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EDUCATION ORGANIZATION EMANCIPATION

Borders' union-busting hit on three continents

The IWW campaign against union-busting Borders Books has spread to England, where organizers were threatened with arrest at Borders' new flagship store in London.

Melbourne Wobs have been using the "Are Your Furious?" resource kit to good effect, getting the word out about Borders' union-busting as the book chain prepares to open its first stores in Australia. A Melbourne University student paper printed extracts from Borders' union-busting manual, which is also excerpted on *Mother Jones'* web site. (The full text is on-line at the Borders cyberpicket, <http://parsons.iww.org>)

Two Wobblies turned up at a Billy Bragg appearance at the London Borders and distributed the following leaflet:

Support Borders Workers, Not Borders Owners

"The arrival of Borders Books in London seems to have been greeted with a lot of excitement by London's book reading population. Borders arrived in London by buying out the Books etc chain of 22 shops, almost exclusively in Central London. A good buy and one which resulted in a tidy profit for former owner and current Chief Executive of Borders UK.

This transatlantic colonisation of the market was probably inevitable. The world's economy is becoming more international and there never was any reason why the world of the bookshop should be left out. The cosy world portrayed in "84 Charing Cross Road" has long gone. Rather than having kindly visitors from across the sea the bookshop world has now been lumbered with a predatory monster that seeks to do for books what MacDonalds has done for our eating habits!

Borders in the USA has a very bad reputation as an employer. Two years ago the IWW was involved in an organising drive at the Borders store in Philadelphia. After ... intense intimidation the workers voted narrowly (only 4 votes) not to unionise with the IWW's General Distribution Workers Industrial Union. Shortly after that vote an organiser in the store, Miriam Fried, was sacked on a bogus pretext.

The IWW immediately launched a boycott campaign which reached Borders stores in cities all over North America. ...

The employment practices of Borders

continued on page 12

Abusive bosses in postal service

The United States Postal Service announced the creation of a commission to investigate violence and safety issues in the workplace Oct. 6. This five-person panel will report to Postmaster General William Henderson, who was quoted by the Associated Press as saying that "no responsible employer can ignore [the] reality" of violence at the workplace. But what happens when the "responsible" employer is also the party responsible for instigating or perpetrating violence?

This is not the first time that USPS management has taken a step to address the problem of violence. However, their clumsiness and downright contempt for workers' rights does not bode well for the Postmaster General's ability to respond to the basic need for dignity which is connected to so many postal violence incidents.

When there is a violent incident, past practice has been to put a blanket on the issue, send some counsellors to hush everyone up and maneuver to restore the status quo. Sometimes it's a party, sometimes it's a feel-good sign. But it is never a fair hearing or an honest look into the conditions that the USPS imposes on its employees.

October 10, 1991: Joseph Harris, a postal clerk, shot his former supervisor, her boyfriend, and two mail handlers. Harris was fired in April 1990, his union could not get him reinstated. Harris, like many other postal workers, was ordered to take a "fitness for duty" psychological exam performed by a doctor who would be chosen and paid for by the Postal Service. When he refused the terms of this arrangement, proceedings were initiated which resulted in his firing. After the incident, the Post Office opened as soon as the blood could be cleaned up, and posted a sign in the lobby that instructed customers to "not ask the workers any questions re-



garding the events of yesterday."

November 8, 1991: letter carrier Thomas McIlvane lost his final appeal for reinstatement to his job at the Royal Oak post office in suburban Detroit. (He was fired for alleged insubordination.) Six days later, McIlvane walked across the loading dock of his former workplace with a sawed-off .22 Ruger Rimfire rifle. He entered the sorting room, grabbed a hostage, and went through to the office, where he wounded four people, and killed a former supervisor, the labor arbitrator who turned down his appeal, two other workers, and then finally himself.

Shortly after these two incidents, the USPS set up a nationwide 1-800 number for employees to report potentially violent co-workers. But instead of calls from workers suspicious of their friends and co-workers, postal workers called in to report abuse by

management. The post office shut down the number after it was overloaded with these complaints and did nothing to address the concern.

Union stewards who try to use the grievance procedure have been met with discipline and ridicule by their superiors. In 1993, John Ring, a letter carrier from Queens, N.Y., was ordered to undergo psychiatric examinations for filing too many grievances for violations of the union contract. The psychiatrist he saw, a political refugee from Russia, gave Ring a clean bill of psychological health and wrote that the incident reminded him of the way Soviet rulers used psychiatry to discredit and suppress dissidents. In Illinois, a clerk who filed grievances retired. On her last day at work, management gave her a "present" of a box of

continued on page 6

Korean workers against the IMF

[As we go to press, we have received a list of 96 South Korean unionists imprisoned on charges stemming from the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions' fight against government austerity programs designed to force workers to bear the costs of the economic crisis. New arrests are continuing on an almost daily basis.

[Among those imprisoned are KCTU General Secretary Koh Young-ju on charges of conspiring to obstruct business through general strike; Kang Han-kyu, chairperson of the KCTU's Pusan Regional Council on charges of obstructing business in the Pusan subway strike; Kim Ho-seun, president of the Korean Federation of Public Sector Unions and several members of the telecommunications union for striking; and scores of others on charges ranging from illegally striking to obstructing business.]

In the midst of the largest depression in 30 years in South Korea, thousands of unemployed and fired workers rallied in Seoul Sept. 12 to protest the illegal lay-offs and the role of the IMF and World Bank in implementing a structural adjustment program. They were also angry that the Kim Dae Jung government has actively encouraged the chaebols (large private family monopolies) to implement massive downsizing in flagrant violation of union rights.

The demonstration followed an international "People Against The IMF" conference called by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (www.kctu.org) and an international solidarity group in Seoul, the Policy

and Information Center For International Solidarity (<http://sdp.cpnet.org.kr/pacis>).

The internationalization of Korean capital has now led the union movement in Korea to reach out for greater links with workers around the world to fight similar policies and bosses. Attending the conference was a striking worker from the Han Young plant in Tijuana and after the conference he visited the factory floor of Hyundai assembly plant in Ulsan.

Reports and discussion at the conference pointed to the devastating effects of United States and IMF policies throughout Asia and around the world.

Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia, argued against further IMF loans that keep the same corrupt politicians in power. The Indonesian people, Pakpahan said, are paying for these "loans" while the money goes in the

pockets of the ruling families without any conditions on labor and democratic rights.

During the conference more than 240 Korean unionists were either under arrest or facing arrest warrants for striking and union organizing. The U.S.-supported Kim Dae Jung government has said that workers are not legally able to strike over lay-offs, and so many unionists now face jail for striking. The KCTU has filed a complaint with the ILO charging the government with violating international labor rights. Hundreds of thousands of workers are angry that their companies are ignoring their unions and implementing lay-offs without negotiations.

During the Hyundai strike in August, tens of thousands of workers occupied the plants and threatened to destroy equipment if police invaded. Police stayed away as a result of this mobilization, forcing Hyundai

continued on page 9



In This Issue...

Part-timers & the Crisis in Higher Education

Boycott Hyundai

Free Radio, Free Speech

Uncovering IWW History



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Green Capitalism

I was interested to see in your latest editorial that you're still "bearish" on Green Capitalism. I'm enclosing an expose of Whole Foods Market from the Sept. 11 *Texas Observer*. You might want to warn your readers about their shenanigans, and that shopping there will only encourage "Chainsaw John Mackey."

Whole Foods used to care more about protecting its "Green" image. Ten years back they had UFW pickets arrested, while claiming to support the union. As *Texas Labor Update* reported: "Members of the United Farm Workers union picketed Austin's trendy Whole Foods Market on November 11, 1987, claiming that the so-called organic grapes distributed by Whole Foods were actually tainted with harmful pesticides. Supposedly Pavich Family Farms, the brand distributed by Whole Foods, used methyl bromide to protect their crops from insect pests. As sympathetic as the store claims to be with the UFW, they nonetheless called local police and four UFWers were arrested..."

Whole Foods tried to insist that the pickets had been blocking its entrance, that it had only called the police in self-defense, and that the arrests had just happened on their own. In other words, they blamed the workers!

As the *Observer* article says, "It strikes many employees as hypocritical for Whole

Readers' Soapbox

Foods to sell itself on its higher standards and then complain when it is held to those standards."

Earl Divoky

(The article reports on Whole Foods' refusal to sign a statement supporting strawberry workers' fight for better conditions - "If you say we don't support the farmworkers union because we don't support unions in general," says regional president Don Moffit, "I'd say that's true" - or to refuse to buy shrimp caught in nets that kill 150,000 endangered sea turtles each year - "We will not be coerced by Earth Island Institute" says CEO John Mackey.)

(Nor is the "natural foods" chain any kinder to its workers, who start at less than \$12,000 a year and cannot afford to shop there. This, apparently, is part of Mackey's commitment to "create an organization which manifests love, joy and happiness." Mackey compares unionization to "having herpes," a plight Whole Foods avoids by firing union supporters - 70 at one swoop when it took over two unionized Westward Ho stores in the Los Angeles area. Mackey's happiness comes from raking in millions in profits from sweat-shop conditions in his stores and at his suppliers.)

Election Time

Well, it's election time again and I know that a lot of Wobs will once again be joining a majority of working stiffs in staying away from the polls. This is good. But it's not enough!

I've been thinking that passive non-voting is about as effective as voting. If not voting could change the system it would be illegal. (Actually it is illegal in several countries: Australia comes to mind, and, perhaps, Cuba.) Just as the voter who goes to the polls and elects some politician to do their thinking and acting for them remains powerless, so does the non-voter who just stays home surfing the net or watching the boob tube. We need to *Do Something* to provide an alternative to voting.

I suggest, maybe not this time around but in 2000, that we non-voters simply stop work for, say, 5 minutes around 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon on election day. Just stop what we're doing!

What would happen? Who knows, maybe nothing. And that's the point. We make everything run. If we stopped, even for five minutes, we could see our potential power. Hey, it's just a suggestion! Got any better ideas? What do ya say we *Do Some-*

thing with our non-votes so that we won't feel so powerless after not voting?

In Solidarity,
Mike Hargis, X328826

Social Security

I read with interest the front page story in the Sept. '98 *Industrial Worker* about the tragic decline in the British labor movement. This decline has had negative consequences for the British public at large.

On August 10, the *Wall Street Journal* (of all publications) had an article on the destruction of the British social security system by the Thatcher government in the 1980s.

Probably none of this would have occurred if British workers had organized themselves into One Big Union in the beginning to fight the capitalists. Instead, British unions remained restricted to specific industries, and closely tied to the Labour Party.

American unions seem to have made much the same mistake. They are restrictive and highly political.

As big business prepares an assault on the U.S. Social Security System, one wonders if a similar tragedy might occur here.

Robert G. Rice, St. Louis

Note: The letter published last issue was by Robert Rice (not Rush - I misread the handwriting). Apologies to all concerned.

More letters on page 4

- IU 120: Lumber Workers
- IU 330: Building Construction Workers
- IU 450: Print & Publishing House Workers
- IU 460: Food Processing Workers
- IU 510: Marine Transport Workers
- IU 560: Communications Workers
- IU 610: Health Service Workers
- IU 620: Education Workers
- IU 630: Entertainment Workers
- IU 640: Restaurant & Hotel Workers

IU 660: General Distribution Workers
IU 670: Public Service Workers
Job Branch= 5 or more members in workplace; GMB=General Membership Branch; IU=Industrial Union; Del=Delegate; GOC=Organizing Committee.

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Winnipeg grocery workers go IWW

After a bit of a bureaucratic run-around from the Manitoba Labour Relations Board, the IWW's General Distribution Workers Industrial Union 660 has been certified as the representatives of the Harvest Collective grocery store in Winnipeg. Only two of 22 eligible workers voted against the union.

Management has been informed of their obligation to bargain with the IWW. Harvest workers are paid minimum wage and work part-time hours that keep them in grinding poverty.

Regional Meeting in B.C.

The new Victoria, British Columbia, GMB is hosting a regional IWW meeting November 14 and 15th. Please contact them in regards to desired agenda, housing, etc.

The Victoria IWW can be reached at 250/360-9803, or POB 8283, Victoria BC V8W 3R9

Detroit Truckers

Detroit Wobs have signed up a majority of workers at a small trucking company, and have secured agreement from the boss to begin negotiating. They are also meeting with workers at a local restaurant, where a few Wobs were hired in only to learn that conditions were not what they ought to be and so proceeded to fan the flames of discontent amongst their fellow workers.

Loblaws stores 'help' Wobs spread anti-hunger message

What was supposed to have been a short 15-minute leaflet distribution turned into a 90-minute educational event when Loblaws executives, private security and Metro Police descended on the Bathurst/St. Clair store to try to prevent customers from receiving flyers about the grocery chain's role in perpetuating hunger in Ontario.

After police threatened arrest and insisted that Toronto Action for Social Change members are all banned from Loblaws property, Matthew Behrens and Laurel Smith decided to continue their flyering on the sidewalk until darkness fell. A team of Metro police in a cruiser and police jeep, teamed with two carloads of private security and Loblaws executives, reinforced the message that Loblaws is not interested in opening a dialogue on ending the root causes of hunger in Ontario.

As they have throughout their month-long Fast to End Hunger and Homelessness, TASC members leafletted the Loblaws store to draw connections between the corporate grocery chain's practices and growing hunger in Ontario. Those practices include glow-

Around Our Union

ing support for the Tories, unpaid deferred taxes of over \$56 million, paying President Richard Currie in excess of \$8 million in 1997, and profiting off food drives by selling at retail prices goods which people donate to the food drive.

Behrens barely stepped into the parking lot before he was accosted by two plainclothes security (videotaping his every move), a Loblaws executive, and Debbie Regina, Senior Manager of Loss Prevention at Loblaws, who immediately ordered him off the property. He was then joined on the sidewalk by Laurel Smith, doubling the size of the action. This threat did not go unnoticed by Loblaws, and within minutes the police jeep marked "Supervisor" for 13 division was on the scene.

"We decided that since Loblaws contributes to so many thousands of people going without supper every day in this province, that we, along with the Loblaws executives would all be a little late for supper," said Smith.

"We handed out a lot more leaflets than we expected to, a lot more people saw our message from the street, and we had some good conversations with customers who were disgusted to find police vehicles in the Loblaws parking lot defending corporate hypocrites from two people armed only with pieces of paper. Thanks to Loblaws, what could have been a disappointing and disheartening vigil turned into a really good educational event."

Loblaws has had 10 members of TASC (IWW IU 670) arrested at prior anti-hunger events, often in the middle of food drives. Among those arrested have been the Easter Bunny and three bunny helpers, Santa Claus and two elves, Robin Hood and a schoolteacher who stopped to read a leaflet after he finished shopping. All go to trial in November, December and January.

'Labor Day' in Lancaster

The Lancaster, Penn., GMB made its second annual appearance at the Lancaster Labor Council/United Way Chili Cook-off. Our vegetarian tofu chili didn't win, but we got out several IWs and fliers for the Han Young Workers tour. The big hit of the afternoon was our brand-new red IWW T-shirts.

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.



Chicago Wobblies Mike Hargis and Janet Miller on the picket line with locked-out IATSE projectionists at Loews/Sony's Webster Place. photo: Penny Pixler

Chicago IWW going good

Chicago Wobs joined the locked-out projectionists on the picket line again Sept. 13, picketing the Webster Place shopping center where a Loew's Cineplex is located. While Local 110 members picketed the main parking lot, Wobs held forth as the read-guard, handing out leaflets urging fellow workers to boycott the union-busters. Getting people to roll down their car windows to take a leaflet as they approached the lot was not always successful, but we did manage to hand out quite a few, and honking horns from passing motorists.

Gauging the success of the boycott is difficult as management is handing out free passes left and right, so many movie-goers are getting in for free. As of this writing (Oct. 4) there is still no end in sight.

A week later, on Saturday the 19th, we joined up with nearly 40 members and friends of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee to picket a Hyundai auto dealership in support of striking Han Young auto workers in Tijuana, Mexico. The Korean-owned Han Young plant welds chassis exclusively for Hyundai Precision of America. Workers have been on strike since May 22 in pursuit of their first contract, after their vote for the independent October 6 Han Young Auto Workers Union was ignored by management and the Mexican government. Hyundai is Han Young's only customer. If enough pressure can be brought to bear on them perhaps they will, in turn, put pressure on Han Young to settle with its workers.

We wound up a busy September with another "Discussions with the Wobblies" forum. The topic this time was "Art and Revolution," with Wobbly veteran and fairly

East Bay workshops

The East Bay IWW is holding a series of workshops at their office at 2022 Blake Street in Berkeley on Thursday Nights at 7 p.m. Upcoming sessions include:

October 29th - Dead Martyrs Night: a workshop/party for "In November We Remember" featuring histories of various Wobbly Class War prisoners and victims of capitalist murderers.

Nov. 12th - a discussion of the various proposals on the November IWW ballot.

December 24th - Wobbly Carol-In. We'll take to the streets and visit the hot shopping districts to sing Wobbly-ized Carols to remind shoppers of the exploitative and capitalist nature of the holiday season.

January 14th - History Workshop

Jan. 29 - Forum: What is Syndicalism?

Future workshops may include Contract Negotiations, Website Design, and Video Activism.

well-known artist Carlos Cortez. Carlos spoke on the importance and power of visual art in getting across the revolutionary message and showed several slides of some of his poster work.

In the discussion that followed, we discussed the particular value of mural art and the respect these works of art elicit from the community, even taggers often leave these pieces alone. On the other hand, the powers that be will often go out of their way to destroy murals that challenge the status quo, as was the case with the mural on the wall of the union hall in Austin, Minnesota, which the UFCW bureaucrats had sand-blasted to wipe out all memory of Local P-9's struggle against Hormel and the UFCW. It was also pointed out that the intended meaning of images can be altered by context and text, as when billboard messages are altered by activists or when a firm appropriates an "alternative" cultural icon and turns it into a marketing tool. The turnout was half non-Wobs, and a good discussion was had.

Our next forum, Oct. 28, features Penny Pixler leading a discussion on the revolutionary potential, or lack thereof, of modern technology.

— Mike Hargis

Wobs demand justice for New School jazz profs

The Long Island IWW group is organizing students at the New School for Social Research (where we have three members) in solidarity with 70 part-time jazz musicians, represented by Musicians Local 802, who have been negotiating a contract with management for seven months. They are struggling for health benefits, a decent pension and a living wage.

While students pay \$9,500 a semester tuition, administrators prefer spending money on fancy courtyards and useless administrators, rather than to pay a living wage to their faculty and other workers.

Privatizer Hit With Pie

Right-wing economist Milton Friedman, who advised the Chilean military junta and has been a fervent advocate of privatization and austerity programs around the world, was slapped in the face with a coconut cream pie Oct. 9. Friedman was attending a conference on education when Al Decker, a member of the Biotic Baking Brigade, told him, "Mr. Friedman, it's a good day to pie."

Decker said he pied Friedman to protest privatization, which is "responsible for the destruction of our environment, the deterioration of our social structure and has brought the world to the brink of economic collapse."



It is beginning to look like the worldwide economy is going down the drain, with trouble spots all over the earth along with the prospects of Freedomland's economic conscripts being sent off to distant places to patch up the mess our economic overlords and their politician vassals are getting us into. In spite of all that, the boob tube is still giving us the enema about Willie Wetpant's extracurricular hanky-panky.

Freedomland's social security recipients of the future are being faced with the dire possibility of getting no recompense for their years of contributing to the coffers of the fat cats. It has been estimated that by the year 2032 that social security recipients will only be receiving 75 percent of what they have coming to them. Indeed, the rich keep getting richer and you know who the Hell is grubstaking them. One remedy on offer is to have workers invest part of their social security payments in the stock market.

Never mind the humpings of Willie Wet Drawers! Think about what the capitalists are planning to do to us working-stiffs! Those of us who are naive about such things as investments are going to be elevating the top bananas further up into the stratosphere while you know who's going to be left holding the bag. It's not hard to see why the union movement is being pushed back to ground zero.

Here in dear old Freedomland there are more jails being built than schools. Your scribe has been to towns where the number one industry is the local slammer. It is painfully reminiscent of Jay Gould's boast that he could hire one half of the working class to shoot at the other half.

As for education, it appears obvious that those who control us would prefer to see us uneducated. In cases where some schools have been doing a reasonable job of educating their students, they are being given a hard time by the establishment. A good example is the case of Roberto Clemente high school in Chicago. The school was named after the baseball star who lost his life in an airplane crash while on a mission to help an earthquake-stricken area in Central America, and is located in a neighborhood that is predominantly Puerto-Rican and other Latinos.

Like other poor, working-class minority neighborhoods, Latino neighborhoods are plagued with a high drop-out rate, gang activity and general juvenile delinquency. But Roberto Clemente has a multi-cultural and bilingual curriculum that gives students a sense of identity and pride along with having the support and involvement of the surrounding community, accompanied by a program that emphasizes self-discipline and peer conflict mediation.

The number of graduates has been increasing at a rate of 400 students a year, with more than half the graduates enrolling in college or university. The incidents of vandalism and gang violence have been falling. Besides having the largest bilingual program in the city, students have painted murals about Puerto Rican, Chicano, Black and women's histories. Community involvement includes parent mentors who assist with attendance and security.

The politicians, some Puerto Rican themselves, would like to make over Clemente into a non-Latino school and to gentrify the area. The neighborhood is viewed as a great money-making potential by the real estate sharks who enjoy considerable clout with the city administration, including Latino politicians who profess to represent their electorate. A politician will always be a politician! Since the Independentista movement is enjoying a bit of interest in the community, there is a witch hunt against advocates of Puerto Rican independence, labeling them as "terrorists."

Be apprised, all ye who have faith in the ballot. Remember the quip from a wag in the past century, "If elections changed anything, they would be made illegal."

It was Henry Cabot Lodge who said after all the land had been confiscated from the Indians and the Mexicans from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coasts, when the Bureau of Census declared the internal frontier closed. "We have a record of conquest, colonization and expansion unequalled in the nineteenth century. We are not to be curbed now."

Draffees of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your generals!

— C.C. Redcloud

A Wobbly Martyr's Grave

I am pleased to announce that the grave and the home of fellow worker Martin Petkus (Marcionas Petkevicia), a Lithuanian sugar worker and Wobbly who was shot to death by riot police during a sugar strike in Philadelphia, have been located.

On February 21, 1917, a strike had been going on for several weeks, led by IWW, at the Franklin and McCahan sugar refineries. The bosses at both companies were bringing in African-Americans as scabs, and each night the police would escort the scabs home from the plants, located along the Delaware River at the foot of Reed Street.

At 5:30 p.m. such a group came out and was met by about 30 strikers' wives led by Florence Sholde, 32 years old, who threw pepper into the faces of both the scabs and the police. The crowd grew and the confrontation escalated into a pitched battle of bricks

and pistol shots, involving hundreds of union supporters. FW Sholde was arrested for inciting to riot (police agents supposedly had spotted her earlier in the day urging militant action at a meeting), and scores of people were injured on both sides, but Martin Petkus was killed by a single bullet in the chest and fell across a railroad track. He lived a few blocks away at 131 Tasker Street — the house is still standing today.

The news reports say that he was one of the striking Franklin workers, that he was "known among them as a giant of strength and courage," and that the police found an IWW membership card in his pocket. He was recognized by all as a leader, and accordingly his funeral was a formidable event.

Petkus' body lay in state at the Lithuanian National Hall (still standing), which was the headquarters of MTW IU #510 at that time, and on February 26th he

Which side is Sweeney on?

At the turn of the century, AFL leaders and corporate robber barons came together in the Civic Federation, pursuing over sumptuous banquets a mythical commonality of interests. Today, under the AFL-CIO's militant new leadership, things are completely different, no? No.

AFL piecard in chief John Sweeney said a couple years back: "We want to help American business compete in the world and create new wealth for your shareholders... It is time for business and labor to see each other as natural allies, not natural enemies."

Now Sweeney is co-planning a private "leadership dialogue" with one of corporate America's most anti-worker CEOs, General Electric's Jack Welch. Welch acquired the nickname of "Neutron Jack" for his success at getting rid of workers. The October *Labor Notes* reports that the "dialogue" will bring together several union and corporate officials to discuss prospects for closer cooperation.

With the likes of Sweeney and Welch climbing into bed with one another, I shudder to think of the progeny that may result...

Prosperity

Today's *Boston Globe* headlines: "Homelessness rising despite brisk economy."

Well, I'm still searching for that "brisk economy," but a study by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union finds that 40 percent of low-wage Massachusetts workers can not meet their needs. A single parent with one infant living in Boston needs \$22 an hour full-time to afford rent, food, child care and other such necessities. But incomes for the poorest workers continue to fall even as the rich rake in the bucks...

Meanwhile, the world's 225 richest folks have a combined wealth of over \$1 trillion — about as much as the poorest half of the population earn each year. The United Nations says \$40 billion a year would pay for food, education and health care for all. We spend half that much on pet food each year.

But rest assured that someone's benefiting from all this prosperity. New York city printing firms are being evicted as landlords convert industrial buildings to high-rent offices for ad agencies and other parasites.

Workfare wasn't meant to be fair

Of course the basic principle of workfare is to humiliate and degrade the unemployed. Once you understand that, as the *New York Times* (9/23/98) obviously does, then you should be able to see quite clearly why it is that wage justice, equal pay for equal work and a fair day's pay for a fair day's work cannot be permitted to gain a foothold in workfare work-places.

This is what the *New York Times* means when it says Judge Solomon's decision that workfare workers should be paid the going rate of pay for the work they do "violates common sense."

Over 200 African-American IWW longshoremen who were out on a sympathy strike walked behind their slain comrade in a group, with red carnations on their lapels. When the funeral mass was over, about 1,500 people went in a train of vehicles to Holy Cross Cemetery in Yeadon, about five miles distant in the western suburbs. Holy Cross is on Baily Road, and our man is in "Section E, Range 9, Lot 27, Grave CR."

The grave is marked by a black granite cross bearing the names of the Wobbly martyr and a younger brother who died the following year. The inscription is in Lithuanian. FW Petkus was 28 years old.

Bob Helms X341465

Useful labor is passe, the big money today is in speculation — essentially gambling on other people's misery.

Unions: Our Best Defense

Unions are our best — and often our only — defense against the exploiters. But too many unions have degenerated into bureaucracies with no living presence on the job.

Seven SEIU Local 254 members were arrested a few months back for occupying their "union" hall to demand a meeting with their president. They're trying to negotiate a first contract for two years now, but sessions keep getting cancelled when the business agent doesn't show. They might do better to remember that they are the union, dump SEIU, and take matters into their own hands...

Meanwhile, Boston police are pressing charges against Domenic Bozzotto — former darling of the labor reform set, now a state labor relations bureaucrat — for making nearly 700 harassing phone calls to a dissident in Hotel & Restaurant Workers (HERE) Local 26. Bozzotto fought for better conditions when he ran Local 26, but he ran the union as if it was his property (apparently he still sees things that way). The dissidents are distributing Know Your Rights leaflets in five languages, and hope to restore union democracy so they can turn around the deteriorating conditions they work under.

While Bozzotto makes anonymous phone calls, an SEIU Local 254 field rep has been fined a month's pay and ordered to apologize for threatening violence against workers picketing a union meeting to protest the way 254 bargained away their jobs.

In the IWW we have structures in place to protect members' rights. But they won't amount to a hill of beans if members sit back, expecting the officers to run the union for us. Eight years ago, members expelled a member of our Executive Board for serious violations of our democratic rights. Now a handful of members are trying to get him reinstated. If we take our union seriously, we must take a clear stand that we will not tolerate sabotage of our operations or attacks upon our members. Otherwise, there's no point to having a union at all.

— Jon Bekken

common sense."

As the editorial explains, this would mean workfare workers getting an hourly rate greater than some other very low-paid workers. And we couldn't have that, could we? I mean to say, what sort of punishment is that? Since the whole point is to publicly humiliate those doing the work, and to deter as many people as possible from claiming their welfare rights, workfare workers have to be made an example of, made to suffer the lowest possible wages and conditions.

Workfare is nothing new, it is the workhouse of 19th century Europe revisited. What makes it more evil though is that there is less honesty from the advocates of the modern version. In 1835 the English parliament honestly explained that the "reformed" poor laws were designed to make poor relief so degrading and repugnant that none except the most desperate and abject would consider it. Today's proponents of welfare "reform" are not quite so forthright in explaining the rationale of the new regime.

But in so far as our ability to completely eliminate poverty, if that was politically permissible, has increased exponentially, this sort of policy is also much more evil at the end of the 20th century than it was in Dickensian England.

What next I wonder? Are our masters even now plotting to send our small children back to work down the coal mines?

Bill Bartlett, Tasmania

A presidency of betrayal

"Whoever fights monsters must take care not to become a monster himself. For, as you stand looking deep into the abyss, the abyss is looking deep into you."

— Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra

In light of the current, developing controversy over the Presidential sex scandal, the nation embarks on a trek of forgiveness, even as it enters on a discourse on the limits of power.

While, for any man, this is an uncomfortable reality, it is doubly so for a man of his stature, faced with this occurring in the harsh, merciless glare of klieg lights and in the hungry maw of the majoritarian media.

BLOWN JOB



WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
42ND PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CITY PAPER/INX

Rail Workers Fight Ghost Company

USS/Kobe Steel Co. is planning to switch to a company to handle its in-plant rail operations in Lorain, Ohio, that doesn't yet exist and is being created specifically to rid the plant of a unionized railroad.

The Lake Terminal Railroad, with 170 union workers; has been the only railroad company serving the steel plant since 1894. It accounts for only 5% of the steel mill's operating budget.

George Babcoke, president of USS/Kobe Steel, says his company needs to trim \$80 million to survive so it is switching to a rail company that offers a competitive price.

However, the rail company he is planning to hire does not yet exist, does not own one piece of rail equipment, nor does it have a single employee. Instead, USS/Kobe Steel plans to replace the 170 union workers with 20 to 30 poorly trained non-union, low-wage workers, without adequate maintenance or safety support.

The President, faced now with a cynical and skeptical public, has begun to seek wider, public stages for his mea culpa, mea culpa; mea maxima culpas (Latin for "My fault, my fault, my most grievous faults"). It has the air of ritual in it, the stuff of play-acting on life's twirling stage.

There is an obvious problem with the most recent spate of mea culpas by President William Jefferson Clinton. It is that it comes after a long, undeniable history that goes not so much to sexuality, as it goes to power: This President's history of the treatment of his alleged allies is, in a word, troubling.

Consider Labor: their millions marched in his support.

Clinton's Response: A genuflection to Wall Street by the passage of NAFTA, a nefarious agreement that weakened labor on both sides of the Rio Grande, which strengthened the hand of capital, by giving them a powerful tool with which to threaten labor ('Sign off on this give-back, or we'll move to Mexico!').

Consider Blacks: Who voted for him in overwhelming numbers.

Clinton's Response: His skillful use of the 'black faces in high places' strategy, while ostensibly in support of the Black bourgeoisie, masked an attack on the Black working poor, who were central, subliminal targets of a "New Democrat" attack, designed to ease white suburban anxiety. In this context, the so-called Welfare 'Reform' Act, the Anti-Habeas Corpus Bill (so-called Anti-Terrorism Bill), and his administration's opposition to the Racial Justice Act are utterly understandable. The public dissing of strong, outspoken Black women like rapper Sista Souljah, Law Prof. Lani Guinier, and Dr. Joycelyn Elder was also a calculated effort to appeal to white ethnics, by showing he could put Blacks in their place: subordinate. His treatment of Haitians was patently immoral.

Consider Gays: From coast-to-coast, his core fans.

Clinton's Response: He supported gays in the military, only to flip when the right-wing barked.

The purpose of the Democratic Leadership Conference (of which Clinton was head) was to take the Democratic Party back from the leftist hijackers. Clinton, with his great smile and homey, Southern charm, was a chief operative in this plan to broaden (read:

whiten) party appeal. This meant consciously betraying the expendable interests of those who supported him the most and the longest, to capture the un-Holy Grail of a right-wing that hated him with total passion.

Early in the Lincoln Administration, journalist and agitator Frederick Douglass lambasted Lincoln's policy as "simply and solely to reconstruct the union on the old and corrupting basis of compromise, by which slavery shall retain all the power that it ever had" [*Douglass' Monthly* (Aug. 1862), pp. 692-93].

Later, of course, under the pressure of losing the War, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, not to free slaves but to save the Union.

The Clinton administration was built on the sands of betrayal, a betrayal that didn't begin with a girl named Monica, and didn't end there either.

— Mumia Abu-Jamal

THIS SQUEAKY OLD CHAIR I'm sitting in doesn't move a lot; but some days it can be the seat for a rollercoaster of emotions. One day at the end of September I was going through the mail as usual, recording delegate reports, logging in new members. On that day we reached a new 47 year high in membership. Our numbers dipped to their lowest in 1961 after our last large shops in Cleveland left to join the CIO rather than face McCarthy-era political repression when the IWW's General Executive Board refused to sign loyalty oaths. I guess the Board members figured they owed their allegiance to their class, not to a government which would want to crush them for their ideas. Some things don't change.

The rollercoaster reached apex as I thought about our growth and increased activity in recent years. Then I opened the next letter and the rollercoaster took a dive. It was from Fellow Worker Bill Bichsel from the Catholic Worker house in Tacoma, Washington. He was catching up on his dues and notifying me of a change

from the desk of...

of address. The new address is a federal prison in Sheridan, Oregon. Bill's going to be there for 18 months for nonviolent protest at the School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Georgia.

Bill isn't the first Wobbly to go to prison for exercising his freedom of speech. He won't be the last, another thing that doesn't seem to change much. But he's the one who's in there now; and that weighs heavy on my mind. I did some time in the early '70s for destroying selective service files, so I feel some affinity.

The U.S. government — hell, all governments — commit so many atrocities it's hard to know which ones are worth going to prison to fight. And it's frustrating to know that with a rational judge Bill would have gotten a slap on the wrist. Because he faced an irrational one he'll spend 1 1/2 years behind bars. I can feel some affinity for that too. Our sentences in the '70s were between 5 and 10 years. The next year another group did the same thing and got 1 year suspended sentences and a commendation from the judge for their actions. Ahh the vagaries of "justice."

Bill sent along some information on the School of the Americas, appropriately dubbed the School of the Assassins by its opponents. Colombia was experiencing the murder of a trade unionist every other day in the early '90s. In 1996 that number increased to 253. Of 247 Colombian military personnel cited for human rights violations, 124, 50% were graduates of the School of the Assassins. SOA training manuals advocate the use of torture, execution, false imprisonment and extortion. More than 500 SOA graduates have been implicated so far in human rights abuses. The SOA trains 900-2,000 soldiers a year from Latin America and the Caribbean. They are taught combat skills, counterinsurgency, sniper fire, military intelligence, commando tactics, and psychological operations — not to defend their borders from invasion but to make war on their own people — specifically religious leaders, labor organizers, educators, students and others working for the rights of the poor.

SOA attendees, guest speakers, members of the SOA hall of "fame" include Major Luis Felipe Becerra Bohorquez. He led a massacre in which 20 union farm workers were pulled from their beds, lined face down on the ground, and shot in the back of their heads. General Henan Jose Guzman Rodrigues allegedly aided paramilitary death squads responsible for at least 149 killings. He's in the SOA hall of fame. Etc, etc...

With NAFTA, Latin American countries import jobs that used to be done for higher wages in the U.S. and then use SOA graduates to prevent attempts to unionize. Any opposition or call for reform is likely to get the proponent killed.

So Bill Bichsel has made a good choice of where to take a stand. While I'm extremely saddened by his sentence, I'm extremely proud to call him Fellow Worker, Fellow Wobbly. Keep him in your thoughts. Paraphrasing our General Defense Committee slogan, Remember, Fellow Workers, he's in there for us. We're out here for him. Some generous Wobs have already assured that Bill's dues will be paid during his incarceration. The best tribute to Bill for his courageous stand is to work for the closing of the School of the Assassins. For some that means direct action like Bill's. Every new person who faces an outrageous sentence tweaks society's conscience just a bit more. That leads to the end of wars, to the end of segregation, soon to the end of the School of the Assassins.

If you are into petitioning government you can urge senators and representatives to support Senate bill 980 / House bill 611 to close the school. SOA Watch is planning what has become an annual demonstration at Fort Benning soon. They can be reached at 706/682-5369. Wobblies from Atlanta and Gainesville are making plans to attend.

Meanwhile, Bill, know you are in our thoughts. Being in prison for the working class is walking the picket line 24 hours a day. We're looking forward to the day when we will again see you outside on the picket line.

— Fred Chase, General Secretary-Treasurer

MTW-IWW T-Shirt

San Francisco Bay Ports Marine Transport Workers IU 510 is selling a truly fine T-Shirt to fund its mutual aid fund and other projects.

The Mutual Aid fund helps IWWs pay the high fees necessary to get into the maritime industry business unions. The Fellow Workers pay back the fund and it continues to help bring more FWs into the ILWU/IBU/SUP, etc.

The three-color (on black) union-printed shirts are available for \$20 from: MTW-IWW, POB 194163 Rincon Hill St., San Francisco CA 94119-4163.

Utah Phillips Solidarity Fund

Steve Eabry, San Louis Obispo CA \$20

Charlene Sato Memorial Fund

Steve Eabry, San Louis Obispo CA \$20

*supports women's participation in IWW

Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund

Bob Madsen, Lyons CO \$35

McArthur Gunter, Camp Springs 18.71

McArthur Gunter, Camp Springs MD18.98

Steve Eabry, San Louis Obispo CA 20.00

Many thanks, fellow workers, for your generous support.

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Jon Bekken, Editor; Oct. 5, 1998

Fighting Postal Abuse

continued from page 1

stems and thorns, with a card which read "From those of us who love you."

On my trips to the National Labor Relations Board, I always page through the docket recording all the unfair labor practices filed that month. Nine times out of ten, the most outrageous and depressing charges come from the post office. And by the time an Unfair Labor Practice charge gets to the Board, chances are the grievance procedure outlined in their contract has been tried, and has failed to bring justice for the workers.

Over the summer, I met an American Postal Workers Union steward who was in the NLRB office to file a charge because their supervisor came into the union office and removed the blinds from the window in the door. This supervisor had previously accused workers of going in the union office to escape their duties. The union filed a complaint that workers were entitled to check in with their shop steward on occasion, and that such accusations would have a chilling effect on the union's ability to hear their concerns. Further, the supervisor had no evidence to back his claim. So the supervisor, in a fit of rage at having his conduct corrected by the union, took the blinds off the door so that he could observe workers meeting with their union stewards. The charge is still pending.

Unilateral actions are nothing new in the USPS, either. Under then-Postmaster General Marvin Runyon, management uni-

laterally withdrew from a process called Employee Involvement in early 1997. EI, created in 1983, provided a way for workers, union reps and postal bosses to get together to discuss concerns outside of the grievance process. Most unionists will agree that these kinds of caucuses can not replace a grievance procedure, but if an arrangement can be worked out without having to push through a formal procedure, matters can be settled quickly in a mutually agreeable way. The USPS sent a clear message by withdrawing from the EI program: We are not talking to unions and workers any more. In October 1997, Congress' auditing agency reported that "little progress has been made in improving the persistent labor-management relations problems." Indeed, there is now an unprecedented backlog of employee grievances. The Congressional report revealed that the employee grievance backlog rose from 65,000 to 90,000 since 1994.

A study by the Postal Inspection Service said that documented attacks by supervisors and managers upon employees hit a record high of 53 last year, and it looks as if this record could be matched again in 1998. Meanwhile, violence and threats by workers against management and worker on worker violence have both declined.

Micromanagement of every second of the day of post office workers is well known. A recent example of this is case of Martha Cherry, a letter carrier in Mount Vernon, New York, who was dismissed last year

after efficiency experts monitored her stride while she delivered mail. In the letter notifying her that she was being fired, she was told that "at each step, the heel of your leading foot did not pass the toe of the trailing foot by more than one inch." Try this move yourself and you'll understand what a ridiculous accusation it is. When Cherry attempted to show an Associated Press reporter what it would look like, she nearly fell over because it is almost impossible to balance by walking the way the post office alleged. Rounds would never be finished, not in eight hours, not in 24 hours.

Surveillance portholes overlooking sorting rooms, packing rooms and every work area – and now even employee breakrooms – add to the constant pressure on workers...

"Baby steps" are what the Postal Service said Cherry was taking. Cherry had worked at the post office for 18 years, and was well known by the people she delivered mail to. Over forty residents on her route signed a petition calling for her reinstatement, and her union eventually reached a settlement reinstating Cherry as a window clerk. Cherry, who is 5-foot-5, battled it out with the Postal Service for more than seven years on efficiency issues. Two previous suspensions for slow deliveries were upheld by arbitrators. But Cherry told me that despite the USPS' insistence on efficiency, management would not provide her with a large enough mailbag or a mail cart. Instead,

the supervisor expected her to carry a heavy sack, make do, and dart through her rounds.

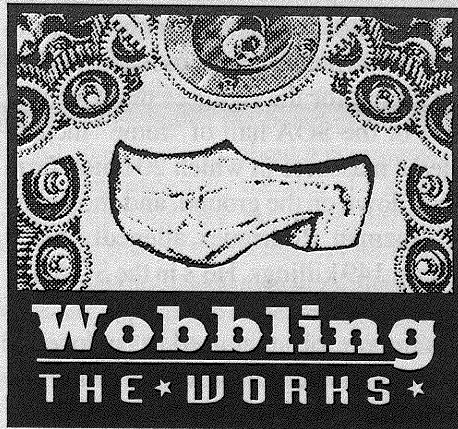
Surveillance portholes overlooking sorting rooms, packing rooms and every work area – and now even employee breakrooms – add to the constant pressure on workers. On Christmas Eve of last year, an armed postal worker held seven people hostage in a postal facility in Denver, Colorado. During the nine and a half hour standoff, 75 workers were told to continue sorting mail in a different part of the building. And they stayed, sorting last-minute Christmas packages and letters.

Postal Service supervisors are so concerned with efficiency because they are awarded bonuses for efficiency under the Economic Value Added program, an incentive program instituted in 1994. Managers are put into competition with neighboring post offices, and also receive top-down pressure from their superiors. The *Postal Record*, the publication of the National Association of Letter Carriers, reported that three supervisors in a Texas post office each received a \$2,500 bonus in December. And for the poor schleps who did the work? The 23 workers at the office got \$199.66 to be divided among them, but with the stipulation that the money go to charity. Last year, the Postal Service paid upper management over \$150 million in bonuses.

These bonuses and similar incentive programs, and just basic pressure, can be traced back to 1971, when Nixon took advantage of the political current to begin the rampage of privatization we see today in the form of the Postal Reorganization Act.

From 1960 to 1970, the amount of mail handled by the Post Office rose more than one third. The cost of handling that mail more than doubled. The Post Office was never a break-even proposition, but by 1969, the Post Office deficit was more than \$1 billion a year. Several clumsy attempts to shift work from many hands into a few made it extremely difficult on postal workers. In the mid-'60s, the Post Office introduced new letter-sorting machines. A subsequent internal study revealed that the government was opening the door for repetitive stress injury claims. Instead of making new machines that could be operated safely and at a sane speed, Dr. Alton Wesley Baker, from the Department of Management of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, who was commissioned by the Post Office to make the study, recommended physical and mental tests for all machine operators and excluding any worker over 45 from operating the machines. With experts like that, who needs enemies? The post office took the position of finding the strongest workhorses in its army and worked them like mad, because they would last longer on the crummy machines than older, weaker or already injured bodies. There was no doubt

Don't Worry, Be Happy



My brother pulled a laminated credit card-looking thing from out of his wallet and handed it to me. "Can they make me do this?" He just got a job at Toys 'R' Us and was told that he must keep the card on his person at all times. On one side, a smiling kangaroo Jeffrey happily reminds workers of their mission: "We believe our business is built one customer at a time, and we are committed to making each and every customer happy."

On the other side, six commitments are outlined, all having something to do with being happy or pleasant. I asked if he meant did he have to find fun in everything he did, or did he have to keep the card on his person. "Both" he said, obviously pissed off that the boss of this minimum wage job not only wanted to make him show up on time, count Tickle Me Elmos in the storeroom all day and stay awake for his whole shift, but also mandate him to be happy about it.

Indeed, little brother, the boss can make you do all kinds of ridiculous things for nearly no pay, and then tell you to be happy about it. And he can make you carry a reminder about it like your own little albatross, too. And when you're not perky enough, you can be fired. You can be fired for being too perky. You can be fired for being sarcastically perky.

Without a union, you can be fired at any time for any reason or no reason.

I wish sometimes bosses would just put that on a card for workers to place in their wallets – it would feel more honest at least.

Anyhow, this happy, helpful crap seems to be mandated almost exclusively in retail, when workers do long hours for minimum or near minimum wage. While visiting fellow workers in Seattle, I picked up an issue of the local boss press to see the headline "Safeway clerks grimace over mandatory smiles." This was a union shop, too.

Based on sales, Safeway is the second largest food and drug retailer in the United States. Instead of giving their employees the share of their profits that they generate, Safeway hires MBAs that come up with these cockamamie schemes to humiliate workers. Five years ago, Safeway joined the growing number of corporate retail giants to institute "secret shopper" programs (Borders did the same shortly after the IWW drive in 1996 was narrowly defeated) where spies are sent in to monitor the happy demeanor of workers. The secret shopper plan is part of a "Superior Service" initiative. Workers are expected to, among other things, escort customers to items they cannot find, make selling suggestions, and offer to carry groceries out to the customer's car.

In Martinez, California, workers are fighting back. Twelve women and one man have come forward to say that mandating friendliness can open the door to sexual harassment from customers. One woman produce clerk says that the policy puts her at personal risk – she is propositioned on a daily basis by male customers and Safeway cuts her no slack. She must make eye contact and smile at these jerks anyway. The *Seattle Times* quoted Safeway public relations hack Debra Lambert as saying, "We're not asking an employee to smile in a certain way or make eye contact in a certain way."

How reassuring – you mean we don't have to writhe around on the floor in front of male customers? Now I feel better.

Since January, Safeway has sent over 100 workers to smile school for failing to be friendly enough. The next step on the road is close supervision, discipline, and finally discharge. The union, UFCW, filed a complaint with the NLRB last May that Safeway unilaterally changed working conditions.

We Are Committed To:

- Never letting a customer leave our store dissatisfied.
- Smiling and greeting all customers.
- Thanking all customers and inviting them to return.
- Treating everyone with respect.
- Helping customers find what they are looking for by leading them to the product.
- Finding fun in everything we do.

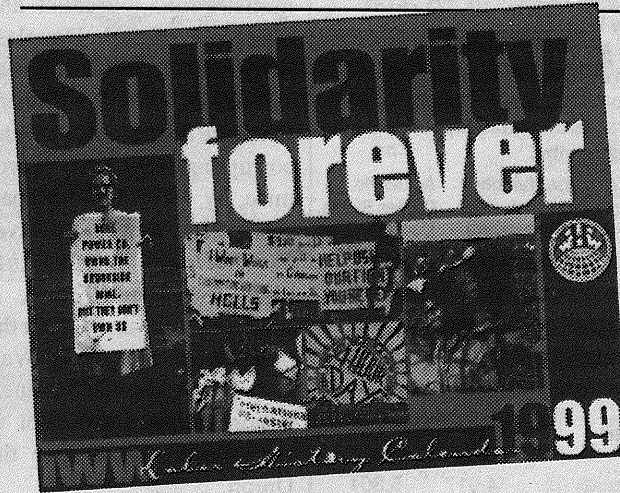
Unfortunately the contract that UFCW signed gives Safeway a lot of latitude to make such policies. It will take a while for the Board to issue a complaint if they decide to do it at all. I'll try to monitor this case and keep you informed.

So, non-union workers and union stiffs with contracts that give the boss too much room to think of ways to screw you over – your choice is clear: Get organized or get happy.

— Alexis Buss

Wobbling the Works aims to help workers use their meager protections under U.S. labor law to make it safer to organize and undertake direct action for better conditions. If there is an issue you would like to see addressed, write FW Buss at PO Box 42531, Philadelphia PA 19101, or email phillyiww@iww.org

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Part-time academic labor & the future of higher education

Between 1970 and 1993, the percentage of part-time faculty in U.S. colleges doubled from 22 percent to 40 percent, causing soaring unemployment and under-employment among Ph.D.s. This increase in the numbers of part-time faculty has continued even as college and university endowments have doubled or even tripled.

Most part-timers teach under flagrantly substandard conditions, including per-course fees of \$1,000 to \$3,000, a rate far below pro rata compensation for what is essentially the same work performed by full-time faculty. While administrators reap massive savings, student access to faculty, cohesive curricula, and intellectual community suffer. The report calls for salaries for part-time teaching to be indexed to full-time faculty salaries.

The Modern Language Association's Committee on Professional Employment, formed in the summer of 1997, attempted a detailed analysis of the U.S. higher education system since World War II as a basis for better understanding and addressing the present crisis in higher education – and specifically the increasing and exploitative

The Education Worker

use of part-time academic labor. Their report concludes that the escalating reliance on corporate models for the university, where profit overrides all other considerations, has eroded academic excellence.

The “disturbingly heavy reliance on part-timers in American higher education today contributes directly and indirectly to the failures of our academic system.” The CPE calls for more full-time, tenure-track faculty positions, better compensation for remaining part-time faculty, and increased attention to the quality of college instruction, particularly in lower-division courses which are increasingly taught by overworked, under-insured and under-paid adjunct faculty and graduate students.

While welcoming the report, the MLA's Graduate Student Caucus (see their journal, *Workplace*, www.workplace-gsc.com) criticizes its reliance on demographic explanations rather than corporatist employment practices. “We cannot emphasize strongly

enough that, were it not for the radical increase in part-time faculty, there would be no ‘oversupply’ of Ph.Ds. Indeed, if all college and university teaching were performed by degreed, full-time faculty, we would be facing [an] undersupply of Ph.Ds.”

The Caucus says what's needed is to “reduc[e] the use and abuse of part-time faculty.” As a first step, they call for collecting and disseminating information on employment practices. “We want to make a college or university's full-time to part-time ratio – measured in terms of classroom hours taught, and broken down by department – as much a part of the professional and public discourse about its quality as are its students' median SAT scores, its faculty's publications, and its library's holdings.”

(Of course, if they were properly paid and had job security, some faculty might well prefer to work part-time at some stages in their career.)

“The public face of higher education is no longer the secure, accessible professor devoted to a single institution but the harried, elusive part-timer who must juggle positions at several institutions. The victims of this job system are not just these marginalized faculty members; it is also a generation of students who hardly know what it means to interact with an actual professor while internalizing the pervasive institutional contempt for the non-tenured faculty they meet every day. Our collaborative task is not simply a matter of implementing fair employment practices, it is the larger responsibility of restoring the quality of higher education and the respect accorded to it by the culture at large. It is imperative, therefore, that we begin to recognize and admit our complicity in an exploitative job system so that we can collectively act to change it.”

Unpaid Teachers

The Zambia National Union of Teachers reports that 102 teachers in the capital Lusaka have not been paid for 10 months. The government is refusing to pay wages to new

Organizing Goddard

Picture this setting. It is Goddard College's 60th anniversary weekend. All the bigwig alumni, potential donors and friends of the administration congregated in a white tent on the front lawn, on a sunny Saturday in October. The occasion is the (self) inauguration of Dr. Barbara Mossberg, Goddard's new president.

The woman of honor herself steps up to the podium to deliver her inaugural address. Suddenly, a subtle commotion arises from the back of the tent. Amid gasps and whispers, the entire back row of students turn their backs in a symbolic show of defiance. Facing backwards, the students can make out a sign in the window of the faculty offices. It says “Union Now!” Angry students below, in solidarity with the angry faculty in offices above. What's going on?

Located in Plainfield, Vermont, Goddard was heavily influenced by the New England concept of the town meeting. This philosophy helped build the school's foundation of democracy and egalitarianism. Traditionally, members of the Goddard community like to view themselves as in the “vanguard” of progressive education. Many radical ideas first found their testing ground at Goddard before they became more accepted in mainstream circles. It is also one of the six work colleges in the country, which means that students are required to work as part of their study program.

Learning at Goddard is student, not curriculum, oriented. That is why the fac-

employees as part of efforts to cut the cost of the country's civil service.

Fed up, a group of teachers decided to take their case to President Frederick Chiluba, himself a former trade union leader. The teachers were met by police who tear-gassed them as they marched to the State House. 31 were arrested.

Fighting Retrenchment

Administrators at Concepción University are attacking workers in the department of planning and computer science, threatening to dismiss 30 workers through “voluntary” retirement or relocation.

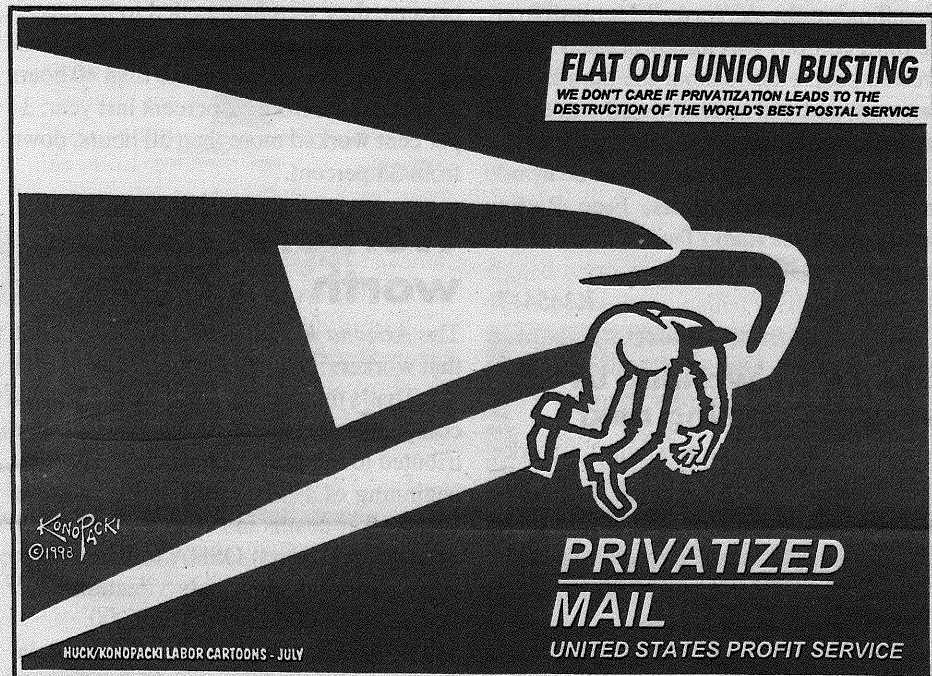
Labor Solidarity [Solidaridad Obrera] is calling for solidarity with the 30 D.P.I. workers who have been retrenched. Protest messages can be emailed to Lavanchy Merino Sergio (slavanc@udec.cl), rector of the university of Concepción, with copies to soliobrera@mixmail.com

Our Fair Share

The Education Workers Industrial Union 620 Organizing Committee and the Boston Area General Membership Branch are sponsoring a program on Organizing Part-Time Faculty Wednesday, Nov. 4, at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church in Harvard Square. The program begins at 7 p.m.

Speakers include Gary Zabel, coordinator of the Part-Time Faculty Committee at the University of Massachusetts Boston and a member of the Steering Committee of the Coalition of Contingent Academic Labor; U Mass Boston Professor Harry Brill, a member of the Campaign on Contingent Work; and Michael D'Amore, an organizer with the Graduate Employees Organization, which represents teaching assistants at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

The use of low-paid, insecure part-time faculty labor has been growing for many years. This program will review how part-time and full-time faculty came together at U Mass Boston to successfully demand dramatic improvements for part-time faculty, and how Teaching Assistants at the University of Massachusetts have waged a similar struggle against administrators on the prowl for the cheapest teachers they can find.



that the machines caused injuries.

Post offices were cramped, poorly heated and air conditioned facilities because they were generally built during the Depression and every corner was cut that might mean comfort to the workers. In 1969, Lonnie Johnson, president of the National Association of Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers and Group Leaders told a House of Representatives committee: “The average mail handler working in one of these poorly lit, dirty, cluttered, depressing and inefficient operations, usually bears the brunt of the Post Office's backwardness... Many of our major post offices are so inadequate for today's needs that mail handlers and other postal employees are literally falling over one another trying to get their job done.” Postal workers worked in the equivalent of veal calf stalls, hardly having enough room to move.

On the heels of a remarkable seven-day wildcat strike in 1970 (worthy of an article all its own), Nixon attempted to push back the postal workers and government workers in general, and boost the private sector. Nixon's plan was approved in July of 1971. The Post Office Department became the United States Postal Service, a private non-profit corporation. The USPS is semi-independent from the Federal government. Workers' rights at the USPS are covered by the private sector National Labor Relations Board, but with a major caveat: no strikes. The USPS management structure was given corporate goals, borrowing authority to fund capital improvements and the usual catchwords of private sector management quickly became fashionable: cost-cutting, attrition, mechanization, productivity...

Today, private presorting companies handle more than half of all mail. These

presort houses are extremely profitable, paying workers just over minimum wage. A Seattle postal official wrote a study, “Corporate Welfare, Sweatshops and the Post Office,” which indicates that workers in presort operations earn about \$6 an hour, usually with no benefits. While ridding itself of the responsibility of having its own employees, the USPS engages in corporate welfare by sub-contracting. Presorting allows high-volume (junk mail) mailers to send first class mail for 23 cents per piece, a savings of \$90 per 1,000 pieces. Junk mailers run the presorting operations. According to USPS figures, it costs presorters between \$4 and \$20 to sort the mail, so the remaining \$86 to \$70 is a giveaway. Phone centers for questions and complaints are also run by a private company.

In May of this year, the U.S. Postal Service took another step towards privatization by signing a \$1.8 billion contract with Emery Worldwide Airlines to move Priority Mail. USPS is also examining contracting out 21 bulk mail centers, together employing over 20,000 workers. “Casual” workers, hired six months a year without benefits by the USPS are sometimes worked six days a week with shifts lasting anywhere between four to eleven hours.

When profit becomes the means and end of a public service, and high-dollar bonuses are coupled with competition and not cooperation, management is sure to drive wage slaves to their breaking points to satiate their greed. Postal workers in the '70s struck and won substantial wage increases and benefits, but their fight needs to go further. Government must be forced to curb their dogs, and stop punishing unions and workers from exercising their rights.

— Alexis Buss

continued on page 8

Free (Radio) Speech Fight 1998

Over the weekend of October 4-6 micro-power radio broadcasters gathered in Washington DC for a weekend of workshops, networking and action dubbed "Showdown with the FCC."

IWW members from New Hampshire, Washington DC, Florida, Texas, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Tennessee were present throughout the proceedings, in a display of the continuing networking of Wobblies in the Free Radio/Free Speech movement. Which makes plenty of sense considering the history of the free speech movement, in which the IWW played a pivotal role in the early 1900s by defying laws outlawing public speech (by "undesirables") which resulted in thousands of wobs filling up the jails to the point that the laws were changed in city after city around the country. Add to that the radio programs that IWW organizers used in Detroit in the 1930s, the recently organized IWW International Radio Network, and the syndicated IWW radio show, "Soapboxing the Airwaves," and you have a great reason for Wobs to come to DC to fight for free speech.

On Sunday, workshops were held on topics including how to work transmitters, the current legal situation, organizing strategy, public relations, and a new station being started in D.C. Afterwards, a free dinner was served followed by a Community Cabaret in the Mt. Pleasant neighbor-

Unionizing Goddard

continued from page 7

NLRB for holding a union election. It seemed like the union was on its way.

The acting provost at the time (Spring 97) liked the idea. But after a series of meetings with the administration, it started to become clear that the board of trustees wasn't so enthusiastic about a community union - and especially the idea of a single bargaining unit. By the time Barbara Mossberg entered the picture in Fall 1997, negotiations were stalemated. At first, Dr. Mossberg appeared to be genuinely open to the union, so it came as a surprise when the union received a letter ending negotiations.

At this point it is important to discuss the "Yeshiva" decision. In the early 1970s, the faculty of Yeshiva University, a private college, attempted to unionize. Their administration claimed that since the faculty had a say in college decision making, they were therefore considered "management." The Supreme Court agreed, and the decision set a precedent for administrations all over the country to fight unionization. The NLRB naturally follows this precedent.

By instructing the union to go through the NLRB, the administration was in effect using the Yeshiva decision. The board had agreed to allow the faculty to unionize, but it knew that litigating through the NLRB could be disastrous for the union. The main point of contention was the board's refusal to recognize the "professional staff," facilitators who were appointed to the position of director. Because of this, nine people would be ineligible to join the union. In a school as small as Goddard, nine people represents a significant part of the community. However, the union has agreed to the NLRB guidelines and an election has been tentatively set for the second week of November.

Students for Peace Education Awareness and Knowledge, Goddard's student activist group, was the main rabble-rousing force behind the actions of the inauguration weekend. For weeks we had been planning a variety of events to express our outrage with Mossberg's underhanded ways and our solidarity with the union. On the day of the inauguration, we heard a rumor that any students doing actions during alumni weekend would be expelled. Naturally, this only

hood, where local performers broadcast hip-hop, tango, bluegrass, poetry, spoken word and folk music to the community over Radio Libre, 97.5 FM. The broadcast was in Spanish and English, with calls going out to garner community support for an upcoming "anti-INS raids" protest.

On Monday morning, a debate between micro-broadcasters, lawyers and FCC officials took place at the Freedom Forum, an organization in DC. Shortly afterward, the "free speech fight" and march took place, with about 200 people marching from DuPont circle to the FCC and NAB buildings, illegally broadcasting throughout, daring the FCC to make an arrest. Surprisingly, the goons who have shut down over 200 community radio stations in the past year dared not show their faces, even when the issue was brought to their front door.

This was taken as a major victory by the militant crowd of broadcasters who as a result were emboldened as they marched on to those who really pull the strings of free speech: the National Association of Broadcasters. The crowd approached the NAB building, and easily took the plaza in front despite security attempts to stop it. Amidst slogan-chanting and street theater, the NAB flag was brought down and a Jolly Roger (skull and crossbones) hoisted in its place.

16-year-old Gainesville resident Boni Ramey, who came up to D.C. with the

strengthened our resolve!

Armed with this extra energy, our day began. After disrupting the inauguration and sparking many questions among all present, we raced around campus hanging banners. The rest of the day was spent talking with as many alumni and students as possible, explaining our actions, talking about the union situation, and building support. That night, we spent some time chalking graffiti that would be there to greet people bright and early.

One of the questions raised by some alumni was, why were students supporting the union? Why would we support an effort whose success could result in our paying higher tuition? Why did we care, anyway? Speaking for ourselves, and probably a good percentage of the student body, we answered that it all went back to the relationships we have with our facilitators. Because this is a work college, we as students have an understanding of what it is to physically run a school, as well as all that goes into the (student centered) academic program. For this reason, we have a special working relationship with both the faculty and the staff.

When the administration is screwing the workers, it affects all of us. The small size and close relationships allow for none of the anonymity of a larger institution. This is a school, but it's also a business, which puts us in a very unique position as students. As consumers, we have the opportunity to make our dissent and solidarity felt in a very strong way.

Not even a week later, we are now attempting to start a Wobbly solidarity group, we have reinstated community meetings, and are planning follow-up actions. Mossberg has taken the offensive with campus-wide emails attempting to confuse and divide the students. However, it is not working! In fact, the extra attention she has given the issue has only increased student awareness. Messy and tragicomic, the union struggle is acting as radicalizing event for many students. Not only are we engaging in an act of solidarity, we are helping to fight to end some of the apathy of our lives here. We are gathering momentum, support, excitement and ideas. Rapid in some places, slow but sure in others, the tide is turning.

— Andrew Jawitz & Dalia Sapon-Shevin

Gainesville IWW/Free Radio Gainesville contingent, was scapegoated although the flag was not in her possession. She was handcuffed while the NAB and DC police debated what should be done with her.

Meanwhile, IWW members stayed around for support while the rest of the demonstration moved along. A security goon tried to pick a fight with some of the IWW's present but was sarcastically told that a fist-fight couldn't protect corporate radio interests. The guard looked embarrassed and awkwardly walked away. Eventually Ramey was taken to the juvenile division for processing where they said she would be let go without charges.

IWW members located Free Radio D.C./D.C. IWW member Chuck Munson who gladly navigated the way to the station where she was picked up. After her rendezvous with the corporate radio elites, Boni said that she is interested in the IWW because of our history of fighting for Free Speech, and is currently considering joining up. The new IWW-wide radio show "Soapboxing the Airwaves" (currently on the third edition) was also promoted to interested people throughout the duration of the event, and will be featuring the event in the third edition.

Soapboxing the Airwaves can be heard on Free Radio Memphis, Free Radio Gainesville, Free Radio Twin-Cities and on the internet at <http://jones.iww.org>

— X345417

"They'll be wanting us to work for nothing next"

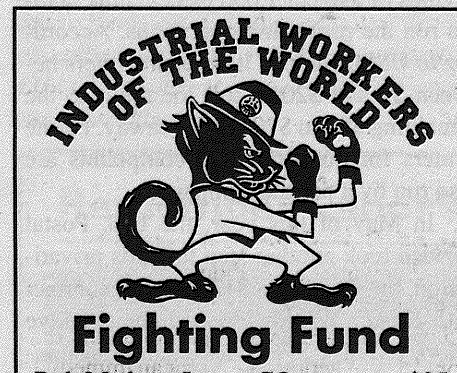
Now for the ultimate in 'flexibility' - working for free! BMW-owned Rover has announced that 4,500 specialist engineers at Longbridge, Gaydon, Oxford and Solihull Land Rover plants must work two hours a week overtime for no pay.

This follows their announcement in July of 1,500 redundancies.

Engineering Director Nick Stephenson says "The strength of the pound is working against us in terms of profitability and it is well known we are looking for savings. Times are tough..."

But while Rover car sales have dropped somewhat, profit margins are actually up as a result of outsourcing and increased sales of more profitable Land Rovers.

What madness. Sack 1,500 workers one minute, then ask those who remain to work for nothing because of a shortage of labour!



Bob Madsen, Lyons CO	\$35
Tom Grunfeld, New York NY	20
Don Hackett, Inkster MI	10
John Dahl, Mexico	15
David Mashni, Hamilton MI	40
Jeff Moore & Roberta Wilson, Bainbridge Island WA	50
Ken McDonald, Pocatello ID	20
Bob Madsen, Riverton UT	30
Total raised to date: \$2,118	
Goal by Dec. 30: \$5,000	

Your contribution to the IWW Fighting Fund helps the IWW meet the expense of responding to the growing number of requests for information and IWW literature, and to reduce the union's operating deficit - thereby keeping the union in fighting trim.

Sick of work

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that over-worked employees across the U.S. are increasingly calling in sick, taking a day or two off to recover.

The *Journal* quotes a New Jersey manager who has had to double his workload to cover for laid-off colleagues. Regardless of how hard he works, stacks of work pile up on his desk. "I could work 20 hours a day, and I still wouldn't be done." He survives by taking a day off from time to time.

Workers have been pressing for time off for years. Now they simply take the time off when they need it. Unscheduled absences rose 25 percent last year, according to a survey of employers. Family issues were cited as the chief cause. Personal need, "entitlement mentality" and stress together accounted for 52 percent.

Meanwhile, as workers are called upon to put in ever-longer hours, British managers have cut back on their work weeks, citing the effect of long hours on their personal lives, according to the Institute of Management.

Saying they worked long hours only because they were compelled to by superiors, 78 percent of junior and mid-level managers reported working more than 40 hours a week, down from 82 percent last year; 34 per cent worked more than 50 hours, down from 38 percent.

Workers' lives worth \$3,000

The *Arizona Republic* reported Sept. 20th that workers' lives are worth about \$3,000.

That's the average fine paid by Arizona companies for safety violations that contributed to the death of a worker. From the beginning of 1992 to mid-1997, 79 of the 134 worker deaths in Arizona investigated by state and federal OSHA officials led to citations for serious safety violations. Just 12 fines totaled more than \$10,000.

In fatal accidents where safety violations were found, fines were cut by about 40 percent on appeal, saving the companies involved more than \$500,000. Workers' compensation laws prohibit workers and their families from suing over workplace injuries or deaths, except where an employer intentionally tries to injure a worker.

"The way our laws work, they're protecting the companies, they're not protecting the workers," said Judy Powell, whose husband was killed in a garbage-truck accident in 1994. Although OSHA found serious safety violations in his case, his employer paid a fine of just \$7,500.

"A Catholic nun with a ruler is more threatening than OSHA, because they are the consummate slap on the wrist," said J. Tyrrell Taber, a lawyer representing the family of Daniel Weber, a worker killed while building Bank One Ballpark.

David Vail, safety director for Perini Building Co., the general contractor on the ballpark, admits that the OSHA fines are financially meaningless to companies like Perini, which posted sales of \$1.3 billion in 1997. But he said companies feared bad publicity and higher insurance premiums.

Larry Etchechury, director of Arizona's Industrial Commission, which oversees state OSHA, said penalties "get someone's attention." But, he added, "I don't think you're ever going to find a situation where you're looking at penalties that are going to equal the value of a human life. ... I just don't think in terms of the political environment that's out there that you're going to see it."

In Massachusetts, the ex-president of Tewksbury Industries has been sentenced to 400 hours of community service on manslaughter charges for his part in killing Antonio Lopez and Earl Shikes in two separate "accidents" caused by missing or inoperable safety equipment.

Hungry landless seize food

Fifteen tons of beans were confiscated in late September in Brazil's Northeast, where hungry peasants are involved in land occupations. More than 200 landless peasants stopped a truck carrying 250 sacks of beans and took the load to their encampment.

Jaime Amorim, regional leader of the landless movement, the MST, told *Folha De São Paulo*: "The workers are hungry on the settlements. We are losing control of the situation. They are the ones looking to feed themselves."

Amorim added that land conflicts in Pernambuco are intensifying. Landowners are arming themselves, and some peasants are preparing for trouble. "In order to avoid a massacre, they will defend themselves. The people cannot live if they are always massacred by the landowners. What can they do? If they don't get the land, they die of hunger. If they try to get the land, they die at the hands of the landowners. They at least want to die struggling," said Amorim.

52 Gap workers sacked

M. Hossain Garments Ltd is a Bangladeshi sub-contractor for the GAP clothing chain. Nearly 1,000 workers toil in this factory. It is neat and clean, as the Gap requires, and there is an emergency exit and a lunch room. But what are the conditions for the workers?

Workers do not receive the mandated minimum wage, do not receive holidays or maternity leave, and have no job security. Although several are members of the National Garment Workers Federation, management refuses to allow a union presence at the plant. The firm fired 52 workers Sept. 11th without cause, and filed false charges against 32 workers the next day only to harass them. Police arrested two workers - Md. Jahangir and Md. Tareq - Sept. 17th, who remain in prison.

Amirul Haque Amin, General Secretary of the National Garments Workers Federation (alamint@bangla.net), asks that people contact the Gap about their code of conduct and pressure their subcontractor to reinstate the fired workers.

No Deportations

The International Transport Workers Federation, representing 400,000 aviation workers worldwide, has called upon its members to refuse cooperation with inhuman methods of forcible deportation.

The decision follows the death of a 20-year-old Nigerian national, Semira Adamu, at the hands of the Belgian authorities on board a Sabena aircraft during her deportation from Belgium on Sept. 22. Adamu was fleeing an arranged marriage to a 68-year-old man. Her asylum claim was rejected, and she was forcibly placed on a Sabena flight to Lagos. She began to scream as other passengers boarded the aircraft, and police held a cushion over her face for 15 minutes, causing her death by suffocation. Belgian police are specifically instructed to use cushions to silence deportees.

The ITF also asked airline crews to report any incidents concerning refugees or deportees.

"Crew have witnessed deportees shackled in chains, bound with tape, and drugged," explained Stuart Howard, ITF Civil Aviation Section Secretary. "They have been asked to assist police to administer sedatives to deportees without their knowledge or permission. We have now witnessed the death of a deportee on board an aircraft."

The ITF insists that the international rights of asylum seekers must be fully respected, and that degrading treatment or excessive force should never be used.

"Civil air transport should not be used for such police operations and civil aviation staff should not be required to take part in any auxiliary immigration policing duties," said Howard.



Solidarity with Han Young workers

Philadelphia IWW members joined activists from Delaware County to picket a Hyundai dealership in Springfield, Pennsylvania, October 10th. The picket was called in support of Mexican Han Young maquiladora workers, who are currently on strike because management refuses to negotiate a contract. Han Young is a contractor for Hyundai.

The Campaign for Labor Rights organized an east coast tour for Jamie Garcia Barron, a striker from the plant. During his Wob-hosted stop in Philadelphia Oct. 1st, Barron told stories from the ongoing struggle to win recognition for a union independent of the government. Government-controlled unions have attempted to raid the drive with no success, and three times workers at Han Young have voted in an independent union. When the company illegally tried to maintain production with scabs, strikers borrowed the company's fuses and stopped production. Government officials have defied federal orders and torn down strike banners, declared the strike "non-existent," and put out arrest warrants for union leaders.

Workers from the Mexican plant are returning from a solidarity visit with Hyundai workers from Korea, who also recently went on strike. The workers from Han Young have made an international appeal to hold Hyundai accountable for the conditions in the maquiladora and look forward to making solidarity links across the globe. — Alexis Buss

Korean workers fight back

continued from page 1

to limit the lay-offs to 277 women ancillary workers. These lay-offs were also opposed by many workers since many of the Hyundai women workers were the sole providers for their families. This agreement was voted down by 63.6% of the members on Sept. 1.

One of the demands of the Hyundai Motors Workers Union was a demand for a shorter workweek - from the present 10-hour days and 52 hour week to a 35-hour week that would "overcome the problem without retrenching a single worker."

In the recent Mando Machinery Company strike, 20,000 riot police using tear gas and pepper fog were used to break the occupations and bust the strike. Over 2,400 workers were arrested and many are still in jail. In part, the attack came because of the capitalists and their press' outrage over the failure to use the police and army against the Hyundai workers. The Chaebols and foreign investors launched a bitter attack on the government for "allowing a negotiated settlement." They warned that this would mean the end of any foreign investment in Korea.

Already the KCTU has lost more than 50,000 members due to the economic crisis

Aussie Wobs join fight

Members of the Melbourne IWW group joined a protest Oct. 4 in memory of Semira Adamu. The protest was part of an international day of action calling for an immediate halt to all deportations, closure of all deportation camps, and papers for everyone.

The conservative Liberal-National Party regime has been returned to national Government, but with a reduced majority to push their Goods & Services Tax on all food etc onto the electorate. Several polities have lost office, including the infamous Pauline Hanson and David Oldfield from the One Nation Party of bigots.

The conservatives' union-busting - most spectacularly the War on the Wharfies - will continue. Civilian Conscription (Work for Dole) is to expand. The Jabiluka uranium mine on Mirrar aboriginal land will be pushed on. So more "trouble coming everyday" expected.

— Margaret

4 die in general strike

Four workers were killed in Ecuador Oct. 1 in clashes during a day of strikes and protests against a series of economic measures decreed by the government. Ninety people were arrested.

The strikers were protesting a government austerity programme, which would end price subsidies on fuel and electricity, and a 15 percent currency devaluation. The unions say the measures will only benefit the banks and multinational corporations, while leading to greater inequality.

Colombia Strike Illegal

Tens of thousands of public employees refused to end their three-day-old strike Oct. 9, after the government declared the walk-out illegal and docked their pay. Troops occupied facilities belonging to the state-owned oil and telecommunications firms.

Unions are demanding an end to privatization and austerity plans, and salary increases at least in line with Colombia's 18 percent inflation.

U.S. and European unions had made it more difficult for Korean unionists to fight these policies.

The government, while defending the chaebols and banks, refuses to provide any real safety net. There is still no unemployment benefits or other social benefits. The government also refuses to make any major cuts in the military, which consumes nearly 30% of the entire budget. However, the drive to privatize the economy has slowed down. While temporarily backing off on the privatization of public broadcasting, water and electricity, the government is privatizing hospitals throughout the country.

The government is also continuing major investments in infrastructure construction. This, however, has had little effect for the hundreds of thousands of workers who are being laid off every month. While the chaebols continue to get credit and funding, small companies which employ the largest number of workers are being forced into closure as a result of the lack of credit.

The world division of labor now taking place is determined by the interests and needs of world capital through the IMF, WB, WTO and multi-nationals. Their agenda can be thwarted only by a working class challenge to their control. The melt-down of the world economy now raises the question of not "protectionist controls" but a complete new world order. Instead of an IMF based on the interests and needs of the banks and multinationals, a World Labor Bank that based investments on the development of labor and society is required. This will of course not take place under capitalism.

The explosive conditions developing not only in Korea but throughout East Asia will certainly lead to further politicization of the working class and most of the population. In the first six months of this year, Korean consumption has dropped by more than 28%. This massive collapse of consumption is clearly only the beginning of the downturn in the economy - which can only be aggravated by the likely tanking of the US economy. Under these circumstances the need to develop a mass independent working class party and a plan for the defense of the population is becoming more and more a life and death question.

— Steve Zeltzer, Labor Video Project

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Learning to Live With Slavery

A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society by Lawrence Glickman. Cornell University Press, 1997, 220 pages, \$35 (cloth).

Reading the articles my students just turned in about wage slavery based on a speech by a typesetter who holds that the only thing to do with the wage system is to abolish it, it becomes abundantly clear that despite their working-class background few of my students grasp the injustice of wage slavery or can imagine a world without it. (They can't write a coherent sentence either, but that's another matter.)

Similarly, the business unions long ago decided they'd be happy to win "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" (increasingly they'll settle for less than it takes to live, in exchange for working like a dog). "Wage labor seems almost a natural aspect of the world," Glickman opens, "a system of remuneration so ingrained that it is difficult to imagine an alternative." But historically

workers desperately fought to avoid the abyss of wage labor, and continued to reject its legitimacy even after they were forced to submit.

In this important volume, historian Lawrence Glickman tracks the labor movement's gradual shift from demanding abolition of wage-slavery (the dominant motif of the 19th Century labor movement) to pleading for a "living wage." Workers originally saw wage labor as intrinsically degrading, condemning the necessity imposed by the capitalist system of seeking out a master (employer) and submitting to his control in exchange for a modest pittance on which to live. Their attack on wage-slavery explicitly connected the plight of "free labor" with that of the chattel slaves. But by the turn of the century, unions increasingly turned their efforts to winning wages for their members able to provide a "decent" level of consumption. In addition to abandoning the movement's earlier revolution-

ary thrust, the new approach led white male workers to define themselves (and their living standards) in contrast to African-Americans, women, Asians, and recent im-

Book Review

migrants.

Glickman argues that this change was born of necessity, given the failure of a succession of labor movement efforts to overcome wage slavery through political parties, unions and cooperatives. An A.F.L. pamphleteer captured the change in an 8-hour day pamphlet: "Wages are not a badge of slavery, but a necessary and continual part of social progress." Instead of contrasting wage labor to freedom, "living wage" proponents contrasted low wages to high ones—implicitly arguing that workers could win their freedom by raising their consumption levels. Of course, this narrow vision

(besides ignoring questions of human dignity and the fundamental right to shape our own lives) left the great majority of the working class behind. Indeed, the A.F.L. quickly came to focus its efforts on winning a living wage for a handful of skilled workers, often condemning the majority of our fellow workers as a drag on society because of their lower standard of living (necessitated, of course, by the low wages they were paid by their masters).

The abandonment of the rhetoric of wage-slavery for the more limited vision of a living wage was a gradual one. Even with the abolition of chattel slavery, the labor movement continued to battle the wage system. "As long as men work under the wage system there will be slavery," *John Swinton's Paper* declared in 1884. "The wage system is the curse of our time. Away with it."

By 1905, when the IWW was founded, most unions had reconciled themselves to wage slavery. The process was a gradual one, which Glickman sees as beginning as early as 1870, in a report by the Massachusetts

continued next page

The IWW in the History Books

Nigel Sellars' Oil, Wheat, and Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, \$29.95) is a pioneering study of IWW organizing campaigns in Oklahoma. The first study of the IWW to focus on the agricultural and oil workers and to do an in-depth social analysis of the work migratory workers did in the region, it also challenges prevailing beliefs that WW I repression wrecked the union—arguing instead that technological changes and internal union disputes (in particular the Emergency Program split of 1924), derailed what could have been a period of growth for the IWW. This book was honored by the Oklahoma Historical Society as the outstanding dissertation on Oklahoma history for 1994.

Toby Higbie's "Indispensable Outcasts: Harvest Laborers in the Wheat Belt of the Middle West, 1890-1925" (*Labor History* 38, Fall 1997, pp. 393-412), while mainly devoted to hoboing and labor turnover, also has a few pages on the IWW. And Von Russell Creel's "The Case of the Wandering Wobbly: The State of Oklahoma v. Arthur Berg" (*Chronicles of Oklahoma* 73[4], 1995-96, pp. 404-23) recounts the arrest and prosecution of an IWW migratory worker on criminal syndicalism charges. FW Berg served two years in jail before being released by an appellate court.

Philip Dreyfus' "The IWW and the Limits of Inter-Ethnic Organizing: Reds, Whites and Greeks in Grays Harbor, Wash., 1912" (*Labor History* 38, Fall 1997, pp. 450-70)

discusses a strike in which the IWW briefly united with the AFL's shingleweavers. The resulting strike closed every mill in Aberdeen, and was spreading throughout the region when armed thugs began rounding up strikers into a bullpen. Some 150 Wobblies were deported, strike leaders were arrested, and the AFL quickly capitulated, settling the dispute on a "whites-only" basis that excluded the Greek, Finnish and other immigrant workers who did the bulk of the work and formed the core of IWW support in the mills.

Joseph Sullivan's "Every Shout a Cannon Ball: The IWW and Urban Disorders in Providence, 1912-1914" (*Rhode Island History* 54, May 1996, pp. 51-64) is one of very few articles available on IWW organizing efforts in Rhode Island, focusing on the authorities' efforts to keep Wobblies (and also socialists) from marching and rallying in public. The rising price of pasta ultimately touched off food riots which were used as a pretext for suppressing radicals.

Joining Peter Cole's dissertation on the Philadelphia dockworkers (mentioned in last year's column) is an article by H. Kimeldorf and R. Penney, "'Excluded' by Choice: Dynamics of Interracial Unionism on the Philadelphia Waterfront, 1910-1930" (*International Labor & Working-Class History* 51, Spring 1997, pp. 50-71), which examines IWW efforts to balance class and race in order to overcome the racial polarization that disrupted unionization in so many ports.

Calvin Winslow's anthology, **Waterfront Workers: New Perspectives on Race and Class** (University of Illinois Press, 1998, \$17.95), includes a chapter by Howard Kimeldorf titled "Radical Possibilities? The Rise and Fall of Wobbly Unionism on the Philadelphia Docks." Winslow's introduction notes Navy claims that Wobblies were working almost every port in the United States, and concludes that "in circumstances which were adverse in extreme, the IWW accomplished more than is commonly known..." However, the IWW is mentioned

only occasionally outside of the chapter on Philadelphia, where the IWW had job control for many years. "The history of [MTW] Local 8 suggests that leftist union leadership, sound 'business' methods, and rank-and-file support were not necessary incompatible," Kimeldorf says; "indeed they may even presuppose one another, as they did... on the Philadelphia docks where the longshoremen embraced a Wobbly leadership that was as militant about its revolutionary vision as it was pragmatic about building a mass-based organization." (p. 100) We plan to review this book in the near future.

A chapter in Tom Juravich, William Hartford and James Green's **Commonwealth of Toil: Chapters in the History of Massachusetts Workers and Their Unions** (University of Massachusetts Press, 1996, \$24.95) addresses IWW efforts in the textile industry. The book is a survey, bringing together existing scholarship for labor educators and students, and so adds relatively little to our knowledge of IWW activity, though it includes some great photographs.

Two master's theses on the IWW have also crossed our desk. William Stambaugh's "The IWW in Pennsylvania" (Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg, 1998) offers an account of IWW activities through the World War I years based primarily on examination of local newspapers from Lancaster, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, and the IWW press. Stambaugh documents that the IWW was much more active in Pennsylvania than has been acknowledged by most historians, documenting 56 strikes and more than 100 chartered branches.

Contrary to Ralph Chaplin's caution against "using the hysterical newspaper headlines of the day as source material," Stambaugh argues that newspaper stories were generally balanced. But this is in part, I suspect, because the author feels the need to go even beyond those hysterical headlines to attribute bombings and other acts of violence to the IWW even where the police and bosses refrained from doing so. To cite a particularly glaring example, Stambaugh


points (p. 63) to a dynamite bomb found on a train carrying goods to the struck American Woolen plant in Lawrence, noting that he "could not discover" "a definitive link to the IWW... but circumstances appeared suspicious." Well, we know who was planting dynamite in Lawrence—American Woolen agent Ernest Pitman. There is almost certainly a reason the newspapers never suggested IWW involvement in the train bomb, and it is not that they were sympathetic to our cause. While Stambaugh's conclusion makes it clear that he admires the IWW, the preoccupation with violence is neither justified by a critical reading of the evidence Stambaugh brings to bear nor nearly as interesting as the unknown IWW branches whose efforts he uncovers.

Amy Levinson and Jess Grant's "Outlawing Dissent: Criminal Syndicalism, Anarchism, and Sabotage in the West" (The Evergreen State College, Washington, 1998) focuses on three incidents: the 1919-20 prosecution of Michael Hennessey under Washington State's criminal syndicalism law, the 1970 case against three Chicano activists (Los Tres de San Diego) under California's criminal syndicalism law, and the 1997 sabotage convictions of six environmental activists under the criminal syndicalism laws for hanging a banner from a ship during a logging protest in Longview, Washington.

Levinson and Grant examine the propaganda campaign against the IWW which laid the groundwork for the criminal syndicalism laws, and the growing reluctance of juries to convict Wobblies in the 1920s. (The U.S. Supreme Court in 1925 prohibited prosecutions based on simple IWW membership in *Fiske v. Kansas*.) FW Hennessey was convicted of criminal syndicalism merely on the basis of holding a membership card—one of hundreds of workers swept up for IWW membership. The Super Rubin Seven, convicted of felony sabotage in 1997, were appealing their convictions and the constitutionality of Washington state's criminal syndicalism laws as the thesis was completed.

We reviewed Anthony Lukas' **Big Trouble** earlier. His account of the Haywood-Pettibone-Moyer case never really comes to terms with the class struggle in the mining districts and assumes the guilt of the defendants despite the lack of any real evidence pointing in that direction. And the National Writers Union is using "Joe Hill" as part of the password to the members-only portion of its web site. An explanatory note contains a laudatory and accurate description of Joe Hill and the IWW's early work. While our current status is not mentioned, we are at least not pronounced dead.

— Jon Bekken



*In November We Remember
Pennsylvania Martyr*

Mimi Fasig

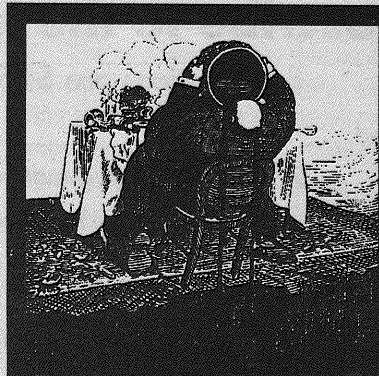
(1907 - 1893)

15 years old at the time of her death

Died from pneumonia after the Stehli Silk Mill heartlessly made striking Wobblies wait for hours for their last paycheck in the cold November rain.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania

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- Christmas card designed by Joe Hill, 4 color, glossy, \$10/dozen.
- The cat knocking over the xmas tree, \$5/dozen.
- Merry Commodity Fetishism (tree crashes tv screen), \$5/dozen.

A Living Wage...

continued from page 10

sets Bureau of Statistics of Labor which denounced the wage system as "adverse to the general good," but in terms that suggested the system was wrong not because it was organized theft or robbed workers of their independence, but because the wages were insufficient to meet workers' needs. This shift of emphasis from workers as producers to workers as consumers was less threatening to the status quo, but ultimately stripped the labor movement of much of its moral core.

A.F.L. President Sam Gompers built on this consumerist vision in his demand for an "American standard of living," an ever-increasing level of consumer goods. Far from providing a basis for uniting the working class, Glickman demonstrates, the A.F.L.'s "living wage" rhetoric tended to entrench racial and gender discrimination. It also led to some bizarre notions, such as A.F.L. claims (as part of its union label drive) that "wage-earners are, in a large sense, their own employers" through their buying of consumer goods.

As middle-class reformers came to the fore in the 1920s, they redefined the "living wage" as a subsistence wage - the bare necessity needed to sustain life - aided to a large extent that many workers earned substantially less. Labor gradually abandoned the language of the "living wage" as a result, while continuing to press high-consumption arguments which saw producers and consumers as one and the same.

Glickman does not fully address the implications of this transition - his purpose is more to understand the evolving "living wage," consumerist ideology. But in the process, he recalls the earlier, more cogent, critique of wage slavery upon which the labor movement was built, and to which we must return if we are ever to build a working-class movement capable of dumping the bosses off our backs and reconstructing a society and an economy based on human needs.

— Jon Bekken

People's Music

The national gathering of the People's Music Network will kick off Friday, Jan. 29, in Chicago with a concert featuring Pete Seeger, Ella Jenkins, Charlie King and others.

The PMN is a network of musicians and community activists working for social change. The weekend gathering will feature concerts and workshops highlighting issues of labor, peace and justice, anti-racism, gay and lesbian issues, and how to create songs for action. Registration for the entire gathering, including meals and concerts, is \$80. Tickets to the opening concert (People's Church, Sheridan & Lawrence) along are \$15. For more information, including low-income and single-day tickets, call 630/268-8639.

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.

Revised and updated, this classic self-help manual is subtitled: "building solidarity while staying clear of the law." \$10

IWW Organizing Manual (2nd Ed)

A guide to building the IWW on the job. \$5

Bread & Roses, \$2

British IWW magazine

A New Union Vision

Arthur J. Miller reflects on the need for revolutionary unions today. \$2

IWW Little Red Songbook (36th ed.)

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: An IWW Anthology

edited by Joyce Kornbluh
A collection of stories, poems, songs and cartoons from the English-language Wobblly press. Just reissued. \$26

Fellow Workers, Remember!

At least 1,300 Wobblies were locked up under 'espionage' and 'criminal syndicalism' frame-ups between 1917 and 1920; this collection documents their plight and IWW efforts to fight the persecution. \$5

1923 IWW Songbook

Facsimile reprint of IWW Songs, \$5

A Little Working Class Sense

by Gilbert Mers
A veteran labor activist calls on workers to once again take up the struggle against capitalism. \$3

Baseball caps \$9

Black globe on red cap, adjustable sizing.

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.

Posters by Carlos Cortez

Lucy Parsons, Ben Fletcher, Joe Hill or Mother Jones. \$25

Bumperstickers

Nine bumperstickers, each with IWW Globe on left. Slogans: Solidarity Forever, One Big Union, Profit is Theft, Nothing Works Without Clerks, Stop World Hunger - Eat the Rich, Because Capitalism Cannot Be Reformed, An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!, Don't Mourn Organize, Labor is Entitled to All It Creates. Black on durable white stock, \$1.25 each, post-paid.

Silent Agitators

10 designs to a sheet. 50 cents a sheet, minimum order 4 sheets. Wet and stick.

Available from IWW Branches

T-SHIRTS

Wildcat, says 'Direct Action!' above the graphic. Black on white shirt. (M, L, XL) \$12 each, San Francisco Branch, PO Box 40485, SF CA 94140.

IWW Globe Black on Red, L or XL. \$14 + \$3 s/h. P&L Printing, 2298 Clay Dr., Denver CO 80211

3" IWW Button (Red & Black, "Labor Is Entitled to All It Creates") \$2. Twin Cities IWW, Don Kurth, 7315

Dupont Ave. S., Richfield MN 55423-3025

OUTSIDE U.S.

Canadian Songbook \$5. **36th Edition Little Red Songbook** \$10. c/o J. Chang, 137 Roncesvalles #208, Toronto ONT M6R 2L2

British Isles - Songbook (36th Edition) £4 post-paid; a selection of literature is available from IWW, 75 Humberstone Gate, Leicester LE1 1WB.

Books for Rebel Workers

Workers' Culture

Juice is Stranger than Friction.

by T-Bone Slim.

Funny and irreverent, Slim's popular writings for the *Industrial Worker* of the 20s and 30s are collected for the first time. \$10

Canadian IWW Songbook

41 songs by Arlene Mantle, Rick Fielding, Faith Nolan, Len Wallace & others, with music & chords. \$5.

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Where are the Voices?

Poetry by Carlos Cortez. \$10

Crystal Gazing the Amber Fluid.

by Carlos Cortez.

IWW artist's poetic take on life today. \$4

The Iron Heel by Jack London

Initially banned in many parts of America, the story of a war between capitalist oligarchy and a socialist underground \$6

The Flivver King: A story of Ford-America by Upton Sinclair

Walter Reuther called this labor novel "the best single organizational document ever written." \$12

Images of Labor. compiled by John Gorman

Memorabilia from the National Museum of Labor History, London - badges, banners, buttons, sculpture, paintings, etc. from the British labor movement. \$12

Art for the Masses: A Radical Magazine and its Graphics, 1911-1917 by Rebecca Zurier

Showcased artwork by Robert Minor, Art Young and Pablo Picasso to name a few. 150 illustrations, \$10

Harlem Glory by Claude McKay

Black life during the Depression and New Deal, drawing on the author's experiences in the IWW and socialist movement. \$12

Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class by Robin D. G. Kelley

How black working-class culture has shaped everyday life. \$13.50

The Resistance: 10 years of pop culture that shook the world by Armond White

America's best-known Black film critic on pop music, videos and film reflecting a new consciousness about race, history, and sexuality. \$12

Break Their Haughty Power.

by Eugene Nelson.

Fictionalized biography of Joe Murphy, who was an IWW member between 1919 and 1924. \$12

Video Documentary

Older = Bolder: Anarchist Elders, by Zimya Toms-Trend. 28-minutes; veteran Wobblies reflect on their struggles and ideas. VHS, \$20.00

Cassettes, \$10 each.

Heartland, Anne Feeney Live includes "War on the Workers"

All Used Up. Utah Phillips

Rebel Voices. IWW Songs sung by IU 630 Wobs.

We Have Fed You All for 1,000 Years. Utah Phillips sings IWW songs.

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As Seen on No TV. Chris Chandler

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Greenfire. Dakota Sid, Travers Clifford

Food Phone Gas Lodging. Charlie King

Justice. Toshi Reagon

Out of Darkness. Tom Juravich

Compact Disks \$15 each.

Look to the Left. Anne Feeney

Heartland, Anne Feeney Live

IWW History

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

Fellow Worker: The Life of Fred Thompson. Edited by D. Roediger. Autobiographical reflections and philosophy from a veteran Wobblly who bridged the generations. \$10

The Great Bisbee Deportation of July 12, 1917

compiled by Rob Hanson. \$2.50

Red November Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World

by Salvatore Salerno.

Examines the interactions between the IWW and anarcho-syndicalism, with more attention than usual to the IWW's foreign-language papers. \$20

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 Wobblly.

by Henry McGuckin.

A rambling Wobblly organizer of the 1910s tells 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.

Direct Action & Sabotage

Three classic IWW pamphlets by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Walker C. Smith and Wm. Trautman, showing how these age-old practices can be integrated into the struggle for industrial freedom. \$15

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Boycott Borders

continued from page 1

were condemned by the US National Writers Union, many of whose members refused to have anything to do with Borders Books; they became the subject of debate on the Philadelphia City Council which condemned the employers for sacking a union organizer; and they saw the likes of Noam Chomsky, famous academic attacking Borders Books for their behaviour.

In a totally separate initiative Borders is being taken to court in the US under anti-monopoly legislation for trying to reach shady deals with publishers regarding prices etc which would drive independent bookshops out of existence."

The leaflet closed by noting that the IWW seeks to organize workers at Borders outlets throughout the world, and asks customers for their support.

The leaflets were well received by both customers and workers, though a security guard tried to interfere. The manager (an American transplant) engaged FW Kevin Brandstatter in a discussion of Borders' working conditions. He said he wouldn't have a union coming between him and his workforce, and was informed that he would have little say in the matter. The manager mentioned that Borders is already having trouble recruiting workers, being forced to pay £5.74 an hour (\$8, far more than they pay in the U.S.) to get staff.

After he went off in a huff his deputy asked our fellow workers to leave, but they refused and continued leafleting. Management threatened to call police, and were invited to go ahead. As the event broke up, Wobs thanked the security guard for his hospitality and said they'd be back soon. He replied that they were barred from the store and would not be allowed to return.

Bragg went on to do a Sept. 24 Borders appearance in Santa Monica, California. Wobblies distributed leaflets to those inside the store while Bragg gave a short talk on unions, mocking employers like Borders who claim that the economy's fine and ask workers to trust them. Bragg said the global economy is about to take a dive - "the iceberg isn't just on the horizon, it's scraping along the side of the boat" - and unions are going to be needed as never before.

Borders management was quiet as the leaflets were distributed, in sharp contrast to prior leaflettings where IWW members have been hustled out the door by security.

Solidarity as a living force

In a letter to Billy Bragg sent shortly before the Santa Monica gig, Miriam Fried noted that "over the years your music has meant a lot to me. ... I was a fan long before the union drive at Borders, but once we started fighting for a union, your labor songs took on a new dimension. The feeling I had with my co-workers during our union drive was a kind of beauty and strength I never felt before. It was solidarity as a living force. ...

"I know you've heard the following before ... but I wanted to tell you myself. Borders is a union-busting outfit. I will never forget how they defeated our union drive by cynically taking advantage of my co-workers' capacity for trust. Our union election was defeated by only three votes, after Borders lied to us, made false promises, scared us, and poisoned the work atmosphere. ... Of course they didn't keep their promises, so we started organizing again, and very soon after, I was fired. ...

"As long as Borders keeps up its anti-union campaign, me and the rest of the union don't think it's right for labor-con-



scious people to do business there.

"Borders still likes to present itself as progressive, even though it intimidates its workers and busts their unions, even though it's a huge corporate chain that engages in monopolistic practices that hurt independent bookstores, even though it turns its high profits into outrageous salaries and stock packages for its bosses and near-minimum wage rates for its employees (\$6.50/hour). They have been eager to repair their public image problems by bringing in liberal/left speakers and performers. I can't think of any artist more famous for being radically pro-union than you. Your appearing there doesn't just sell albums for them, it also helps the company defend itself against charges of union-busting."

AFL and IWW — The Difference

The form, methods and tactics of the A.F. of L. differ vastly from that of the I.W.W.

The former is run, you might say without any stretch of the imagination, absolutely by officialdom, the latter by the membership.

The one is simply a dues-paying machine. The participation of the membership in the union's affairs is

78 years ago in the IWW press

only perfunctory, and is permitted only so as to give a semblance of democracy. Officials endorse strikes of these unions, or turn them down, as they see fit.

As an instance, let us mention the pressmen's and longshoremen's strikes in New York, where the officials of both unions acted as industrial policemen for their respective employers. Major Berry of the Typographical union had advertisements for both union and non-union men to take the place of striking pressmen. Such acts of treachery would not be tolerated in the I.W.W. for 24 hours. The pressmen put up a hard and gallant struggle but were defeated by their own paid officials.

When a union allows itself to be used in such a manner it is as much to blame as their officials, or rather more. By their indifference and lack of interest they are shifting the responsibility for the policy of the union on their officials. Carrying a card and holding a job is their whole concern. They say, 'Let George do it.' George does it, to their undoing, as many of the members of the A.F. of L. are finding out to their sorrow.

They placed their officials on a pedestal, generous to a fault in giving them a salary, a salary that is very much beyond what they could earn in their respective callings. The official knows what the grind and muck of the factory is, and he has no

intention of going back on the job, so he builds up a machine to secure himself and his kind. Feeling secure in his position he swells up with self-importance, and his happiest moments are when he can shake hands with the boss and contract his union out for a two or three year contract.

These contracts are null and void. Either party to them can violate them with impunity. Having power, no contract is needed to enforce the demands. If you are without power your helpless officials will insist that you live up to the contract. The contract deadens the activity of the members and is harmful in many ways. It causes unions in the same industry to scab upon one another, preventing the solidarity that is so necessary to labor.

The I.W.W. organizes workers in their respective industries. When industries are fully organized industrial departments are formed. These departments united together form the One Big Union of Workers. The officials are only the recording clerks of these respective unions. All power is with the membership. Each industrial union determines itself the advisability of striking, and no official can deny it the right, and will receive the hearty support of its industry, as well as of all industries if necessary, making an injury to one the concern of all, and creating that spirit of solidarity so much required on the part of the working class.

The I.W.W. impresses its membership with the necessity on their part of studying, of thinking, of weighing all propositions affecting the interests of the working class, and of feeling that the responsibility for the success of the organization rests on them; to make of them union men and not merely

card men; to fit them to control and run industry when capitalism shall have passed away.

This is the mission of the I.W.W.

Which will you have? An organization such as the A.F. of L. which accepts capitalism, or the I.W.W. whose mission is to establish an industrial democracy, in which all workers will receive the full social value of their service to society.

The labor problem is up for solution. It is the problem of the hour. Its solution is imperative. Upon it depends the life of civilization. Are you with us? If so, join the I.W.W. at once, and don't wait till 'George does it.'

He who will be free must himself strike the blow.

All power to the working class.

— George Speed

One Big Union Monthly, June 1920

Burning Lawyer Festival

Who is Victor Van Bourg? To Sal Roselli, president of SEIU 250, this labor lawyer is "a leader in the class struggle." To angry union workers participating in "The First Annual Burning Lawyer Festival" he is a legal hit man, suppressing the rights of union members for power hungry or corrupt labor bureaucrats.

Either way, Van Bourg is the most famous labor attorney in the Northern California, representing a vast network of union locals, District Councils, and union benefit funds, plus a couple of international unions.

50 union members—representing a cross section of the unions Van Bourg is counsel for—showed up to demonstrate against him at the entrance to San Francisco's Treasure Island handing out leaflets denouncing Van Bourg for "trampling on union members' rights while getting fat from their dues money." Van Bourg was scheduled to appear at a dinner that evening celebrating the 10th anniversary of Sal Roselli's administration of SEIU local 250, one of the attorney's clients.

The demonstrators showed up with a 8-foot-tall effigy of the attorney. While the grotesque figure was not set afire, one participant said "we'll burn it in front of Victor's office." Speaking from his Oakland office, Van Bourg sounded shaken. "I regard burning an effigy as an act of violence."

Joey Figueroa, doorman at a San Francisco condominium, said he has been fighting corruption in his local for many years. Van Bourg is presently defending union officials from a lawsuit demanding the return of money they stole from union benefit funds. Van Bourg also represents the funds, making sure the thieves can strike at will.

When an asbestos contractor refused to pay into a Laborers benefit fund, Van Bourg refused to lift a finger. Instead, he intervened to help contractors who refused to make the contractual payments.

Van Bourg has also filed lawsuits against union dissidents on behalf of union officials trying to fend off challenges to their rule.

Viriden Massacre Remembered

On Oct. 12, 1898, Viriden, Illinois, was the scene of a bloody confrontation between mine guards, firing from fortified positions, and 1,500 UMWA miners in an open field across the railroad tracks. When it was over eight miners and four guards were dead. Despite the massacre, the miners continued to win their strike.

This year local activists organized a walking tour over ground that is largely unchanged since the day of the battle, using St. Louis-based Equity actors to recreate the experiences of participants in the events, largely in their own words.

Nearly 1,000 people attended, including many UMWA miners on strike against nearby mines.

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 \$1,000: \$5 per month; Income \$1,000-2,000: \$10 monthly; Over \$2,000: Dues \$15. Initiation Fee is same as one month's dues. A low-income worker can join for as little as \$10.00

I affirm that I am a worker, and that I am not an employer.
 I agree to abide by the IWW constitution and regulations.
 I will study its principles and make myself acquainted with its purposes.
 Name: _____ Occupation: _____
 Address: _____ City: _____
 State/Prov.: _____ Zip: _____ Phone: _____

Membership includes a subscription to the Industrial Worker