inappropriate and unacceptable." Our display of this letter was in itself enough to turn away at least ten people during one picket. City union workers have taped our fliers to the sides of trash trucks.

Miriam has applied for unemployment and her claim is being contested by Borders. Ironically, the claim filed by the person fired for stealing was not. The form sent by the unemployment office to the General Manager asked if Miriam was issued any write-ups. Their answer was no. It asked if she received warnings. Their answer was no. Any record of policy violations? No. The unsustainable answer for her firing was "willful misconduct." Despite the fact that Miriam had an excellent work record, Borders dug themselves in deeper and stood by their decision to fire her and challenge her compensation. A wage investigation is now underway because some of Miriam's records were not in order on the company's end.

### Are You Furious?

Philly Wobs have adopted "Are You Furious?," our own spin on the Borders motto "Are You Curious?," as our call to action. We've maintained picket lines and distributed thousands of flyers about Miriam's case. We have a major picket every Saturday. We've made a strategic plan to slowly escalate our tactics and still have a lot up our sleeves. In the coming weeks we unveil our snappy new "Are You Furious" t-shirts and a few members are working on a puppet show. You can help out by calling Borders' corporate headquarters at 1-800-644-7733. Call General Manager Dave Stewart at 215-568-7400 or fax 215-568-7466. Get a hold of the hilarious "personalized" form letter by expressing your concern to Borders spokesman Peter Blackshear at: <pblacksh@borders.com> - Alexis Buss If you would like a copy of our flyers, press releases, or clippings, please write: Wooden Shoe Books, attn: Alexis Buss, 112 S. 20th Street, Philadelphia PA 19103. For at-shirt ("Borders Fired an excellent bookseller for union organizing: Are You Furious?" on the front, "An Injury to One is an Injury to All" with IWW logo on back) send \$9 and large or extra large preference. Checks payable to Wooden Shoe.

### **Union Organizer Fired**

The whole thing exploded when IWW member Miriam Fried, always a stickler for details, questioned inconsistent check acceptance policies. During the campaign, Miriam was an outspoken pro-union activmaking recommendations on policies.

Miriam's firing was clearly intended to silence all talk of unions. She had an outstanding work record. In her March 7th performance evaluation her superviser described her as "one of the very best booksellers in the store, one of the most responsible and hard-working booksellers." It went on to say, "as an obviously perceptive and intelligent person, Miriam should feel free to propose improvements at all levels of store operation." General Manager Stewart noted, "Miriam takes her job seriously and provides a fine model for other booksellers with her work ethic and book knowledge. She is just great to work with, pleasant and always willing to shoulder her load and more. She is a major positive influence in the store and I look forward to her involvement in any area of store operation she may be interested in." Miriam thought that due to her reputation in the store, she had some job security and space to discuss to express

On the legal front, Miriam is using lawyers provided by the UFCW to take up her unfair labor practice charges.

### A Comedy of Errors

When Borders is asked by the press and concerned customers about Miriam's termination, they either do not comment or answer with a quick "Fried was not fired because she was a part of union activity."

Customers who have called to ask for management's side of the story have told us that after their conversations they are sure we are right. Dave Stewart himself assured tried to brush one caller off by saying she was fired for "a check cashing policy or *something like that..*" The customer, outraged, asked why Stewart, the one who did the firing, wasn't sure why he did it.

# An Injury to One Is An Injury To All

IWW members across the country were quick to respond to Border's firing of FW Miriam Fried. Picketlines went up in Boston less than 48 hours after this crude attempt to halt IWW organizing efforts. Since then, Wobblies and supporters have enthusiastically pitched in, picketing Borders (and, where no Borders stores are available, Borders-owned Waldenbooks) stores in Ann Arbor and Novi, Mich.; Los Angeles, San Francisco and Santa Barbara, Calif.: Seattle Wash.; Portland Maine; Philadelphia and Allentown Penn.; Chicago; Honolulu; Brooklyn and Long Island NY; Salt Lake City; and Baltimore. Several individuals have distributed leaflets, or called Borders' toll-free 1-800-644-7733 number, and new stores are continually being hit as Wobblies come together to teach Borders that they picked the wrong union to mess with.

### San Francisco

San Francisco Bay Area IWW members conducted spirited informational pickets June 21st and 22nd at the downtown San Francisco Borders Bookstore. Fliers were passed out; there were songs, chants and picket signs; and the black and red Wobbly banner was unfurled for all to see by the sidewalk next to the store, which is on Powell Street near Union Square.

Store management wasn't too happy about our presence, and posted a counterstatement on the front door and handbilled customers on the inside. The usual management bull. This is a new Yuppie upscale establishment, and to have their nicey-dicey image challenged by people demanding that they honor the rights of the workers employed by their chain just wasn't good PR for these hip retail capitalists.

Some middle-class types coldly ignored

our presence and walked past us into the store. Others stopped to talk to us, and decided not to go in after hearing about the injustice to our fellow worker in Philadelphia. Holding Borders' feet to the fire publicly around the country is the best hope for these \$6.50 an hour workers to obtain justice and union recognition.

-Harry Siitonen

Since then picketing has continued at the San Francisco store and at several Borders outlets in Bay Area suburbs.

### Honolulu

Nine members of the O'ahu GMB descended on the Honolulu Borders at 10 a.m. June 21st. Six of us entered the store armed with large quantities of a flier 'IWW Supders entrance inside the mall giving leaflets to folks entering and collecting names for a petition to be sent to Borders' HQ.

The rest of us showed off our fine red and black O'ahu GMB banner and large signs on the sidewalk just outside at the mall entrance and exit. The signs had large eyecatching black sabo-cats on a bright yellow background and such slogans as 'IWW supports Borders workers,' 'Stop Borders unionbusting' and 'Reinstate Miriam Fried.' The reception was generally good.

- Mike Long

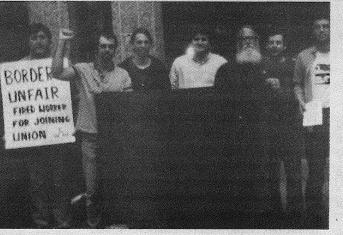
### Los Angeles

Wobblies have leafleted severar Borders, starting at the top floor handing leaflets to Borders workers and customers, and working their way down to the front of the stores, where they leaflet until ejected from the mall. One worker asked for union information, watching over his shoulder to make sure no manager caught him talking to a Wobbly.

### Ann Arbor

At the June 27 picket, a half dozen Wobs were joined by representatives from Jobs With Justice, the Homeless Action Committee, the United Paperworkers International Union and the Graduate Employees Organization. On the back of our flyer we've blown up the Chomsky letter with the headline "A Message to Borders from Noam Chomsky." My routine is to offer the flyer Chomsky side up with the comment "Borders fired a union organizer." Several people who walked by with a "no thank you" returned when it registered that we had words from Chomsky.

Borders workers keep joining the IWW after seeing information attacking us from Borders headquarters. — Fred Chase



Picketing the Boston Borders

### Salt Lake City

Seven Wobs visited the downtown Waldenbooks (in Crossroads Mall) June 26th. Three people entered the store and began passing out flyers to customers and employees. The rest picketed outside the store until security came and threw them out of the mall. However, one FW was overlooked and stayed inside the store for an hour and a half talking to customers and workers. Leafleting has continued at area Waldenbooks, and if Borders moves ahead on plans to open a Borders in the city Wobs are planning a proper welcome.

### Boston

We arrived at the downtown Borders June 17th with 1,000 leaflets hot off the photocopier, entered the store and asked to speak to the manager. When we explained that we were giving him an opportunity to take a stand against Borders' illegal union busting, he called in a higher manager. She insisted that whether Philadelphia Borders fired union activists or not was none of her concern. So we set out to make it her concern, and began picketing. (We later heard from Philadelphia that she spent quite some time on the phone asking why they were causing her grief.) Several people honored our lines,

and we distributed most of our leaflets.

We continued almost-daily picketing through July 11th, usually with two or three Wobs (we do have to work for a living, after all, and the best time to leaflet that store seems to be from 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.), but with a larger crew on evenings and Saturdays. Two Wobbly folksingers joined us one evening and we sang labor songs on the line. We've distributed some 7,000 leaflets to date and turned away scores of customers. We will continue leafletting a few times a week, and are hoping to broaden our horizons to the suburban Borders that encircle the city (though few of them will have such ideal picketing facilities - a single entrance on one of the busiest corners in the city, fronted by a huge public sidewalk).

Most people have been sympathetic, though a few confused the IWW with the bureaucratic monstrosities that pass for unions in the boss press. Even they were generally impressed when we explained that we were out here – and at Borders locations across the country – as volunteers, acting from the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

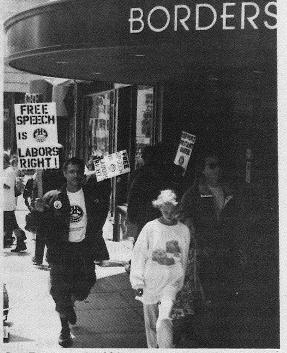
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### Philadelphia

In addition to picketing the Center City Borders store during lunchtime, Philadelphia Wobs have been organizing mass picketing on Saturdays. A 25-30 person picketline held down business June 22 as Miriam Fried told her story to prospective customers. The case has gotten extensive coverage in the local press, and many groups are joining the picket lines in solidarity.

### Seattle

The Puget Sound General Membership Branch began picketing June 21, distributing hundreds of copies of a leaflet about Borders union-busting to prospective customers and passers-by in the busy downtown district. The Borders manager asked for a leaflet, then told me that she'd read the "real" facts in the Fried firing, and they weren't at all what it said in our leaflet. I asked her if she was the manager. "Yes, I am," she replied. "Sorry," said I, turning my



San Francisco Wobblies picketing Borders June 20 photo: Robert Rush

back."I don't talk to bosses." I did, however, get a chance to inform a Borders clerk who was leaving for a break, and who told me that she was well paid at \$6.50/hour, that working at a bookstore 20 years ago I made nearly as much as she does now.

- Mark Manning

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### Pride At Work Supports Borders Workers

Pride At Work, the National Organization for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Labor, passed the following resolution unanimously at its second biennial conference held at Oakland CA last weekend.

This resolution was prefaced by the Borders Unfair! flyer from the Boston GMB, distributed to all conference-goers at the request of the resolutions committee.

Whereas An Injury To One Is An Injury To All,

**Therefore Be It Resolved** that we support the struggle for justice for union organizer Miriam Fried, and the right of workers at Borders Inc., a national bookstore chain, to engage in efforts to organize into the union(s) of their choice, and

Be It Further Resolved that we support the call to boycott Borders Inc. until such time as Miriam Fried is reinstated or otherwise compensated to her satisfaction.

## Nurses at New York hospital hold one-day strike

Registered Nurses at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City held a one-day warning strike July 9 against the hiring of under-trained "temporary" nurses and cutbacks in flex-time. The "unlicensed technicians" now staff the Emergency Room, Intensive Care Units and Clinics. There are approximately 1,500 RNs at Columbia-Presbyterian. Management

ports Borders Workers' and our just updated GMB pamphlet, 'Don't mourn, organize!' As planned, we split in all directions, three upstairs, three down, and started handing out copies of both to every Borders employee we could find and to lots of customers, with emphasis on the employees.

We had assumed all their store managers would have been alerted to the possibility of a visit from the Wobs and told what to do, so we had expected a maximum of five minutes before managers realized it was us and started shooting. In fact, they seemed totally unprepared and most workers were fairly receptive once they realized we were "on their side," "here to support them in their struggle," etc. We had covered every (visible) employee and most customers in the store comfortably before a rather nervous-looking junior manager intervened. As planned, we then regrouped in the street. Two members stayed outside the main Bor-

### Klan Protest...

### continued from page 3

the demonstration. In the aftermath, the IWW General Secretary/Treasurer, one of several spokespersons for the demonstrators, received a written death threat signed "Aryan Nation" because he had been quoted in the press saying that Klansmembers were class traitors. He also received word that the police sergeant who had led the assault on the demonstrators informed his brother "We're going to get your brother" because of another quote in which he stated that he was disgusted by police behavior at the demonstration. So far there have been no attempts to carry out either threat. placed ads in *The New York Times* for \$2000/ week "temporary" workers on June 30.

### Socialist "free" trade zone?

The Cuban government is inviting foreign companies to open up low-wage, taxfree factories for offshore production.

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### 12 Hours? ...

PAGE 10

worker and the disruption of the lives of their families. Under this system, a worker's time is not his own; he can be ordered to work whenever the company requires his or her services, and that includes Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Workers in that environment lose their dignity; they become the disposable property of the company.

By getting their employees to work long hours, companies are able to maintain their production quotas even while eliminating jobs. With all of the automation and technological advances that industry has made in recent years to expand productivity enormously, our economy should be in a position to go forward to a six-hour workday instead of backward to 12-hour shifts. A shorter workday would mean many more jobs for those now unemployed.

What are unions doing about this growing trend?

The AFL-CIO has clearly not made the 12-hour workday a major issue, either on its political agenda or in its organizing activities. At the big General Motors Saturn auto plant in Tennesee, which is cited by the United Auto Workers and others as a model in labor-management relations, the 12-hour workday is in effect. Bridgestone/Firestone, which defeated a long strike by the former United Rubber Workers, operates on a 12hour work schedule, as do other tire companies. Ar AT&T's Lucent factory in Orlando, Fla., Local 2000 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers negotiated a contract calling for a 12-hour workday. There is no evidence that the AFL-CIO intends to fight vigorously against this dehumanizing trend.

What have we done to safeguard and carry forward the contributions to our wellbeing from trade union activists of the past? And what will our legacy be to our children and future generations who will have to earn their livelihood in the 21st century? Will it be the 12-hour workday?

### **INDUSTRIAL WORKER**

# **Religion and Refugees**

God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: Sanctuary and the Politics of Religion, by Hilary Cunningham, University of Minnesota Press, 1995, \$19.95.

As the 24 pages of footnotes make clear, this book is the published version of Cunningham's doctoral thesis and is intended primarily for other scholars. Nonetheless, it remains valuable reading for anyone interested not only in the Sanctuary Movement, but also in the role of progressive churches in the United States today, a topic which anthropologists, guided by their assumption that religion is essentially a conservative force, have largely neglected in favor of studying the part played by conservative denominations in national life.

Although the concept of Sanctuary was known in the United States even in Colonial times and was revived in the days of the Underground Railroad and the '60s Antiwar Movement, the Sanctuary of today, as Cunningham points out, has its roots in the Reagan years, when the government cut back on programs for the poor and looked to the churches to take up the slack. As they shouldered this burden, the liberal churches became, almost of necessity, advocates for the poor and the disinherited whom they were serving. Already disposed by this work to take a critical attitude toward the government, they were further mobilized by the ":reverse missions" of Roman Catholic nuns and priests returning from Central America with first-hand accounts of the brutal repression and "low intensity warfare" supported by American policies there.

These "reverse missionaries" also brought accounts of the workings of Liberation Theology, a new current of Catholic thought which linked the Gospel to social justice and was embodied in Basic Christian Communities working directly to improve conditions. When liberal churches, first in Arizona and then across the country, looked

for a way to become involved in this struggle, the refugees fleeing American-supported violence provided both a cause and a method.

In 1980, the government had unwittingly provided even more ammunition to those wanting to help these people when the United States adopted the United Nations definition of a refugee, a politically colorblind category into which most of those fleeing Central America seemed to fit very well. But, as the churches soon discovered, these "undocumented aliens" had virtually no chance of obtaining political asylum in this country.

The first to take "direct action" in this area were Quakers operating a goat-raising cooperative outside Tucson, Arizona, close to the Mexican border. When Jim Corbett, a local rancher, tried to bond out a Salvadoran refugee, he learned that there was a quasi-Underground Railroad helping these refugees in Mexico, but not support system for them once they had crossed the Rio Grande. He and several friends then set up the Tucson refugee support group, based at Southside Church. From these humble beginnings, Cunningham explains, grew up a network reaching from the Guatemala-Mexico border to literally scores of American churches with hundreds of sponsors.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, angered by highly unfavorable media coverage, responded with infiltration and indictments. But these activists stole a march on their pursuers by openly declaring sanctuary at several; churches and following this declaration with their own indictment of the devastating effects of American policies south of the border. The trial of 11 Sanctuary workers in 1986 was a hollow victory for the government. While a show trial that allowed no evidence to be introduced regarding the motivations of the Sanctuary workers brought eight convictions for alien smuggling, the movement was not

## **Book Reviews**

crushed but invigorated.

Yet, as Cunningham's narrative makes clear, all was not harmonious within the Sanctuary Movement either. There were rifts between Tucson and Chicago over which people were to be helped. For Tucson, anyone wanting to leave Central America was eligible. For Chicago, candidates could only be actual or potential victims of political violence. At the heart of this dispute lay a distinction between civil disobedience, the public breaking of unjust laws in order to change them, and civil initiative a doctrine based in the Nuremberg trials, that citizens should act directly in obedience to just laws already on the books. For Tucson, keeping anyone out of the United States represented a gross injustice to be met with civil disobedience. For Chicago, only helping the politically persecuted gave the movement legal sanction for its actions.

In the end, both sides were victorious. Faced with growing public opposition and a lawsuit filed by more than 80 mainstream churches and refugee assistance organizations, the government agreed to a settlement giving Central American asylum applicants new hearings unprejudiced by the results of earlier proceedings and independent of U.S. policies toward their homelands.

It is not Cunningham's mission to place the Sanctuary Movement in a global context. But she does note in her final chapter the connection between the New Global Order, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and the flood of refugees from Central America. As Cunningham sums up, "the presence of Central American political fugitives and the growing number of refugees... also compeleach person, Christian or not, to engage in a critical reassessment of global relationships, of national policies, of the relation of morality to politics."

- John Gorman

- Harry Kelber

## A business union or a UNION?

The IWW lost an NLRB election a while back. Some workers at the shop are now considering trying again, but this time with a business union. The reasons given are: 1.) The IWW is too small. 2.) The IWW is too "radical" 3.) The do-it-yourself approach of the IWW is too much work.

Yep, we're small. But when the business union under consideration had a major strike going on a few years back around where IWW General Headquarters is presently located, the IWW was among the unions working in a coalition to support the strikers. We helped organize rallies and support picket lines when the business union's resources proved insufficient.

Individual unions "adopted" stores dur-

little input from the workers, and denying the workers local autonomy. I fear that if the workers go with this second choice, they will find out down the road that the union in question is "too conservative"; and what it's interested in conserving is union dues, not the best interests of the workers.

Our do-it-yourself approach is too much work. Well, it ain't easy. But it proves the old adage "If you want something done right, do it yourself." When you turn over control of your destiny to a business union, you can expect them to come in and negotiate a nice neat contract while you're relaxing at home. But what that contract is contains is likely to be what's in the best interests of the business union, not the best interests of the workers who didn't care to be involved in hammering it out. The bottom line with business unions is to collect initiation fees and dues from as many members as possible while providing as little service as is absolutely necessary. We, on the other hand, collect as little initiation fees and dues as necessary to provide as much assistance as possible to workers willing to do it themselves. The IWW has been involved in numerous organizing drives which eventually were turned over to business unions by the workers who decided that doing it themselves even with strong support from the IWW was too much work. It isn't unusual for workers in such drives to come back to us down the road with complaints that their interests are not being protected by the business union contract. We aren't surprised. Only workers themselves can make sure that their interests are protected.

### Mersey Dockers...

Harbour Company did at Seaforth base in 1993. Intensified day-hours of work superseded the 10-hour day. Our grandparents fought for the legal 8-hour day, yet we are now faced with 12-hour shifts and longer.

Dehumanisation is the strategy. Disciplinary action was the order of the day, when port workers dared to oppose the draconian obnoxious employment contract.

Their strategy from 1989, when the National Dock Labour Scheme was abolished by the Tory government, was to impose six separate employment contracts in the port of Liverpool to prevent unity and solidarity and weaken the union. They derecognised elected shop stewards...

With this abuse of industrial power by the MDHC, the dismissal of portworkers national support action from other dockworkers, the MDHC informed shipowners that within two weeks the port would operate without the sacked dockers.

The Mersey Port Shop Stewards' Committee, confronted with this reality, turned to international dockworkers for support, and this has been achieved.

A total boycott of the port of Liverpool is gradually being put in place. This boycott ... will inevitably lead to our reinstatement.

We have no illusions in parliamentary inquiries or other arbitration services. We have faith in our own unity, the correctness of our stand, the righteousness of our principles and faith in the support of the world's dockers.

We are not like the early Christians waiting for Nero to put his thumb up or down. The lion will not snap our head off. We will be victorious. We will be reinstated

ing that strike. We'd walk the line with the workers, bring them food, generally try to keep worker morale high. Within a few weeks workers at some stores adopted by business unions were grumbling because they were not getting adequate assistance. Nothing but high praise was heard from the workers at the store adopted by the IWW. Our branch membership was less than 1% of that of some of the business union locals. But we gave 100% of our efforts. Size isn't what matters. It's determination and dedication. The IWW is small, but determined and dedicated.

Yep, we're "radical." We believe in and practice rank-and- file democracy. That's a radical concept in contrast to the top- down approach of the business unions. The business union under consideration has a long tradition, at least in the midwest, of discouraging worker participation, signing concession and sweetheart contracts with

was inevitable. In September 1995 a company called Torside, in conjunction with the MDHC, sacked young portworkers whose only crime was maintaining an agreed overtime payment.

When these young dockers were dismissed, the other portworkers had no choice but to implement trade union principles and refuse to cross their picket line. The MDHC then imposed 'breach of contract' as an excuse to dismiss all portworkers.

They thought unofficial action left the portworkers vulnerable. Knowing we had no official support from the union and no

Decertifying one union to go with another is tough. All workers would be well advised to decide the first time around whether they want their contract done right or easy. You can't have it both ways. If you want it done right, we'll be glad to help.

> Fred Chase General Secretary-Treasurer

In talks with ACAS, MDHC insultingly offered to take on extra dockers to replace ancillary workers who will be offered severance payments to make way for 40-60 sacked dockers! The scabs to remain in place!

Mass meetings on 31 May and 7 June unanimously rejected this 'offer.'

The bizarre behaviour of the dock company is explained by their aim to get rid of all their workforce and replace it with a small core workforce backed up by casual labour. Despite working throughout the dispute, the ancillary workforce is to be cast to one side. As a sign of the real intention of MDHC, at Norse Irish Ferries the scab workforce has been sacked for refusing to work on half wages!

The arrogance of the dock company will soon be exploded...

### **AUGUST 1996**

### A Kids' Book that is a Kicker

Lobster Tales by Laura Lobster and illustrated by Rowan Waugh. Infinite Possibilities Press (POB 3615, Oakland CA 94609), \$10.

Laura Lobster is the literary persona of none other than Fellow Worker Eugene Nelson, who has turned his writing talents to produce this pithy children's book that can teach a number of moral lessons to children from age 9 to 90.

FW Nelson, who has had limited occasion to savor the delights of boiled lobster, came out with this 70-page book of stories about lobsters and their means of survival in a world dominated by two-legged creatures. Besides being an amusing fantasy of dialogues between these tasty crustaceans, there is to be found some pointed commentary on the foibles of our own species and our failure to make this a better world for all forms of life.

One of the tales, The Lobster Who Climbed the Washington Monument, tells of Climber, who wanted to see up close what George Washington looked like. Upon reaching the top he was quite unimpressed by the pointy head and the general ugliness. So the rest of his life he goes around telling his fellow lobsters, "Whatever you do, don't fall for hero worship. The so-called heroes are the least interesting people of all!"

Other chapter titles can give an indication of the social content of this book: The Great? Lobster War, T.S. Eliot was a Jerk, The Lobsters Who Started a Radio Station, The Anti-Oil Spill Patrol, The Coming of the Pollution Patrol, plus many other delightful fantasies. Rowan Waugh's illustrations of anthropomorphic lobsters enhance this most entertaining book, which can be guaranteed to provide enjoyable reading as well as understandable social commentary to old and young alike.

- Carlos Cortez

### Missing in Action

That was the title of a story in the June 12 Wall Street Journal. It seems that "about a million men" are unaccounted for in the unemployment statistics. Where are these former wage-slaves?

Many are languishing on welfare, in states where they can still get it; others are retraining themselves for jobs they'll be too old to land. Famed liberal economist Lester Thurow estimates that the number of missing wage-slaves amounts to 5.8 million. Add to this the 1.5 million doing time in the slammers of Freedomland and you get quite a large "reserve army of labor" waiting to sell their skills to the highest bidder.

Well, high may not be the appropriate adjective. As the Journal writer opines, "The missing men, however, may also indicate a slack labor force, which could enable business to expand and hire more people

### INDUSTRIAL WORKER

# **Books for Rebel Workers**

One Big Union. by IWW.

The basic introduction to the structure and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World. \$2

The General Strike.

Ralph Chaplin's musical version of the IWW Preamble notes "without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn." He develops that idea in this essay. \$2

Labor Law for the Rank & Filer. by Staughton Lynd.

Revised and updated, this classic selfhelp manual is subtitled: "building solidarity while staying clear of the law." \$7

IWW Little Red Songbook (36th Edition)

103 labor songs from around the world, with music. Includes classics and new songs by Billy Bragg, Anne Feeney, Charlie King, Utah Phillips, etc. \$10

**Rebel Voices.** 

Songs of the IWW sung by IU 630 Wobs . Tape \$10.

### **AFL Ousts Clinton Critic**

AFL-CIO headquarters removed longtime Arkansas AFL-CIO president J. Bill Becker June 13th, ordering a special mail ballot to replace him. No grounds for the action were listed in the AFL-CIO News. Becker is a long-time critic of former Arkansas governor Bill Clinton, who he once described as a man who would shake your hand and pat you on the back - and piss down your leg while you weren't looking.

Meanwhile, Clinton was invited to speak to the American Federation of State, COunty & Municipal Employees convention, where he pleaded "guilty" to charges that he supports unions. Who raised such ludicrous "charges" is unclear.

men may act as a buffer against the threat of wage-push inflation." Wage-push inflation is capitalist code for the principle that wages must be kept low so that profits can be pushed to the sky. Increased wages cause lower profits, not higher inflation. The Journal casts aspersions on those dwon-sized wage-slaves who refuse to take their medicine - a pay cut in order to get another job. But he assures his bourgeois readers, they'll come around. The capitalist politicians are cutting programs for the needy left and right and soon these proto-lumpens will be forced to do their part in the MacDonaldized economy of the future.

Welcome to the millenium wage-slaves; just like the last one. Ain't it time to chuck the bosses off our backs? If you haven't done so already, join the OBU, the quickest ticket to a better way of living and freedom from wage-slavery. Your liberation will only come about, if you act for yourself.

We Have Fed You All for 1,000 Years.

Utah Phillips sings Wobbly songs. Tape \$10.

**IWW Buttons** 

Fire Your Boss! \$1.

Black Cat/Direct Action, \$1.

IWW Globe circled by motto: "Labor is Entitled to All it Creates." Black & Red, \$1.50.

**Rebel Voices** 

**An IWW Anthology** Edited, with introducti



An outstanding collection of articles, cartoons, songs & poetry from the IWW's first six decades. In addition to material on IWW philosophy and our greatest hits (Joe Hill, Solidarity Forever), the book includes extensive material on agricultural, mining, textile and timber worker organizing, and a useful (if too short) collection of materials from 1924 to 1964. \$22

## Labor History

Fellow Worker: The Life of Fred Thompson. Compiled by D. Roediger.

Autobiographical reflections and philosphy from a veteran Wobbly who bridged the generations. \$10

The Great Bisbee Deportation of July 12, 1917

compiled by Rob Hanson. \$2.50 Solidarity Forever-An oral history of the IWW. Steward Bird, Dan

Georgakas & Deborah Shaffer, eds. A compilation of interviews with former and veteran Wobblies. Badly transcribed, but interesting reading. \$11

### Memoirs of a Wobbly.

by Henry McGuckin.

The memoirs of a rambling Wobbly organizer of the 1910s. How they hoboed, organized and lived. Free speech fights and "fanning the flames of discontent." \$5

Rebel Girl, the autobiography of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. \$9.95. Working the Waterfront.

### Wobbly longshoreman Gilbert Mers tells

The Centralia Tragedy of 1919: Elmer Smith and the Wobblies by Tom Copeland. \$17.50.

The American Labor Movement:

A New Beginning. by Sam Dolgoff. A veteran IWW organizer traces the history of labor militance and offers his vision for building a new, radical, rankand-file labor movement. \$5

Hard Rock Epic, Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910 by Mark Wyman, \$13.

Strike! by Jeremy Brecher.

A history of U.S. workers' struggle from workers' point of view. Argues class upsurges are based in everyday live and rank & file initiative. \$15

**Rise and Repression of Radical** 

Labor. by Daniel Fusfeld. A short history of the U.S. movement from the 1877 strikes through the 1918 red scare trials, deportations and murders. \$5

Sacco and Vanzetti, The Anarchist Background. by Paul Avrich. hardcover, 265 pages, \$15.

Beyond the Martyrs, A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900. by Bruce C. Nelson.

A social history of Chicago's anarchists & socialists of the period. \$10.

The Revolution Within The Revolution, Workers' Control in

- Rural Portugal. by Nancy Barmeo.
- Compelling account of a resurgent, revolutionary agrarian movement during "The Revolution of the Carnations" and its aftermath, \$15.

Emma Goldman in Exile, From the Russian Revolution to the Spanish Civil War by Alice Wexler, \$14.

Year One of the Russian Revolution by Victor Serge, \$12.

The Union League Movement in the Deep South by Michael Fitzgerald, \$12.

Plain Folk in the New South: Social Change and Cultural **Persistence**, 1880-1915 by I.A. Newby, \$10.

Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry by Priscilla Long. \$10.00.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men by Eward Agee & Walker Evans. Text and photos of 1930s workers. \$9.

The Kid From Hoboken, An Autobiography. Bill Bailey, \$12.95. A People Betrayed – November 1918: A German Revolution by Alfred Döblin. \$8.00.

### Bumperstickers

Six bumperstickers, each with IWW Globe on left. Slogans: Solidarity Forever, One Big Union, Because Capitalism Cannot Be Reformed, An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!, Don't Mourn Organize, Labor is Entitled to

without pushng up wages. So, the missing

— Flora Tristan

## **Available from IWW Branches**

### **T-SHIRTS**

Wobbly Globe, (S, M only), Join the OBU (L, XL only), Sabo-Cat, General Strike (S, M, L, XL) \$12 each, 100% cotton. State size & color (red or white) San Francisco Branch, PO Box 40485, SF CA 94140.

Film Workers (worker stepping over Hollywood sign), One Big Union \$10 Red shirts, black print. Button: Don't Whine - Organize Film Workers Organizing Committee IU 630. \$1. Los Angeles GMB, 1748 Clinton St., LA CA 90026. Ask for list of books about the IWW. 213-353-9885.

IWW Globe Black on Red, L or XL. \$14 + \$3 s/h. P&L Printing, 1130 Bannock, Denver CO 80204

Voltairine de Cleyre On Marriage \$2.50. Objectives of Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Rocker. \$1. Women & Imprisonment in the U.S. \$2.50. Ask for catalogue. Philadelphia GMB, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia PA 19143

### **OUTSIDE U.S.**

Canadian Songbook \$5. 36th Edition Little Red Songbook \$10. Toronto Branch, c/o J. Dymny, 11 Andrews Ave., Toronto ONT M6J 1S2

British Isles - Songbook (36th Edition) £4 post-paid; a selection of IWW literature is available from IWW, 75 Humberstone Gate, Leicester LE1 1WB. Black IWW t-shirts, red globe logo £5 plus post and packing from Oxford IWW of 42 years on the Texas waterfront as a rank-and-file radical. Workers' history as it should be told. Hardcover: \$20

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### **AUGUST 1996**

# What kind of union do we want?

Perhaps the first question which we need to look at is the simple but too often overlooked one of why we need unions.

You don't need a degree in sociology to realise that employers care little for their staff, and that we are only here working for them because they are making a profit out of us. We've all seen the ways in which employers try to increase their profits, not to benefit their staff but in order to line their pockets with even more wealth, wealth which we ourselves have created.

As part of this, we have seen new technology rolling in, reducing the number of people needed to do the work.

One thing that should be clear is that our employers are only interested in themselves, but also, and most importantly, that their interests are opposed to ours. For instance, to maximise their profits they seek to get the most work out of us as possible whilst paying us the minimum they feel that they can get away with in return.

However, they will not admit this as it would be harmful to their interests, for they seek to avoid conflict through winning us over to their ideas. Thus intelligent employers devise ways to make us think they do value us, that we are part of a team, and most importantly that we will benefit from the success of the organisation.

This is the reasoning behind Profit Sharing and Profit-Related Pay, for through giving us a few perks they think (normally quite correctly) that they will get even more work out of us. By feeding us a few extra crumbs, they get an extra loaf out of us. Those who think that greater profits will automatically result in greater wages and benefits for us are wrong (do they really believe in the goodness of human nature?).

As several recent studies comparing company profits, wage rates and inflation have shown, there is no direct correlation between profits and wage increases. In fact, real wages have been falling steadily in recent years, at the same time that company profits have been soaring. We will only benefit from higher profits if our employers are scared that if we don't, then we will cause them some trouble.

So why do we put up with it? Well, short of having the money, energy and knowhow to set ourselves up in business, we haven't really got much choice except to work for someone else. Just stop a minute and consider the meaning of those words: "work for someone else." Although we are told that we live in a free country, the reality is that slavery, more specifically wageslavery, is alive and well.



Edinburgh Wobblies joined the Miners' Gala Day march June 8, carrying a banner showing the IWW emblem surrounded by the words "Labor Is Entitles to All It Creates" and another reading "One Big Union – Public Service Workers IU 670."

There are an estimated 44,000 people in the UK earning £1 an hour (about \$1.35), a good example of how wage slavery forces people to work for others at whatever rates of pay they can get.

The only way that we can win any real improvements in our lives is either through industrial action or the threat of it. Where that threat doesn't exist, for instance in workplaces where people are poorly organised or hostile to unionism, working conditions are determined according to the whim of the employer.

The purpose of a union should be to unite us, to give us the strength to bring about those improvements in our lives which we are unable to bring about through our own efforts. It is not through relying upon union leaders to do things for us, but through organising ourselves and acting in union (the true meaning of unionism) that we will make our lives better.

When it comes down to it, we are the only people who really understand and care about our problems, and we are the only ones who can sort them out. We certainly have the power to do that; the only question is, when are we going to?

The ultimate purpose of a union should be to give us the ability to win more control

## Love That 12-Hour Workday!

One of the prime legacies that trade premium pay for weekends.)

over our lives. Every concession that we win from our employers is a reduction in their control over the workplace and an increase in ours. The more we stand up for ourselves and the less we let management run our lives, the better our lives will be.

It may be asked that, if we reject management's right to manage, what do we propose to put in its place? The answer is the right to *collectively* and *democratically* manage the workplace ourselves. This does not mean the right to do totally as we please, for freedom goes hand in hand with responsibility. What it does mean is that we will have the responsibility of running the workplace ourselves, with the freedom to decide as a team how it will be run, for what purpose, and how we will share the benefits.

At the moment we all have the responsibility of running our respective workplaces, though few of us have any real decisionmaking power. By asserting ourselves we can win more control over our lives and reduce the degree to which we are working for other people to satisfy their needs and desires.

If we are all agreed that we need unions, it is now up to us to decide what form of union we would like. For example, do we want a union composed solely of people working for one company, or do we want a wider membership?

Company-based unions, whilst having a vast amount of knowledge of their own

many government and business decisions affect our lives wherever we work, it would make good sense for us to organise on a broader level.

When our employers see other employers getting away with cutting wages and staff, it encourages them to think about doing the same to us. Unfortunately, when we see that everyone else is having their wages cut or being thrown out of work, it reduces our own confidence to stand up for ourselves. Therefore it is in our interests to help other workers win their battles, as it will help us to win our own.

If we can effectively support other workers to resist their employers, we may well discourage our own from even considering trying to do the same to us. This is why solidarity, as expressed in the phrase 'An Injury to One Is An Injury to All' is so essential.

How about co-ordinating our actions so that strikes in different companies, industries, countries even, can be organised to occur on the same dates, so as to achieve the maximum effect? This will have the double effect of increasing our power to stand up for ourselves, whilst also keeping the disruption caused to normal people's lives to the minimum.

As the world is becoming more and more dominated by multi-national companies, multi-national unionism is becoming increasingly necessary. As long as we restrict ourselves to national unions, our employers will continue to run rings around us.

Take this as an example: a company has branches in six countries and decides to increase its profits by lowering wages by 5 percent. They decide it will be safer to implement the cuts one country at a time, so as to minimise any disruption to their business caused by any resistance they might encounter.

In the first country the workers strike in protest, but they have little effect on the company as it can survive on the proceeds from its other branches. Eventually the demoralised workers return to work and are forced to swallow the pay cut.

The company then cuts the pay of the second country's workers, who, having seen the workers int he first country beaten, gives in without a fight. Thus the company proceeds to cut all its employees' pay, from country to country, picking one off after the other.

If the company had at the first moment been faced with the combined resistance of all its employees from all countries, then it would never have got away with it.

The form of organisation which we believe to be the most efficient and capable of defending our interests is therefore global in scope. It is only through forming One Big Union of all workers, as promoted by the IWW, that we will be able to maintain nd improve the quality of our lives into the 21st

unionists of past generations left us was their determined battle over some eight decades to finally win the eight-hour workday. History has only partially recorded the militant strikes, huge demonstrations, persistent lobbying and incredible sacrifices that were required to achieve the American Dream of working people during those years: eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep and eight hours for leisure, which workers could use for their own enjoyment and selfdevelopment. The advent of the eight-hour day, 40-hour week was probably the most important factor in developing a middle »class in the United States and raising the living standards of the American family.

Now, in the year 1996, Corporate America is taking it away from us. More and more factories are instituting the 12hour workday on the pretext that they need it to operate on an around-the-clock basis, seven days a week. (They haven't considered the idea of three eight-hour shifts with In a survey of 800 companies that employ 1.000 or more workers in all types of businesses, a New York management consulting firm found that 34 percent used "compressed" work schedules for some of their work force and that 14 percent were considering adopting such schedules.

It is worth remembering that the issue that forced the lockout at A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. in Decatur was the union's refusal, by a 96 percent margin, to go along with the company's work schedule of three 12-hour workdays on and three days off. In addition, after 30 days, workers would rotate from a 6 a.m.-6 p.m. day shift to 6 p.m.-6 a.m. night shift, with work on Saturdays and Sundays at straight time.

The media usually can single out some workers who say they love the 12-hour workday because it gives them three days off, but no one dares to deny what that kind of shift does to the body and mind of a *continued on page 10*  company, are too limited in scope and too century small in size to be very effective. As so

— X343263

### Be a Wobbly — Join the IWW...

**Real Democracy!** All policy decisions are made by referendum. The IWW has just one (modestly) paid officer, the General Secretary-Treasurer. The 7-member General Executive Board is elected annually by the entire membership. All officers may be recalled by referendum. IWW workplaces and branches make their own decisions about bargaining and strategy.

To Join mail this form with a check or money order for initiation and first month's dues to IWW, 103 West Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti MI 48197, or contact your local delegate. **Dues:** Monthly income under \$800: \$5 per month; Income \$800-1700: \$9 monthly; Over \$1700: Dues \$12. Initiation Fee is same as one month's dues. A low-income worker can join for as little as \$10.00

I agree to abide by th	orker, and that I am not an e e IWW constitution and regu ples and make myself acquai	ilations.
	Occupation:	
Address:	City:	
State/Prov.:	Zip:	Phone: