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Workers are fed up

Nearly three-fourths of U.S. workers now believe rank-and-file workers should be represented on corporate boards, and 58 percent say workers need unions in order to protect their interests.

The poll results indicate a "high level of mistrust, anxiety and frustration ... that can be felt in every assembly line and cubicle throughout America," Employment Law Alliance chief Stephen Hirschfeld told the *Washington Post*. The survey was commissioned by the ELA, an association of union-busting attorneys. Hirschfeld warned employers that they need to respond to workers' concerns if they hope to head off union organization drives.

The employing class is increasingly worried. The far-right American Enterprise Institute reports a large increase in the percentage of the U.S. population that considers big business the "biggest threat to the future of the country." Only 38 percent chose that option, but that is the highest level in the 48 years pollsters have asked the question, and up sharply from 22 percent two years ago. The number of people who believe "what is good for business is good for the average person" is also down sharply.

AFL-CIO surveys have found similar results. More than half of workers who don't belong to a union would join a union immediately if one was available to them.

Conditions for many workers are clearly getting worse. The Economic Policy Institute reports that the income gap between the wealthy and poor workers is growing again, after narrowing slightly in the late 1990s. However, unionization makes a difference. Not only do union workers generally make higher wages, a new Canadian study found that unionized workers are almost twice as likely to have extended medical, dental and disability coverage, and three times as likely to have a pension plan.

Official unemployment is up to 5.9 percent, and one in five unemployed workers have been jobless for at least six months.

More than 22 million American workers did not have a single paid day off in 2000, the most recent year data for which Bureau of Labor Statistics data are available.

U.S. workers' vacations are among the shortest in the world. In Japan, long known for its long work hours, collective bargaining agreements provide manufacturing workers with 18 paid vacation days a year, compared with an average of 12 in the United States. Japanese workers also get 13 paid holidays, compared with 11 in the U.S.

European workers get more than twice as much time off as Americans.

Management consultant Mike Carter told the *Washington Post* that globalization means more workers are aware that they are being shortchanged, especially as many work for companies that give more time off to staff in other countries.



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A forward-thinking General Assembly

IWW members from San Jose to Portland, Maine, from Edmonton to Phoenix, and many points in-between, gathered in Ottawa, Ontario, August 30 through September 1 for the annual General Assembly of the Industrial Workers of the World.

This year's was a more reflective gathering than usual, with few major controversies to be resolved and an administration that all agreed is moving the union in the right direction. Instead of debating constitutional amendments, much of the delegates' time was set aside for a panel discussion on strategies for a new labor movement, a presentation by veteran activist Staughton Lynd, and two sessions conducted by the IWW's Organizer Training Committee.

At the well-attended Friday night panel on visions and tactics for a new labor movement, four panelists explored the possibilities of community organizing, direct action, independent labor bodies, and minority unionism.

IWW General Executive Board chair Joshua Freeze spoke on the role of independent unions in building the labor movement, stressing the importance of local, shopfloor unionism to "put democracy into the workplace." While we need broader networks to confront capital internationally, Freeze said, only autonomous local structures can provide a solid foundation for such struggles.

Labor historian and activist Staughton Lynd pointed to the history of what he called alternative central labor bodies in sparking workers' rebellions over the years. He offered several examples, beginning with the Youngstown Workers Solidarity Club, with which he has been associated since its inception.

The Club was launched because several labor activists saw a need for effective, timely solidarity actions at a time when local unions were besieged. Club members joined picket lines, publicized disputes, and used creative tactics to confront the bosses. When an injunction was taken out in response to their boisterous support of striking hospital workers, they simply ignored it, and hospital management was ultimately forced to settle.

Over time, the Workers Solidarity Club broadened its horizons, sending delegations to Latin America and conducting daily protests during the Gulf War. While many activists feared the consequences of protesting the war, Lynd said, that concern proved misguided. "Because people knew me, whether or not they agreed with me it made no fundamental difference in our relationship."

"We must not be afraid of opposing imperialism abroad, as well as capitalism at home," Lynd concluded, urging the delegates to follow "the great tradition of the Paris Commune, building organizations which can point the way toward a qualitatively different kind of society."

IWW General Secretary Alexis Buss looked to labor history to argue for building union power on the job through minority unionism. Although Canadian and U.S. labor law is built on the premise that unions require government certification and majority status, this is not how the labor movement was built. While our goal is of course to organize all workers on the job (and in the working class), Buss pointed out that there are many opportunities to practice unionism on the job even with only a rela-

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"We are not beasts, but human beings..."

BY NANCY GREENE, BASE21

Since a severe crackdown on migrant workers began Sept. 1, at least 50 workers per day have been arrested and detained. The Korean government is concentrating their arrests in geographical areas where the Joint Committee for Migrants in Korea and the Equality Trade Union - Migrant's Branch are most active - Ansan, Maseok, Bbucheon and Songnam. This reflects the government's primary objective of destroying organizations that help workers fight for their rights, ensuring a compliant and passive army of disempowered migrant workers who will bow to the unfair trainee system now in place out of fear of deportation.

The ETU-MB is a ground-breaking union comprised of undocumented migrant workers, who are imported by Korean businesses under a "trainee system" that purportedly trains the migrants in technologies that can later be transferred to their home countries. This trainee system is a sham - workers are forced to labor long hours under dangerous conditions for substandard wages in small factories. These impossibly degrading conditions force the vast majority of migrant workers to work illegally.

Two ETU-MB activists were arrested while their grievances over unpaid "trainee" work were still pending. The ETU-MB says that the two migrant workers from Bangladesh - Kabir Uddin and Mohammed Bidduth (who was beaten severely during questioning) - had their signatures forged

by immigration officials so as to expedite deportation. Both workers have live complaints lodged with the Korean Labor Office as well as with the Korean Human Rights Commission contesting the government suppression of freedom of speech after the Ministry of Justice deemed protest by undocumented workers illegal. While these complaints remain unresolved, it is illegal to deport them against their will.

They were en route to Incheon international airport to be deported when their lawyers discovered the forged documents and they were returned to the Suwon detention centre. Detainees can be released on bail by their employers (and no one else) for one billion won. This directly contradicts the government's announced policy of summarily deporting "illegal workers."

The Korean government has warned foreigners that if they join in actions to protest the crackdown, they too will be deported, further demonstrating an undemocratic disrespect for freedom of speech and action.

"We migrant workers are not criminals but heroes of production," says an ETU-MB statement on the crackdown. "We are not beasts but human beings. But the government and bosses treated us otherwise. Our suffering ranges from being overworked and underpaid, from lack of medical insurance to industrial accidents, from verbal abuse to physical and sexual violence. And now violent attacks are being launched to arrest and deport us."

Defend anti-racist activists

On the morning of August 24, 28 anti-racist activists (including three Wobblies) went to the Baltimore Travel Plaza to protest the neo-nazi "National Alliance." Some 200 racists were gathering there before caravanning to their march and rally in Washington, D.C. later that day. As the activists entered the parking lot, the group was confronted by several police cars. The 28 attempted to return to their cars when suddenly they were surrounded by dozens of police cars.

Held in the pouring rain for nearly an hour, they were eventually cuffed and brought to the Southeast District police station. After hours of shivering on the floor of a conference room, they were transferred to Central Booking and held for almost 24 hours before receiving their papers. When they finally were allowed to see commissioners, some were released on their own recognizance while others received bail amounts upwards of \$10,000. None of these activists had committed any crime, nor were they told what they were being charged with until after they had been interviewed. Bail was raised and all activists are now out of jail, but the legal battle is just beginning.

Later that night Baltimore police carried out a raid on a community center being used to coordinate jail solidarity. They confiscated pamphlets, magazines and other literature. Police then surrounded an activist center and attempted another warrant-less search. The activists refused to talk to police and instead called the media. Police left the scene when the media showed up. Police then followed and pulled over several cars traveling to and from these locations.

The Baltimore Police Department is going forward with their trumped-up charges, once again protecting violent racists over the

interests of our communities. The charges against the Baltimore Anti-Racist 28 and the harassment of the anti-racist community are part of a larger attempt to silence the voices of committed activists. Due to the scale of media coverage and the various regions represented by the defendants, this case is important to everyone continent-wide who is opposed to racial and other nazi prejudices.

Twenty-six activists have each been charged with: rioting (unlimited penalty), Three counts of second degree aggravated assault (punishable by up to 10 years in prison and/or a \$2,500 fine), possession of a deadly weapon with intent to injure (up to 3 years in prison and/or a \$1,000 fine), malicious destruction of property (up to 3 years in prison and/or a \$2,500 fine), disorderly conduct (up to 60 days in prison and/or a \$500 fine). The twenty-seventh activist, a minor, received the same charges plus an additional 20 counts of second degree aggravated assault. The twenty-eighth activist, a representative of the National Lawyers Guild, was arrested while attempting to protect the rights of the activists. He was charged with failing to obey an officer (punishable by up to 60 Days in prison and/or a \$500 fine).

The National Alliance told police they were confronted by anti-fascists in the morning. If so, they had been there and left well before the 28 arrived. Police decided to round up anyone in the parking lot and are attempting to pin any real or imagined crimes the racists complained of on these innocent activists.

These anti-racist activists need your assistance as they are facing a combined total of 1,177 years of jail time. Many thousands of dollars will be needed to fight these bogus charges. Please send donations (with a note that your contribution is for the Baltimore Anti-Racist 28 Legal Defense Fund) to: Black Planet Books, 1621 Fleet Street, Baltimore MD 21231-2931.

In solidarity, Baltimore
Anti-Racist 28 Defense Committee

Readers' Soapbox

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The ILWU Must Not Be Broken!

The following resolution was issued by the IWW General Executive Board, which directed that it be published in the Industrial Worker:

The International Warehouse and Longshore Union (ILWU), the dockworkers' union on the U.S. and Canadian West Coast, is under attack by international corporations and their government in Washington, D.C.

Across the globe, from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Korea, the docks are being privatized and their labor casualized. The worldwide union-busting project against longshore unions has finally come to capitalism's heartland. This cannot be viewed as only an assault on individual unions but a direct challenge to workers' power and the small measures of economic democracy that flows from that power. The business class will not be satisfied until the docks of the world, perhaps the most critical point of distribution in a globalized economy, are fully under their exclusive control.

The Bush regime has threatened to send federal troops into our ports. While decrying the impasse in bargaining, Bush plans only to attack the ILWU. The threatened use of troops to break the ILWU will have repercussions across the U.S. and the world. It will truly shift the ground on which all organized labor stands.

An Appeal to World Labor

Working people cannot allow the ILWU to be broken. The IWW appeals to world labor to organize against the onslaught by the business class, its government and its media. The rank and file must take the lead to make sure trade unions don't run away. No compromise in defense of the working class: we cannot afford it.

An Appeal to Those Who Oppose "Globalization"

The anti-globalist movement has a responsibility to support the ILWU in this struggle. There is no other single event that poses the questions of globalization, militarism, of corporate hegemony and a working-class alternative as powerfully this struggle at the docks. A victory here will mean more than all the mass demos that have been organized against the elites. A failure would be a historical defeat for liberty, democracy, and workers power. Your movement cannot afford this loss and hope to survive, let alone to succeed.

The IWW also calls on all the foes of corporate globalization to rally to the support of the ILWU. During the dirty wars in Central America, the union refused to move war goods. The union stood in solidarity with the masses against Apartheid by enforcing the boycott of South African goods. During the N30 protests in Seattle, the ILWU shut down the coast in protest of the assault on democratic rights and liberties. The ILWU has carried out hundreds of actions in solidarity with workers world wide.

If the ILWU Is Prevented From Striking

If ILWU dockers are replaced by the military, we urge dockers around the world to refuse to work ships bound for/sailing to the U.S. We will urge those in the military to refuse strikebreaking work. We call for a working class boycott of American goods until the ILWU is fairly back at work. We urge activists in the anti-globalization movement, especially those on the U.S. West Coast, to back the ILWU and to be prepared to develop mass protests. We cannot allow the ILWU to be broken!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Industrial Worker

The Voice of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

- ★ ORGANIZATION
- ★ EDUCATION
- ★ EMANCIPATION

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Wobs suspended for job action

BY FW BRADEN CANNON

Chartwells Food Services, the sole provider of food service at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, and a subsidiary of Compass Groups (the largest institutional food service company in the world), suspended four employees after they and three co-workers held an on-the-job direct action August 21 in solidarity with a worker who had not been paid. The incident occurred at Baker's Grille/Tim Horton's. Workers at this location have been unionizing with the IWW.

The conflict began when a Chartwells worker did not receive his pay on Friday, August 16, as he was expecting. This worker was to move into a new apartment three days later, and had to have his down-payment by then. On Monday, he still had not received his pay, but was told he would receive his check August 21. He then contacted his landlord and had his downpayment deferred until the 21st. On the 21st, however, he still had not been paid. With his housing status now in jeopardy, he left work. The remaining workers came to a consensus that some action should be taken in solidarity with the departed worker and as a protest against his treatment, deciding upon a 20-minute work stoppage at 2 p.m.

At 2, the seven employees sat down at a table and discussed the benefits of direct action, direct democracy and unionism. Only the on-site manager continued to serve customers. At approximately 2:10, a front office manager arrived on site and told me I was suspended for being a union agitator. I told the remaining workers that I had been suspended and that it was up to them whether or not they wished to continue the work stoppage. I then went to the locker room to change and left as campus security guards arrived. Three other workers were subsequently suspended. The remaining workers were allowed to finish their shifts so that the managers would not have to get their hands dirty.

The Ottawa-Outaouais General Membership Branch immediately began organizing an information picket for the following day. Support (official and unofficial) was secured from Canadian Union of Public Employees Locals 2424, 4600 and 910, United Steelworkers of America Local 9597, and the Carleton University Academic Staff Association, all of which represent workers at Carleton. Support also came from the Ottawa Coalition Against the Tories, the Carleton University Students' Association, the Carleton University Food Collective (which provided most of the food service for the recent General Assembly), and the Ontario Public Information Research Group.

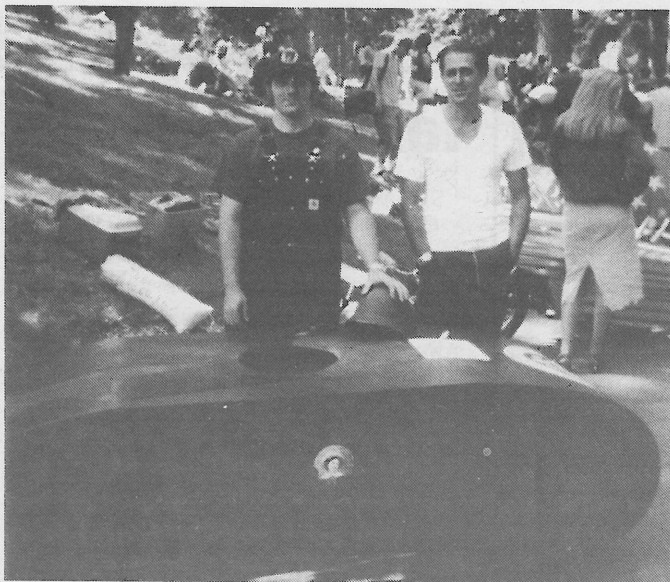
After the protest, a district manager interviewed me to gain my side of the story. I was informed that I and the other suspended workers were, in fact, suspended with pay, which was a new, post-protest development.

On August 23, I was again called in to the district manager's office. While the other suspended workers had been reinstated I was handed a letter of termination, which stated that I was to be fired because I "orchestrated and participated in a work stoppage ... [and] disseminated factually incorrect and damaging information to not only employees at the Baker's Grille, but others as well."

Following the dismissal, the student newspaper, *The Charlatan*, and Ottawa's alternative weekly newspaper, *The Xpress*, both featured stories on these events. The Ottawa-Outaouais GMB assures Chartwells and the OBU that the struggle is not over, as our organizing campaign continues.

In November We Remember

We traditionally run greeting ads in our November issue. Ads must be received by Oct. 10 for inclusion. Rates: \$10 for one column inch, \$25 for three, \$70 for 1/16 page (4" by 2 col.s), \$120 for a quarter page.



FWs Mike Bennett and Ian Wallace with the "E.G. Flynn."

Wob Soapboxer Takes Honors

Believing that cultural activities are also important for our union to grow, the IWW participated in the Portland Adult Soapbox Derby for a second year.

Congratulations go to FW Bennett for driving the "E.G. Flynn" to second place in the races. The Flynn car is festooned with the IWW logo, a black cat and picture of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The unpowered race car reached speeds of 40mph/60kph over the mile-long track (1.5 km).

Around Our Union

IWW members are walking picket lines in solidarity with striking machinists at NECCO candy in Cambridge, Mass., as we go to press. Production workers in the BCT have been crossing the lines in a sorry show of union scabbing. However, production was halted when an improperly operated aging boiler burst, flooding the facility.

IWW members in Denver, Colorado, and Kansas City, Missouri, recently chartered General Membership Branches, for a total of seven new Industrial Union and General Membership Branches chartered in the past year. A shop card application is also pending from Five Stars Medical—a medical billing service in Santa Barbara, California.

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 working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

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

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

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

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

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

Edmonton IWW demands end to city union-busting

The Edmonton GMB continues to walk the line in solidarity with workers at the city-owned Shaw Conference Centre, joining a lively action August 27 which forced city officials to leave a closed-door meeting to discuss the issue. The IWW-Edmonton Labour Day Message also focuses on the dispute:

City of Shame: Shaw strike in fifth month

Mayor Bill Smith likes to say that Edmonton is the best city in the best province in the best country in the world.

Tell striking Shaw Convention Centre

workers that. The city and the provincial government shamefully forced these workers into a five-month strike for a first contract.

This is not the first time that workers trying for a first contract have faced opposition from their employer and the Alberta Government. The *Calgary Herald* strike was lost because labour laws in Alberta favour the employer, not the workers.

Now the City of Edmonton, and its private for-profit promotional arm Economic Development Edmonton, have forced workers at Shaw Convention Centre to strike. The EDE has refused to bargain, and has been sanctioned by the Labour Relations Board—sanctions they have ignored. If workers ignored Labour Relations Board rulings they and their union would face fines and jail. So

far the EDE has not been fined nor have its officers been jailed. And now the Alberta Government wants to review labour legislation. Not because it will help workers, but because of recommendations from its Future Summit. The Summit recommended that in order to "improve productivity" in Alberta the government should "Introduce balanced labour policies and 'right-to-work' legislation. De-unionize Alberta."

Clearly this is not the "best city" or the "best province" for workers. It is the "best" only for employers and businessmen. Instead of trying to de-unionize Alberta, labour laws should be enacted to protect workers rights to organize and get a first contract.

The mayor could have acted to settle the Shaw strike months ago. A year ago Bill Smith stepped in under public pressure and settled the strike with city Emergency Services Paramedic workers. His claims that he can do nothing for the Shaw workers rings hollow, he sits on the board of the EDE.

The Industrial Workers of the World calls for the resignation of all EDE board members and demands city council take direct control of the Shaw Convention Centre and settle this strike. The labour movement in Edmonton should hold a one-day protest in solidarity with Shaw Strikers. We call on our fellow workers to boycott and protest at all businesses owned and operated by members of the EDE board until this strike is settled.

Finally, we call on the labour movement in Alberta to oppose the Alberta Governments attempt to introduce anti-union laws. The most effective way to do this is to ignore the Labour Relations Board and to remove all union representatives from the board until we have labour laws that favour workers' rights. Let's send the City and the Province a message: Workers' rights are human rights.

Join the IWW Today

The IWW is a union for all workers, a union dedicated to organizing on the job, in our industries and in our communities both to win better conditions today and to build a world without bosses, a world in which production and distribution are organized by workers ourselves to meet the needs of the entire population, not merely a handful of exploiters.

We are the Industrial Workers of the World because we organize industrially—that is to say, we organize all workers on the job into one union, rather than dividing workers by trade, so that we can pool our strength to fight the bosses together.

Since the IWW was founded in 1905, we have recognized the need to build a truly international union movement in order to confront the global power of the bosses and in order to strengthen workers' ability to stand in solidarity with our fellow workers no matter what part of the globe they happen to live on.

We are a union open to all workers, whether or not the IWW happens to have representation rights in your workplace. We organize the worker, not the job, recognizing that unionism is not about government certification or employer recognition but about workers coming together to address our common concerns. Sometimes this means striking or signing a contract. Sometimes it means refusing to work with an unsafe machine or following the bosses' orders so literally that nothing gets done. Sometimes it means agitating around particular issues or grievances in a specific workplace, or across an industry.

Because the IWW is a democratic, member-run union, decisions about what issues to address and what tactics to pursue are made by the workers directly involved.

TO JOIN: Mail this form with a check or money order for initiation and your first month's dues to: IWW, Post Office Box 13476, Philadelphia, PA 19101.

Initiation is the same as one month's dues. Our dues are calculated according to your income. If your monthly income is under \$1,000, dues are \$6 a month. If your monthly income is between \$1,000 - \$2,000, dues are \$12 a month. If your monthly income is over \$2,000 a month, dues are \$18 a month.

- I affirm that I am a worker, and that I am not an employer
- I agree to abide by the IWW constitution
- I will study its principles and make myself acquainted with its purposes.



Name: _____

Address: _____

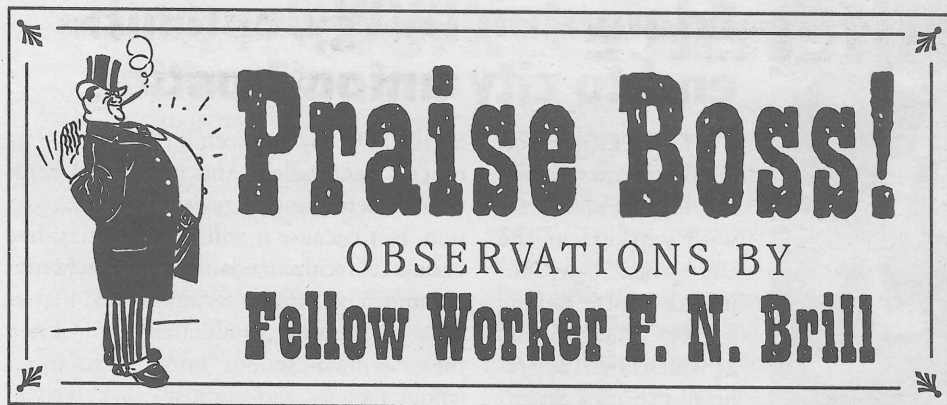
City, State, Zip: _____

Occupation: _____

Phone: _____ E-mail: _____

Amount Enclosed: _____

Membership includes a subscription to the *Industrial Worker*.



It's the all-American version of Praise Boss. The good news is pResidentBush is finally developing a national health care policy for workers. The bad news is he's pardoning Jack "Dr. Death" Kevorkian to run it...

★ ★ ★

I found the following story of stupid bosses on the Internet. Since it was there it must be true, right? At least it seems true...

"As director of communications (for the Taco Bell Corporation), I was asked to prepare a memo reviewing our company's training programs and materials. In the body of the memo in one of the sentences I mentioned the 'pedagogical approach' used by one of the training manuals. The day after I routed the memo to the executive committee, I was called into the HR director's office, and told that the executive vice president wanted me out of the building by lunch. When I asked why, I was told that she wouldn't stand for perverts (pedophiles?) working in her company. Finally, he showed me her copy of the memo, with her demand that I be fired and the word 'pedagogical' circled in red. The HR manager was fairly reasonable, and once he looked the word up in his dictionary and made a copy of the definition to send back to her, he told me not to worry. He would take care of it. Two days later, a memo to the entire staff came out directing us that no words which could not be found in the local Sunday newspaper could be used in company memos. A month later, I resigned. In accordance with company policy, I created my resignation memo by pasting words together from the Sunday paper."

★ ★ ★

Newspapers in Kentucky report that some saboteur switched off the ventilators to a Tyson Company Chicken house, killing 55,000 chickens. While the press laments the poor chickens, no one seems to care about the workers who have to clean out the carcasses. Think about the stench of 55,000 dead chickens in an unventilated chicken house in Kentucky in August. And they say cops are heroes.

And I'm sure the "crew," as the press calls the workers, got a heroes welcome. And a hefty paycheck for their hard work. It reminds me of the latter part of Mother Jones' adage, "Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living."

★ ★ ★

It's Sept. 11th and I'm flipping the channels. While white TV anchors wave the flag, black folks are still being tried on Judge Judy.

★ ★ ★

They tell us it's not a depression, those things don't happen any more. The recession is over, except for us working folks. So what do you call it when the top 5% are doing great and the rest are doing lousy? How about Bushcession. It happens whenever a Bush is in office.

★ ★ ★

According to the Canadian Broadcasting Service, the U.S. government has given a private company the OK to start commercializing the moon. The TransOrbital corporation of California, is expecting "revenue streams" to begin flowing in two years. Who in hell is the U.S. government to give away rights to the moon? Oh yeah, the folks who stole the U.S. in the first place. And steal our labor... Workers of the world unite, you have a world and a moon to gain.

★ ★ ★

Bush's "Starwars" program is the Maginot Line in his war against terrorism.

★ ★ ★

No Exit 2005: When 'W' awoke in the room, he was a bit dazed. It isn't an accurate term, as in truth he materialized, but to his post-living consciousness it felt if he had awakened. 'W' was dimly aware of his being dead. His death had been caused by a heart attack and the doctor's inability to locate his heart so as to revive him. Whether the doctors' malpractice occurred because 'W' had no heart or because his insurance had been transferred to an HMO, no one could tell. Either way he was unlamented.

After his fiery death in the World Trade Center tower, Atta had awakened to his promised 17 virgins. Unfortunately they were, in the words of Rick James, "very freaky girls, not the kind you take home to mother..." Also unfortunate for Atta, they were not freaky in the way Rick James meant. But that's another story.

Atta was startled by the appearance of the deposed president. He had been separated from his "wives" what seemed an eternity ago. When theimps had removed him from their caresses, Atta was sure that the mistake of his being in hell had been solved. Theimps brought Atta to a typical office suite and laughingly told him to "Wait here." As if he had a choice. But "life" in the office was lonely. Atta's first response to the appearance of 'W' was outrage. First hell and then Bush! Atta felt his misreading of the Koran had been a honest but horrific mistake. Bush's betrayal of what little American democracy was left had been a calculated decision for self-aggrandizement. Atta had stayed true to the teachings of the Koran as he understood it. Bush had sold out every principle he and his government supposedly stood for, and Bush was aware of it. 'W' was, like in life, blissfully unaware of where he was or who he was with... (Someone else can finish this ...)

★ ★ ★

FN. Brill, like capitalist newspaper columnists, only accepts comments from folks who agree with him. The Maginot line was a French military boondoggle in which the 1920s French government spent enormous amounts of money building an impenetrable defense system. It ran along the entire border of France and Germany. The Nazis invaded France by walking through Belgium and around the Maginot line. See it pays to read the fine print! Send comments, jokes and shiny objects to: FN Brill, 616 E. Burnside, Portland OR 97214 USA or e-mail fnbrill@yahoo.com

Alberta Wobs demand basic labor rights as polities attack

SUBMITTED TO THE MLA REVIEW COMMITTEE BY IWW EDMONTON

While most workers were on summer vacation, or planning their well-deserved temporary break from wage slavery, the Alberta Government, without advance warning and very little fanfare, announced that it would spend the next two months reviewing Alberta's Labour Relations Legislation...

This government is intent on bringing forth "Right to Work" legislation, which was confirmed in June of this year when they issued their report from their Future Summit. The Summit recommended that the Alberta government: "Introduce balanced labour policies and "right-to-work" legislation. De-unionize Alberta."

Immediately following the release of the Summit recommendations, the government announced its review of labour legislation. The fact this was done during the summer, when most union offices are closed and workers are on vacation, bodes ill for Alberta workers and their unions.

Tory bias is further shown by the fact that the MLA review committee is not an all party committee but a committee made up only of PC MLAs. We cannot expect workers to get a fair hearing with such an employer/business dominated committee. ...

We warned in May 2001 that ... the right wing special interests controlling the Alberta government want to smash Alberta's unions, forcing workers back to the dark ages and satanic mills of the 19th century.

The privatization and deregulation of Occupational Health and Safety, WCB and other labour boards. The firing of the "labour friendly" chairman of the Labour Relations board during the *Calgary Herald* strike, and his replacement with an employer representative [who also advocates non-union shops in the construction industry] shows the government agenda is clearly anti-worker and

anti-union. Since we do not have the Rand formula [providing for union security] in the Labour Relations code, this essentially makes Alberta a "right to work" province.

Employers do not have to recognize a union's bargaining rights, and the Rand formula must be written into every contract. Clearly Alberta is the *best* province for employers and the labour relations code reflects this anti-worker/anti-union bias.

We recommend that union recognition and the right of workers to organize and engage in free collective bargaining needs to be stated clearly in the Labour Relations Code including:

Recognize all workers' rights to organize into unions and their right to strike, and eliminate all rulings or legislation deeming some workers as "essential services."

Remove all restrictions on the right to strike including the use of protocols, fines, jail terms, etc.

Ban the use of scabs – so-called "replacement workers."

Automatic certification for all new union organizing drives meeting the current requirements under the act.

Automatic certification if employers harass or intimidate employees in organizing drives, hire union-busting advisors or firms, or campaign actively against unionization.

Allow the Labour Relations Board to impose compulsory interest arbitration to establish a first contract.

The Labour Relations Code should allow for taxi cab drivers, nannies, etc. and other workers, not currently covered under the act or exempted from it, to unionize.

and finally Alberta's labour code needs to comply with two recent Supreme Court rulings: The right of agricultural workers to organize and have union representation, and To recognize the right of unions to secondary picketing.

THE Minority Report

Being union on our own authority

BY ALEXIS BUSS

At the recent IWW General Assembly, I got a chance to be on a panel to share ideas on how to rebuild the labor movement. My talk was on minority unionism. Here are some excerpts:

If unionism is to become a movement again, we need to break out of the current model, one that has come to rely on a recipe increasingly difficult to prepare: a majority of workers vote a union in, a contract is bargained. We need to return to the sort of rank-and-file on-the-job agitating that won the 8-hour day and built unions as a vital force. One way to do this, is what has become known now as "minority unionism." It's to form meaningful, organized networks of solidarity capable of winning improvements in individual workplaces, throughout industries, and for the benefit of the international working class.

Minority unionism happens on our own terms, regardless of legal recognition. It is *not* about settling for creating a tiny clique of professional malcontents. It should aspire to grow, but in the short term gives an example of what kinds of organization is possible when we decide that our unions are going to exist because we need them to.

U.S. & Canadian labor relations regimes are set up on the premise that you need a majority of workers to have a union, generally government-certified. In a worldwide context, this is a relatively rare set-up. And even in North America, the notion that a union needs official recognition or majority status to have the right to represent its members is of relatively recent origin, thanks mostly to the choice of business unions to trade rank-and-file strength for legal maintenance of membership guarantees.

The labor movement was not built through majority unionism – it couldn't have been. One hundred years ago unions had no legal status (indeed, courts often ruled that unions were an illegal conspiracy and strikes a form of extortion) – they gained recognition through raw industrial power.

When the IWW fought for the 8-hour day in the timber and wheat fields, they didn't decide to prove their majority to the boss through elections. Workers instead held meetings to decide what their demands were, elected shop committees to present those demands, and used tactics such as walking off the job at the end of an 8-hour shift to persuade recalcitrant bosses to agree to those demands. Union recognition in the construction crafts was built through a combination of strikes, direct action and honoring each others' picket lines (the latter not often enough).

The wave of sit-down strikes that established the CIO in auto and steel, for example, was undertaken by minority unions that had a substantial presence in workplaces with a history of agitating around grievances. The unions then drew upon that minority presence to undertake direct actions that galvanized the larger workforce in their plants – and inspired workers across the continent.

Unionism was built through direct action and through organization on the job. But in the 1930s, the bosses found it increasingly difficult to keep unions out with hired thugs, mass firings and friendly judges. Recognizing that there was no way to crush unions altogether, and tired of the continual strife, they offered a deal: If unions would agree to give up their industrial power and instead work through proper channels – the National Labor Relations Board in the United

Is the Industrial Worker available in your bookstore?
Why not take a bundle?

International solidarity conference

BY ADAM LINCOLN, X354714

Between August 29 and Sept. 1, approximately 200 workers from over 20 countries attended the i2002 international solidarity conference in Essen, Germany. Essen is in the heart of the Ruhr industrial region in West Germany. Once a vibrant mining and manufacturing area, industry in the Ruhr is declining in line with all so-called first world countries, as traditional industries are displaced in the global economy.

The international solidarity conference was first held in San Francisco in 1999. The purpose is to unite militant workers and union/syndicalist organizations toward a common goal of resisting capitalism and global corporations through better coordination of local struggles and organizing joint struggles on common issues. i2002 attempted to build on this idea and improve the ability of militant workers to respond to the changing face of global capitalism and the worldwide anti-globalization struggles.

There were members of many active revolutionary and syndicalist unions including the Swedish SAC; the French CNT; the Spanish CGT; the German FAU; emerging independent unions such as the Argentinian Bicycle Messengers Union; anarcho-syndicalist federations from Ireland, the UK and Europe; and of course members of the IWW from Australia, Canada and the USA.

The impression I gained was that there was a genuine coalition of workers and unions across cultural and ideological boundaries. In fact quite a few participants from Germany, Sweden and the UK were not directly affiliated with a specific union or ideology but were attracted to the idea of building support and communication networks between militant workers of all countries.

The conference covered many topics in three days of workshops and plenary sessions including: the current state of workers' struggles in various regions, the importance of domestic labor law and historical/cultural factors in determining the types of unions



and struggles in each country, gender issues in workers struggles, transport sector struggles, organizing the casual economy, organizing IT, outsourcing and temporary labor-hire, construction and building trades struggles, McDonald's workers resistance and the UK-based Simon Jones Memorial campaign to improve safety standards, especially for casual and unskilled workers.

The main point to make about these discussions is that because this was a conference for workers to exchange information and experiences about their struggles (rather than an official conference of union or syndicalist organizations), participants left with an improved understanding of the situations faced by fellow workers in other countries, communication and solidarity alliances were created, and most importantly tactics and ideas were exchanged – giving all of us new energy and ideas for the class struggles we fight in our own countries.

Of course there is nothing wrong with revolutionary unions meeting, debating, discussing and coordinating struggles, but it is the actual participation and communication directly between workers, rather than organizations, that produces understanding and creativity. Our respective unions will benefit from these discussions, and solidarity between our unions can only increase following the i2002 conference.

One thing I learnt from i2002 was that the informal discussions and networking

were just as important as the official workshops. I and the other Australian IWW members achieved a lot in educating European syndicalists about the state of workers' resistance in Australia. The small size of the IWW and various syndicalist groups does not reflect the larger upsurge and militancy in sections of the Australian working class. We felt that it was important that militant workers in Australia can be part of the global fight-back against the bosses, regardless of whether they are members of traditional trade unions, the IWW or other organizations. In return we learnt much about militant unionism in Europe and elsewhere which will help our organizing in Australia.

I believe i2002 was a success. The conference organizers deserve much thanks as the food, accommodation and planning was first-class. A highlight was a performance by UK band Chumbawumba which had us all hopping (mad!). At the present time there is no other international radical workers movement which is capable of organizing the working class against our exploiters. The party-builders in the various 'left' parties do not have the answers; nor do the reformists who promise that good times are coming if we can just get a better deal under capitalism; only workers themselves can fight the bosses at home and around the world, and build a better world in the shell of the old.

The text of speeches and other i2002 documents are being posted at www.fau.org/i2002

collectively.

If unionism is to become a movement again, we need to break out of the current model and return to the sort of rank-and-file on-the-job agitating that won the 8-hour day and built unions as a vital force.

Minority unionism is about forming meaningful, organized networks of solidarity capable of winning improvements in individual workplaces, throughout industries, and for the benefit of the international working class. It is a process, a process that offers hope for transforming our greatest weakness – the fact that our members are scattered in many largely disorganized workplaces – into a strength.

Consolidated's war on unions ends in bankruptcy

On Labor Day Consolidated Freightways told 15,500 workers it was going bankrupt and throwing them on the street. Thus ended the company's 20-year war on the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Consolidated became a separate company only after parent company CNF had shifted its profitable divisions into nonunion subsidiaries.

As a final insult to Teamsters members, CEO John Brincko decided to break the news that workers had lost their jobs in a telephone message on Labor Day. Meanwhile, CNF's non-union Con-Way subsidiary is running trucks bought by the profits of their labor, but at much lower wages.

Consolidated Freightways' collapse leaves the Teamsters representing just 80,000 drivers under its National Master Freight Agreement – down from a peak of some 500,000 in the 1970s.

Meanwhile, as the Teamsters' Unfair Labor Practices strike against Overnite nears its third anniversary, workers at Overnite's Rockford, Illinois terminal have petitioned for union representation.

Energy, optimism and solidarity

BY CHRIS EATON

My decision to participate in the i2002 conference was quite spontaneous; I happened to be at the right place at the right time and decided to go. The conference fee of 60 euro for participants from W. Europe and other countries with more stable economies was primarily used to subsidize the cost of transportation for comrades to be with us from countries in E. Europe and other poorer countries.

Workshops covered a wide array of topics stretching from industrial union organizing meetings covering education, transportation and construction, to organizing migrant labor as well as workshops on building an information network to connect various syndicalist unions with each other. Also discussed were issues of gender/class and the lack of diversity in red/black unions, organizing McDonald's workers for the international day of action Oct. 16th, strategies for direct action, language barriers to information exchange, and workshops on the horrors of nationalism.

The information exchange and workshops were intensive and interesting, while conversations outside of the workshops were even more so. I believe everyone agreed the threat of global capitalism today is greater than it ever has been and we all chose to avoid internal squabbles. But when night fell the Irish proved to be the most proficient drinkers, the French and Spanish the loudest and most melodic singers, and the Germans the greatest hosts – each day cooking delectable feasts. It was an extremely empowering feeling of international solidarity which left an electric energy and optimism that together we can and will defeat this international oppressive system of capitalism.

WTO looks to revive trade talks

The new head of the World Trade Organization, Supachai Panitchpakdi, recently announced that his top priority is to push ahead with global trade liberalization talks with the aim of completing a new agreement by December 2004.

In an attempt to ease public opposition, WTO officials also announced that they were open to environmental and labor protections. However, unions and environmental groups will continue to be barred from the negotiations. Supachai also announced his intention to set up a WTO advisory group representing business interests.

UAW OK's outsourcing

More than 200 workers from DaimlerChrysler AG's McGraw Glass plant in Detroit picketed the UAW's headquarters August 22, protesting a decision by top union officials to allow the automaker to switch its glass suppliers; possibly to non-union labor.

UAW businesses in sea of red ink

In the wake of a UAW decision to transfer \$75 million from its strike fund to the operating budget, some members are questioning whether they can afford the union's extensive business operations.

The UAW-owned golf course at Black Lake lost \$201,900 last year, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, and the UAW loaned UBG Inc., the company that runs the golf course and which lists UAW President Steve Yokich as president, another \$225,000 – boosting its UBG loans outstanding to about \$1.48 million. The UAW's United Broadcasting Network reported a \$2.8 million loss and has \$13.9 million more in liabilities than in assets. The UAW lost \$14 million in loans when its Pro Air subsidiary went under.

States, various provincial boards in Canada – the government would act as an "impartial" arbiter to determine whether or not the union was the bona fide representative of the workers.

In the short term unions were able to short-circuit the need to sign workers up one by one and collect dues directly. The bosses traded union busters in suits for the gun thugs they had previously employed. And after a short burst in membership, unions (particularly in the United States) began a long-term downward spiral.

Under this exclusive bargaining model, unions do not attempt to function on the job until they gain legal certification. That legal process affords the bosses almost unlimited opportunity to threaten and intimidate workers, and to drag proceedings out for years. It is a system designed to interfere with workers' right to organize – and the IWW pointed this out when the National Labor Relations Act was passed.

However, while the labor law regime is designed around this majority-designated majority status unionism, it does not actually require it. As long as workers are acting in concert, they enjoy the same basic legal rights – such as those are – whether or not they are in an officially certified union. Indeed, in certain cases they enjoy greater rights, as the courts have ruled that most union contracts implicitly surrender the right to strike. It is illegal to fire members of a minority union for their union activity, to discriminate against them, to fire them for striking, to refuse to allow union representatives to participate in disciplinary hearings, etc. An organized group of workers has legal rights, though it would be a mistake to expect the labor boards to enforce them any more vigorously than they do for unions that have been certified. And an organized group of workers, even if it is a small minority, has

much more potential power than unorganized individual workers.

For the most part you have as many legal rights as a minority union as a majority union does – with the single exception of being certified as the exclusive bargaining agent with the sole authority to negotiate a contract. A minority union has the right to present grievances (though there may not be a formal grievance procedure in place), to engage in concerted activity, to make demands upon the boss, to seek meetings, even to strike (though this isn't a great idea if you don't have majority support).

If you pick your issues well and use them as an opportunity to talk with and engage your fellow workers, you can simultaneously fight for better conditions and build the union. In campaigning around issues that matter to your coworkers you are building the union's credibility, you are gaining experience in self-organization, you are learning who can be relied upon, you are establishing that the union is workers on the job and that we're in it for the long haul.

The labor movement was built when groups of workers came together and began agitating over conditions. Sometimes they persuaded their fellow workers to approach the boss and demand that some problem be corrected. Sometimes they refused to work under unsafe conditions or in unsafe ways, and persuaded their coworkers to do likewise. Sometimes they acted on the individual job, sometimes they held citywide demonstrations over issues of common concern, such as working hours or unsafe work.

The important point is that they acted. They identified key issues of concern, they met together, they decided upon a course of action, and they acted upon it. That is unionism in action. It does not require official recognition, it does not require a contract. It requires workers to come together and act

IWW delegates look for continued progress...

continued from page 1

tively small group of union activists. She offered many examples, ranging from rank-and-file struggles to defend union contracts in the face of official capitulation to an IWW campaign which averted threatened lay-offs by successfully persuading large numbers of workers to sign petitions pledging to strike if management went ahead with its plans.

John Clarke of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty focused on the need for community organizing to combat the capitalist offensive. While much of the union leadership seems concerned only with institutional perpetuation, Clarke said, there is a growing determination among grassroots activists to move beyond the rituals of protest to use direct action strategies capable of winning real victories. Among the examples he offered was a recent action where Australian activists dismantled a fence imprisoning refugees, helping them secure their freedom.

Too many unions and other organizations are "committed to regulated forms of class struggle," Clarke said, fearing the explosive possibilities of genuine mass mobilizations. "But when the other side is trying to stick a knife in our side we can not afford to shadow box."

The ensuing discussion largely focussed on the possibilities and limitations of working with the trade unions' bureaucratic structures. In many cases, participants noted, unions have offered invaluable assistance. But too often they have pulled back when they sensed that events were moving beyond their control. Others maintained that the problem was structural in nature, reiterating the need to build our own organizations based on democratic, rank-and-file control and a commitment to social solidarity.

Delegates gathered the next morning for a short administrative session, after which Staughton Lynd spoke, urging us to look to

are also producing a newsletter for the SweatFree Baseball campaign and have printed a series of stickers.

Also approved was a proposal by the Boston branch to endorse "Take Back Your Time Day" being organized for 2003, and to encourage IWW branches to make the fight for shorter hours a priority.

Members of the Ottawa-Outaouais branch pointed out that the provincial government has launched an all-out attack on the 8-hour day, deciding that employers can average overtime over a four-week period in order to avoid paying overtime. Thus, workers could be required to work 80-hour weeks two weeks in a row and receive no compensation, provided they did not work the next two weeks. The attack on our time is an international one, delegates agreed, and we need to organize not only to defend the gains won over 150 years of struggle but also to claim the free time made possible by our increased productivity.

Increased organizing

Fellow Worker Buss reported that IWW membership had continued to grow over the past year, and that several new branches had been chartered. The number of workplaces where we have gained union recognition continues to grow, although the union is engaged in difficult negotiations in Cincinnati and Portland.

Although the union continues to struggle with limited finances, we have substantially increased our support for organizing, both through the Organizer Training Program and direct support to organizing campaigns. "In the past few years we have made important progress in reestablishing the IWW as a living, vital force on the job," Buss concluded. "But we have much more to do before we are truly One Big Union of the working class."



Delegates adjourned the Assembly by singing the Wobbly anthem "Solidarity Forever."

visit the IWW's industrial classification system to respond to the development of new industries and the reorganization of old ones.

Industrial Worker editor Jon Bekken spoke of the need to broaden the ranks of those writing for the paper, asking particularly for articles on shop floor struggles, IWW activities, and features on changing workplaces, major labor struggles and other issues from a Wobbly perspective. He also urged delegates to support efforts to boost circulation, and to increase the publication frequency.

Direct Action (the IWW's Australian newspaper) editor Wal Larkin was not able to attend, but sent in a report pointing to the newspaper's progress, but also to the need to put the paper on a much sounder financial and organizational footing. Copies of the paper (which is distributed in North America through IWW headquarters) were eagerly snatched up by delegates.

Delegates were present from Austin, Boston, Chicago, Edmonton, Madison, Maine, Milwaukee, New York City, Ottawa, Peterborough, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, San Jose, Toronto, and Upstate New York.

Nominated for another term as General Secretary-Treasurer was Alexis Buss. Several members were nominated to serve on the 2003 General Executive Board: Tim Acott (Portland),

Jim Crutchfield (New York), Richard Dodder (Portland), Jim Ellsworth (Maine), Joshua Freeze (Austin), Jim Giddings (New Hampshire), Gwion (Portland), Michael Hargis (Chicago), Bob Helms (Philadelphia), John Hollingsworth (Ottawa), Wal Larkin (Australia), Breeze Luetke-Stahlman (Chicago), Pat McGuire (Winnipeg), Bethanie Meisberger (Pittsburgh), Peter Moore (Ottawa), Steve Ongerth (Oakland), Samara Paysse (Santa Barbara), John Peck (Madison), Hazel Roehrig (Salt Lake City), Aaron Rothenburger (Phoenix), Rochelle Semel (Upstate New York), Harry Siitonen (Berkeley), Pat Stenner (Vancouver), Louis Pratt (Santa Barbara), Ryan van den Berg (Edmonton), Donna Wilson (Seattle). Some nominees may be ineligible or may decline to run.

Nominated to serve on the International Solidarity Commission were: Colin Bossen (Mexico), Kevin Brandstatter (UK), Eric Chester (Western Massachusetts), Margaret Creagh (Australia), Liam Flynn (Baltimore), Greg Giorgio (Upstate New York), Ron Kaminkow (Chicago), Zach Lane (Colorado), Wal Larkin (Australia), Eric Meisberger (Pittsburgh), Ken Miller (Pittsburgh), Peter Moore (Ottawa), Peter Riley (Australia), Bill Runacre (UK), Fiona Taylor (Australia).

Mark Damron (Cincinnati) and Arthur J. Miller (Tacoma) were nominated for Central Secretary of the General Defense Committee. Jon Bekken will run unopposed for another term as Industrial Worker editor.

No Sweatshops Bucco! ★ EDUCATION

Nearly 100 people demanding No Sweatshops Bucco! have talked to Pirate Fans about sweatshops around PNC Park during Baseball 2002. During our half-dozen stadium actions this summer, and the one or two more to come, the slogan has been, "If we are not talking to baseball fans about sweatshops, we are not doing anything at all," and Pirate fans have been signing our home team petition left and right. As we escalate into the off season the petitioners are gearing up to launch an educational campaign that will spearhead the mountains of organizational work ahead of us.

The first thing we are going to do is re-define "Pirate Fan." A Pirate Fan is not just someone who goes to lots of games and juggles baseball statistics. Pirate Fans include every single taxpayer in this region who was forced to cough up part of the \$200 million that built PNC Park. They are the people who belong to churches and unions that are offered special nights at the Ballpark for discounted rates. They are the people who frequent the businesses that advertise on the rafters of the outfield, the bus riders whose fares are rising and the students whose schools are suffering while politicians dole out money to more Major League Crooks and human rights violators. Every Pittsburgher against sweatshops is a Pirate Fan too!

A short No Sweatshops Bucco! workshop is being put together by Tricia Murajda and the No Sweatshops! Education Committee. It will be showcased and developed in a participatory fashion in a presentation to students from Allderdice and Cappa High Schools put together with the help of Pittsburgh's Thomas Merton Center Sept. 17. Numerous workshops will be held around the city in coming months and we hope many

participants will attend future sessions and learn how to lead the workshop.

Workshop participants will be invited to join No Sweatshops Bucco! and be asked to participate in our Sept. 22 PNC Park action and numerous off season escalations. Some of the proposed escalations include encouraging high school athletic teams to speak out against sweatshops, meeting with city council members and asking them to enforce the existing anti-sweatshop city ordinance, asking (and then perhaps picketing) PNC Park advertisers and sky box holders to say No Sweatshops Bucco! Our demands are clear... now whose side are you on?

- The 2002 General Assembly of the IWW allocated funds toward developing Major League Sweatshop Cards to help agitate in the stadium spaces during Baseball 2003. All are invited to participate developing the content of these cards, showcasing sweatshop workers in struggle, anti-sweatshop activists on the ground, and nasty bosses. The No Sweatshops Bucco! educational committee plans to use the upcoming workshops to develop the content with Pirate Fans.

- The 2002 General Assembly also allocated funds to promote the national coordination of SweatFree Baseball. Using this money, we can make No Sweatshops Bucco! Educational Committee material available to Wobs around the world.

- A BARBARIC YAWP goes out to all delegates of the 2002 General Assembly and particularly those who served on the SweatFree Baseball Committee. All are invited to join the new SweatFree Baseball email list or get more information by emailing nosweatshopsbucco@yahoo.com or calling 412-231-2085.



the principles set forth in the IWW Preamble to build a new labor left. His talk pointed to the pitfalls of workplace contractualism and struggles that seek to reform union structures without addressing the structural and ideological flaws at the heart of business unionism. Finally, he spoke of the need to build communities of struggle and to nurture the practice of solidarity in our own movement, as well as in the broader society.

SweatFree Baseball

Two branches brought proposals for the IWW to expand local campaigns into union-wide efforts. The Pittsburgh branch reported on their effort to expose the sweatshop conditions in which most baseball merchandise is manufactured and to force the teams to accept responsibility for improving conditions. After some discussion, delegates voted to provide funding to expand the campaign and to develop a set of "trading cards" that would call attention to this exploitation.

Delegates wanted to make certain that this not slip into protectionism, asking the International Solidarity Commission to establish ties to unions and other organizations working with the workers who produce these goods, so that we can work together to improve their conditions. The Pittsburgh Wobs

In discussion, delegates expressed concern that the union's improved financial condition is in large part built on the backs of our paid staff - particularly the General Secretary-Treasurer, who is still not drawing a full-time salary, and asked the General Executive Board to address the problem.

Last year the Organizer Training Committee reported that it had been unable to get off the ground. In the year since, they offered two small-scale trainings in Baltimore and Lawrence, Kansas, and a very successful full-scale training in Portland in early August. Two sessions were held in Ottawa in conjunction with the Assembly, with sessions addressing bargaining strategies, labor law, stewardship, and building an organizing committee.

Several other training sessions are being organized for the coming year. The Committee is building on these to develop more printed materials, to train more trainers, to continue experimenting with more interactive formats, and developing follow-up programs. Also in development are skills trainings in collective bargaining and various union support functions.

Delegates voted to continue the Committee on Industrial Classification, established last year to develop proposals to re-

A Wobbly strategy for fundamental change

Following are excerpts from Staughton Lynd's speech to the IWW General Assembly:

Different ones of us may use different labels to describe the society that we seek. Whatever label we use, the good society to which we all aspire will be characterized by joint management and shared consumption of the good things of this earth. I don't think the difficulty we face is defining our objective. ... Our problem is how to get there.

The Preamble to the IWW Constitution speaks of "do[ing] away with capitalism." But how do we do that? Wobbly literature refers grandly to a general strike. Under what circumstances do general strikes occur, and under what circumstances might general strikes lead to the transformation of capitalism into something qualitatively different?

Sometimes it seems that the IWW vision is very nice but also hopelessly abstract and utopian. I know one previously committed Wob who is now a UAW organizer. How many of us, I wonder, have so to speak a respectable second identity that we maintain along with our commitment to a new world arising from the ashes of the old? This kind of personal confusion is bound to happen when we collectively begin to wonder whether we really have a power greater than their hoarded gold, that is, whether we actually have a strategy to do away with capitalism.

That wonderful document, the Preamble to the IWW Constitution, sets forth two concepts that can be building blocks in a strategy for fundamental change. The first concerns trade unions. The second has to do with "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." Let us consider these in turn.

The Trade Unions

The Preamble declares: "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... 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."

In 1905, these words referred to craft unions in the American Federation of Labor. In any given workplace, if unions existed at all there were likely to be a number of them, one for each craft, each with its own contract with the employer. These contracts would have different expiration dates. Hence the existing craft unions functioned to make it impossible for all the workers in an industry to "cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof." The American Federation of Labor was an American separation of labor, Wobblies insisted. The craft unions took from the hands of workers their one great power of common action, preventing workers from "making an injury to one an injury to all."

Industrial unionism, it seemed, might be the answer. One of the few industrial unions in the old AF of L was the United Mine Workers. The IWW presented itself as "one big union" potentially bigger and more inclusive than the UMW, and miners often became members. According to the late Michael Kozura, an IWW member and a labor historian, in the anthracite mine fields of eastern Pennsylvania from 1906 to 1916 there were as many members of the IWW as of the UMW. Anthracite miners, Kozura writes, relied on wildcat strikes and other forms of direct action, refused on principle to submit grievances to arbitration, tenaciously resisted the contractual regulation of their labor, op-

posed union dues check-off, habitually rebelled against the UMW's dictatorial leadership, and sustained this militant syndicalism into the late 1940s.

Away from the mines, industrial unions had to be created from scratch. Understandably, Wobblies and former Wobblies threw themselves into building local industrial unions in the 1930s. Len DeCaux wrote of his fellow CIO militants that "when the CIO lefts let down their hair, it seemed that only the youngest had no background of Wobbly associations." ... Even when flesh-and-blood Wobblies were not present, local industrial unions in what became the CIO often exhibited a Wobbly style of organizing. The Westinghouse plant east of Pittsburgh is one instance. Just before World War I, Westinghouse workers created an in-plant organization made up of their own elected delegates which cut across traditional craft lines. This organization, in the words of labor historian David Montgomery, "copied the IWW by devoting itself to struggles around demands, rather than negotiating contracts." More than twenty years later, when the CIO established itself in the plant, bargaining was at first carried on in the same Wobbly manner.

"[M]anagers would meet with the leaders of UE Local 601 to negotiate about such issues as hours of work or layoff policy, ... There were no contracts; all agreements could be abrogated by either party at any time; and grievances were settled quickly according to the strength of the workers on the floor of the plant."

Many CIO locals, not just in anthracite mining and electrical work but in the core industries of rubber, auto and steel, initially opposed written contracts and the dues check-off. I had the privilege of knowing John Sargent, first president of the 18,000-member local union at Inland Steel in north-

western Indiana. I heard him give a speech in which he recalled: "Without a contract we secured for ourselves agreements on working conditions and wages that we do not have today. ... If their wages were low there was no contract to prohibit them from striking, and they struck for better wages. If their conditions were bad, ... if they were being abused, the people in the mills themselves ... would shut down a department or even a group of departments to secure for themselves the things they found necessary."

The Wobbly practices so widespread in the locals of the early CIO were snuffed out from above. Wobblyism was done in, not only by employers, but also by trade union bureaucrats like John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther, and by government bureaucrats, arbitrators and judges. In place of a praxis of direct action created from below, there came into being what historian David Brody calls "workplace contractualism," labor-management relationships governed by collectively bargained contracts. No matter how short, these contracts almost always contained a no-strike clause. After World War II a second clause became equally universal: the management prerogatives clause that gave the employer the right unilaterally to close the plant. Within a very few years, the new CIO unions recreated the obstacles to collective direct action that Wobblies had criticized in the old AF of L.

Nothing in the National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act) of 1935 required CIO unions to put a no-strike clause in their contracts. Trotskyist organizer Farrell Dobbs showed that over-the-road truckers could organize successfully despite the fact that their first contracts did not give up the right to strike. The establishment of workplace contractualism, with the inclusion of no-strike and management prerogatives language in all but a few CIO contracts, was substantially complete before the passage of the Taft-Hartley amendments in 1947 and the expulsion of leftist unions from the CIO soon afterwards.

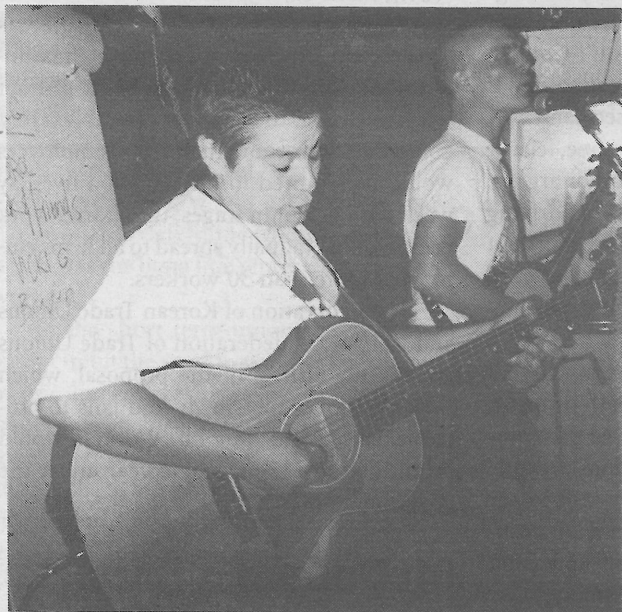
The plain fact is that Lewis, Reuther and most of the other CIO founding fathers deliberately and voluntarily chose to include no-strike language in their contracts. They appear to have done so for two reasons: first, to show employers that they were "responsible" labor leaders who would help to maintain labor peace; and second, to control their own rank-and-file members.

These developments posed a challenge to the IWW. I recognize that because of savage World War I repression and internal difficulties, the IWW of the late 1930s was a shadow of its former self. Nevertheless, the IWW was the logical organization to critique workplace contractualism and to establish a labor left based on a structural analysis of the new unions. It was no accident that when C. Wright Mills published his book *The New Men of Power*, about CIO leaders, in 1948, he placed at the very beginning – as it were, in opposition to all that was to follow – the famous words spoken by Wobblies on the barge Verona as they approached the dock in Everett to reinforce the free speech fighters there in November 1916. Sheriff McRae called out to them: "Who are your leaders?" They answered: "We are all leaders." The sheriff's men then opened fire, killing five.

Had the IWW been able to build a labor left in the late 1930s and 1940s, it could have used the words of the Preamble about the CIO. It could have said that the new industrial unions of the CIO were still "unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class." Thus, when a number of these unions struck just as World War II was ending, they were unable to maintain a common front. The IWW could have gone on to say that the CIO unions still fostered "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."

Today, this has become especially evident

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Left: Vicki Guzman and Pat McGuire in an impromptu duet; Above: John Hollingsworth and Smokey Dymny share the stage at Saturday evening's program of Wobbly music and poetry. Photos: Paul Poulos

Wobs' Night Out in Ottawa

BY BRADEN CANNON

Wobblies from all over the United States and Canada lived up to their reputation as boisterous musicians during the General Assembly's social night on Saturday, August 31. The festivities occurred at Rasputin's Folk Café in Ottawa, Ontario, after the General Assembly's first day of meetings.

The evening got started at around 8 p.m. and didn't let up until approximately 2:30 a.m., much to the chagrin of those few Wobs who stayed out all night and had to crawl out of bed the next morning for the second day of the GA.

The evening consisted of a non-stop open mic and as much libations as one could handle/afford. Vicki Guzman, formerly of the Madison GMB, but a recent arrival to Hamilton, Ontario, accompanied herself on guitar and sang old Wobbly tunes and her own original songs, which were well-received by the Wobbly audience. FW Guzman also played duets with other Wob performers later in the evening.

Patrick McGuire of the Winnipeg GMB played a couple of solo sets with a banjo,

leading the audience in a few rousing renditions of Wobbly tunes. Throughout the evening, FW McGuire also played guitar during duet performances with other Wobs.

Peter Timusk and Jennifer Arbour, both of the Ottawa-Outaouais GMB, played a delicate folk set with FW Timusk on guitar and FW Arbour singing. The pair performed original songs that were greatly appreciated.

Aders Carson, a local poet and friend of the IWW, read a few of his published pieces. His poems focused on the nuclear horrors hidden away in the New Mexico desert and on the beauty of family and love.

Peter Moore, of the Ottawa-Outaouais GMB, regaled the audience with a tale of "sea beavers," socially-aware creatures who lurk off of Canada's East Coast and make life difficult for off-shore oil interests.

John Hollingsworth, of the Ottawa-Outaouais GMB, played a few songs on his guitar and wowed the crowd with some nice licks. FW Hollingsworth also played duets with other performers throughout the night.

Karel Orzechowski, a musician from Peterborough, Ontario, dropped in for the

open mic and played his own songs and some covers from the politically active band Propagandhi.

Greg Giorgio, of the Upstate New York GMB, led two a capella sing-along sets featuring old Wobbly tunes which got the audience on their feet and moving.

Jason Plouffe, of the Peterborough GMB, read some poetry/prose written by Joe Haveman chronicling his time spent in Toronto with Joe Clark and the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty.

Finally, Jerzey "Smokey" Dymny of the Toronto GMB played a couple of sets (and acted as MC throughout the night) of original tunes, Wobbly songs, and traditional protest songs which he has updated with new, insightful lyrics.

The evening finally came to a foot-stomping, flag-waving, fist-pounding close with a riveting sing-along version of "Solidarity Forever" that just might've brought a tear to your eye. A few hours later, the groggy participants crawled out of bed and made their way to the second day of the GA.

Braden Cannon read his politically motivated, labor-oriented and satirical poetry in his first public performance as part of the event.



Despite the fact that Fellow Worker Wife succumbed to liver cancer 11 months ago, mail still comes to her from the American Liver Foundation. The latest is an appeal to partake in the 2002 Chicago Liver Run. People are being asked to run several miles through this Windy City for a fee of \$15, and to solicit pledges from others to raise funds for said foundation. Indeed a most noble motivation, but even if a participant can garner a few hundred or even a thousand or more dollars, should that person be afflicted with serious liver trouble there will still be the astronomical hospital and medical costs to contend with. Should there be a need for a liver transplant, make out your will and funeral arrangements. Only the very rich can afford that, no matter how much we would like to cling on to life.

This is an excellent example of the need for socialized medicine.

I am quite sure we wouldn't mind paying taxes if we were assured that we would not be consigned to the dung heap once we became incapacitated. Instead, our hard-earned tax money, along with the surplus value from working our derrieres off, will be financing Georgie the Tush's proposed adventure in Iraq.

Whether Saddam Hussein has a stash of intercontinental sophisticated weaponry or not, if Georgie the Tush has his way we will soon find out. If it becomes out lot to have our homes devastated along with those of the poor Iraqi stiff, Tushie and sad-ass Saddam will be safely ensconced in their bunkers and shall no doubt have champagne together then the mess is all over – but where will we be, along with our fellow workers in Iraq?

Face it, Fellow Worker readers, militarism is but another prime example of the obsolescence of the nation state and our present economic system.

Some evenings ago, your scribe's reverie was interrupted by a phone call from a rather pleasant female voice ostensibly making a survey. She asked me for my reaction to 9/11 and the destruction of the World Trade Center and the tragic loss of many lives. I told her it was an unnecessary tragedy, but that I was also reminded of Malcolm X's remark about "chickens coming home to roost." That drew an involuntary chuckle from her even though she kept saying "A-Rab" despite my correcting her mispronunciation. Asked if I had any fear of being in high buildings, I replied that even though I am pushing 80 and don't waste my time on such things as fear, my desire to see a few more years, even under our messed-up society, prompts me to stay out of high buildings, as well as avoid traveling by plane.

She asked if I had any fear of A-Rab rulers or any other foreign rulers, and I let her know that if I was afraid of any rulers, there are plenty of rulers here in Freedomland to fear. I was also asked about my attitude toward Arabs, Arab-Americans or Muslims in general. I said that I had friends and acquaintances in all three categories, and like anybody else I evaluate them on an individual basis, and reminded her that Islam, like Christianity, is derived from the same Jewish old testament.

She asked how I felt about the profiling of Arabs or Arab-Americans by the law enforcers and the media. I asked how she felt about blacks being profiled by the police because they happened to be driving through a white neighborhood. Her involuntary chuckle, and other such chuckles during our talk, left me with the impression she can't be all that bad even though she might be FBI, but better they should question me over the phone than come to my domicile. I am particular who steps through my doorway.

Anywhere else they can talk to me and ask all the questions they want, as long as the questions concern me, much as I would regret wasting my time with the domestic variety of the Gestapo and the OGPU. As a Wobbly journalist, I am an open book. I am not going to let paranoia shut my trap. If I am asked about anyone else, I will tell them to ask them, not me.

This is the month that celebrates a certain Italian sea captain who, despite having lost his bearings, is still hailed as a great discoverer – never mind that the Chinese, the Scandinavians and who knows who else were here before him. If their Spanish majesties believed the earth was flat, they would never have invested any of their parasitic wealth in his voyage. Where in prior years Columbus partisans were rankled at the suggestion that others came before Columbus, they now say that it was from Columbus that the colonization of the Western Hemisphere began, culminating in the present capitalist system. So we have another bad mark against old Chris.

Old Chris was not such a savory character. The fact that his reputation as a sea captain was so lousy that the only way he could have any crew at all was for their majesties to man his three ships with inmates from the Spanish prisons also indicates how bad the prisons were.

Even when he reached these shores, he still thought he was in India, and that is how my ancestors became labeled as "Indians." Upon seeing how gentle the natives were and observing their shiny yellow trinkets, he made them bring him a certain amount of the shiny stuff or he would cut their hands off. The islands were tragically depopulated. Somehow the history books seem to gloss over that.

The way I heard it was two Indians were standing on the shore when they saw the three ships approaching. One says to the other, "Well here goes the neighborhood!"

My paternal ancestors did their part toward bringing capitalism into fruition, but it is incumbent upon all of us to toss this bad fruit into the dustbin of history if we are desirous of having any more history at all.

— C.C. Redcloud

"Fair Trade" Coffee

The June *Catholic Worker* reports that the "Fair Trade" coffee sold at Starbucks is bought from large plantations which import Guatemalan workers into the Chiapas region in order to avoid paying the high wages demanded by our Mexican fellow workers. Meanwhile coffee rots on the ground because prices are too low to make it worth picking.

Borders workers organizing

Workers at a Minneapolis Borders Books outlet are seeking union recognition with UFCW Local 789. This will be the first union election at a Borders store since Spring 2001. After years of fierce management resistance, including firing of union supporters, only four Borders stores are unionized.

Written After Learning Slaves in Ancient Greece and Rome had 115 Holidays a Year

Instead of creating better murder weapons to "protect" ourselves,
Better create loving boys and girls who become loving women and men.
Instead of a higher standard of living, why not a higher standard of loving?
Why not a higher standard of getting high?
No more brainwashed robotzombies!
No more socialization lobotomies!

Thoreau could live a whole year on money from working six weeks.
We canned ourselves in concentration camps called cities
And in buildings and rooms where we work.
We have become hermetically sealed containers.
The can of today is the wilderness that was.
The can-to-be is the wilderness that is.

As Oscar Wilde said: "Work is the curse of the drinking man."

As Stan Jones said: "It's not what the machine makes,
but what the machine makes you."

As Virgin said: *Deus nobis haec otia fecit*: "A god has granted us this idleness."

As Lessing said: "Let us be lazy in everything
except in loving and drinking, except in being lazy."

Should cans stop being made? Should all factories immediately close down?

What solutions do you provide? If everyone's a poet

and no one works, how do we survive?

The way St. Theresa survived on Light?

Love becomes a full-time job?

But where do we get the money to pay people not to work?

Slaves in Ancient Greece and Rome had 115 holidays a year!

Hey, wait a minute, that makes us more slaves than them!

— Antler, from: *Last Words*

Canadians face crushing overtime

After surveying some 31,500 Canadian workers, a new government study reports that computers and other new technology have enabled employers to shift a growing share of work to the home. One in four Canadians is now working more than 50 hours a week, with much of that overtime unpaid. Workers are averaging five hours of unpaid work at home each week, nearly all of it working at computers.

The 2001 National Work-Life Conflict Survey buries the myth that technology is leading the way to the promised land of a four-day work week and a stress-free, leisure society. In fact, the study's coauthor argues, new technology is a prime culprit in driving up the incidence of stress, illness, burnout and absenteeism. The long hours and consequent injuries are holding down productivity gains, the study concludes.

The majority of respondents agreed that technology – computers, cell phones, Internet and e-mail – has improved their productivity. At the same time, almost no one said technology decreased their workload or stress on the job. Only about a third said technology had made balancing their home and work lives any easier or better.

Only about half of workers use the technologies to do work at home, but workers who don't were healthier, happier, and more likely to be paid for their work.

35-hour law under attack

The French government is "relaxing" the country's 35-hour work week by permitting employers to force workers to put in more overtime hours. Many fear the new policy is a de facto restoration of the 39-hour work week implemented in 1981.

Social Affairs Minister Francois Fillon told *Le Parisien* the government would abandon the limit of 130 hours of overtime a year permitted under current rules, instead allow-

ing up to 200 hours of overtime each year.

Fillon also said that the new government plans to "reform" the shorter hours law, which it claims has failed to reduce unemployment. Unions across the political spectrum denounced the move

Korea creeping toward a 40-hour work week

As police storm union offices to break strikes, the Korean government has announced plans to begin phasing in a 40-hour work week over the next five years. Next July, companies with more than 1,000 employees would be required to implement a five-day week with no cut in wages; the shorter work week would gradually spread to all firms employing more than 30 workers.

The Federation of Korean Trade Unions and Korean Confederation of Trade Unions are sharply critical of the proposal, which they say moves too slowly and fails to protect existing paid time off. Workers would be entitled to 137 days off a year under the government plan.

McDonald's imports even cheaper labor

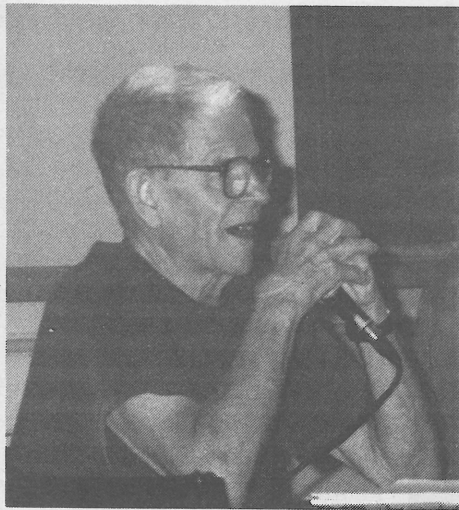
Unable to find workers willing to put up with its low wages and lousy conditions at home, McDonald's imported hundreds of students from other countries to staff its U.S. restaurants this summer. Now a State Department investigation has concluded that charges by some foreign students that they were being exploited were "well founded."

Under the summer work/travel program, students work three months and are allowed an additional month to travel the country. McDonald's brought in more than 400 students to work its Washington, D.C.-area outlets. Students from Poland and Slovakia complained that so much money was deducted from their initial paychecks that their net pay was zero. Most of the deductions were for highly inflated rental charges. Workers were told that if they didn't accept McDonald's rental arrangements they would lose their jobs. Other deductions were made for Social Security and Medicare coverage, despite the fact that the students were exempt from those programs.

Hundreds of Polish students recruited by other firms remain stranded in the United States after the jobs they were promised turned out not to exist once they had arrived.

Seafarers Union builds non-union

A new hotel built by the Seafarers International Union at its Harry Lundeburg School in Maryland was built by non-union labor, prompting union members to leaflet the SIU's recent convention. Other SIU members distributed the leaflets inside the school in the middle of the night, in order to avoid expulsion from what Wobbly maritime workers used to refer to as the "Seascabbers."



Staughton Lynd

A Wobbly strategy

continued from page 7

in the relationship between national unions headquartered in the United States and workers in the same industries in other countries. Think of the protectionist policies pursued by the steelworkers' union, the UAW, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, where even the so-called rank-and-file candidate for union president (Tom Leedham) criticizes incumbent Jimmy Hoffa for not doing enough to keep Mexican drivers from crossing the Rio Grande.

Lastly, the IWW could have said in 1945, and could say even more persuasively today, that "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." John Sweeney, elevated to the AFL-CIO presidency seven years ago to the cheers of dozens of left-wing intellectuals, has said as much, over and over.

When the IWW missed the historic opportunity to make itself the center of a thoroughgoing labor left, a more superficial kind of opposition filled the vacuum. First were the Communists, in their misguided romance with Philip Murray. Then came the Trotskyists, all varieties of whom supported Walter Reuther to become president of the UAW. Since 1970, a variety of ex-Trotskyists in entities such as the Association for Union Democracy, *Labor Notes* and Teamsters for a Democratic Union have encouraged us to view Arnold Miller, Ed Sadlowski, Jerry Tucker and Ron Carey as latter-day reincarnations of Eugene Debs who would lead workers to the promised land. The names are not important. What is important is the mistaken notion that the way to move toward abolition of the wage system is to elect new, so-called "progressive" personalities as leaders of national trade unions.

There is a name for this strategy: social democracy. Rosa Luxemburg denounced it as "reformism." Lenin criticized it as "economism." Daniel DeLeon called such union leaders "labor lieutenants of capitalism." IWW agitators invented a variety of names — pie cards, scissor bills, Mr. Block — for these same folks and those who believed in them. By whatever name, the social democratic strategy is first to elect new and allegedly better national trade union leaders, and then to create a mass labor party financed by those very men. Social Democracy showed its true colors, once and for all, when the socialist parties of almost all capitalist countries supported their respective national governments

in World War I. It is a shame that for the past 88 years we on the labor left have had to contend with various warmed-over versions of this discredited approach to fundamental social change.

In effect, sixty-five years — the period between the end of the 1930s and the present (coincidentally, my entire adult lifetime) — have been wasted. The challenge I put to Wobblies is to do now what you should have done two generations ago: Analyze social democracy from the vantage point of the Preamble. Draw as well on the scattered worker intellectuals who have helped to keep the Wobbly critique alive, such as our recently departed comrades, Stan Weir and Marty Glaberman. Reach out to rank-and-file workers to build a true labor left.

Within the Shell of the Old

This brings us to the second strategic concept to be found in the Preamble: "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." Criticizing the trade unions is the easy part of re-thinking IWW strategy, because it is negative. Now come the harder questions. What is the positive alternative to conventional trade unionism? How do we create it?

The relevant sentences of the Preamble come in its last paragraph: "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with 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."

What does it mean to say that doing away with capitalism is the historic mission of the working class? In Wobbly tradition I think these words are understood to mean that workers can do the job alone. ... But maybe we have been reading the words incorrectly. Maybe "the historic mission of the working class" is not a task that workers can do alone, but a task that cannot be done without workers. I want to suggest that the lesson we should draw from Seattle, Quebec City and Genoa is that both students and workers are required to change the system, and that they should cooperate as equals, as two hands clasped together in horizontal alliance.

The history of the 20th century demonstrates that students are characteristically first in the streets. And this is understandable, given the fact that most students are not yet committed to livelihood and support of a family, and are in a setting and a period of their lives where excitement over general ideas is encouraged. But protest grows to the point that it can threaten fundamental change only when the working class joins in. ... [Lynd went on to discuss how the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 illustrate this dynamic.]

The Preamble also tells us that by "organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." Wobblies have taken this to mean that the instrumentalities of revolution will be pre-existing workplace organizations, connected to each other in "one big union," and then acting together in a general strike.

But again, the words can have more than one meaning. They might mean that the in-

strumentalities of revolution will be new kinds of structures, created for the occasion. They might mean that when power has passed to the people, these ad hoc bodies will turn to the workers of hand and brain and say: "Comrades, you now have the opportunity to assemble for the task of carrying on production; to gather in those forms of association that you have found through experience to be best suited to your needs; and through them, collectively to run the economy."

And in fact, in the moments of revolution or near-revolution during the past century and a half we find that poor and working people did not conduct the struggle through organizations already in existence when the crisis began. Rather they acted through new institutions, created for the purpose at hand. Typically, these new institutions brought together all the workers of a given locality and addressed the common interests, the class interests, of all workers in that community. Often such bodies originated as committees to administer local general strikes. Typically, as the crisis deepened, the committee would turn to positive tasks such as maintaining public safety, ensuring that essential medical services remained available, guaranteeing a supply of basic foods, and so on. Built from below, gradually taking on responsibility for the whole range of human needs, the network of new organizations became a dual power confronting the existing structure of government.

Such were the Paris Commune of 1871; the Russian soviets ("soviet" simply means "council") in 1905 and 1917; the Italian committees that administered the occupation of factories after World War I; local general strike committees in Seattle in 1919, in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco in 1934, and in Oakland and elsewhere in the United States after World War II; the workers' councils of revolutionary Hungary in 1956; the inter-factory strike committees, first on the Baltic Coast, and then throughout the country, that came to call themselves Polish Solidarity; the workers' assemblies that met each day in France in the autumn of 1995 to decide whether to continue the strike for another day; and the workers' committees that dismissed local factory managers throughout Serbia in the fall of 2000.

This is what workers do in revolutionary moments. What can be the role of Wobblies? First, Wobblies can foster the kind of class consciousness that emerges spontaneously when workers from different kinds of work and different unions meet to consider their common problems. Second, in the moment of crisis, Wobblies should forego preoccupation with calling something "IWW this" or "IWW that," and instead play the role of catalysts in the formation of parallel

central labor bodies. Depending on the particular circumstances, constituent elements of such bodies may include: informal work groups; local unions, independent and otherwise; what Fellow Worker Buss calls "minority unions," that is, groups of workers who think and act together but do not yet represent a majority of their fellow workers in a given workplace; and trusted individuals and small groups of many different kinds.

Paris in 1968 left us the slogan: "Be realistic, demand the impossible!" A few years ago, Seattle, Quebec and Genoa would have seemed impossible. Now the realm of the possible has been expanded. ...

The practice of solidarity

In place of a conclusion, let me share one final concern. What we are about is a new set of values, the practice of solidarity. Capitalism developed within feudalism as the practice of the idea of contract. What was imagined was a society in which free and equal members of civil society would enter into mutually binding agreements. Thus, the free city. Thus, the guild of artisans. Thus, the congregation of Protestant believers bound together by a "covenant" (a different kind of contract). And thus, the capitalist corporation, its investors, its shareholders. Of course, the reality was and is that the parties to capitalist labor contracts were and are not equal, and therefore the ideological hegemony of the bourgeois idea of contract has always been and still is based on a sham.

Counter-hegemonically, we practice solidarity. Solidarity might be defined as drawing the boundary of our community of struggle as widely as possible. When LTV Steel first filed for bankruptcy in 1986, Youngstown retirees debated whether they should seek health insurance only for steel industry retirees or for everyone. They decided, for everyone. When LTV Steel recently filed for bankruptcy a second time, the United Steelworkers of America made the opposite choice: they asked Congress to subsidize the so-called "legacy costs" of the steel industry, not for universal health care. ...

But we must also nurture solidarity, not only in struggle with the powers that be, but also within our own movement. This is very hard but absolutely indispensable. ...

I have the responsibility of carrying on for John Sargent; for Ed Mann, who at meetings of the Youngstown Workers' Solidarity Club would introduce himself as "Ed Mann, member of the IWW"; for Stan Weir, who learned labor history from Wobblies on ship board during World War II; for Marty Glaberman. You will have the responsibility of carrying on for me. This is as it should be. This is the deepest and most important solidarity. May the circle be unbroken.

WHICH PAPER DO YOU SUPPORT?



AFSCME, Carpenters going Republican?

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees will support the Republican candidate for Pennsylvania governor, calling Democratic candidate Ed Rendell "America's nightmare." Rendell has the endorsement of the state AFL-CIO. As mayor of Philadelphia, Rendell mounted a brutal assault on city workers.

AFSCME officials went beyond criticizing Rendell, though, to praise the incumbent Republicans for their labor policies. Under a recent state takeover of the Philadelphia school system, dozens of city schools face privatization and hundreds of union members are losing their jobs because the state

refuses to adequately fund the schools.

Meanwhile, the Carpenters union hosted President Bush at a Labor Day picnic near Pittsburgh; UBC President Douglas McCarron returned the favor by serving as the token labor representative at Bush's recent economic summit, hastily organized to assure critics that Bush is concerned about the deteriorating economy.

While Bush has gutted workplace safety rules and barred federally funded construction projects from giving preference to union workers, McCarron says carpenters benefit from Bush's efforts to ease pollution regulations and open wilderness areas to oil drilling.

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Review: **Workers' struggle against war**

Mary E. Marcy, *You Have No Country: Workers' Struggle Against War*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 77 pages. Available from IWW Literature Department for \$5.

REVIEWED BY JEFF SHANTZ

As the U.S. stands poised once again to launch yet another war, or another battle in the endless war on terrorism, we are faced with the difficulties of preparing opposition to war in the heart of the imperialist monster. This includes making clear the nature of imperialist war and the harm it does to workers everywhere, including the U.S. It also means careful explanation of why workers' interests are never with the class that rules over them and determines national policy. Thus, I was particularly happy to find this book at the IWW General Assembly in August.

The introduction by Franklin Rosemont tells us that Mary Marcy (1877-1922) was a leading figure in the Socialist Party's left wing before and during the First World War. She was also managing editor of the *International Socialist Review* and her strong anti-war articles, many reprinted here, were a major reason the U.S. government finally suppressed the journal in 1918.

In contrast to the SP leadership, who preferred parliamentary politics and craft unionism, Marcy's *Review* emphasized direct action and syndicalism. The *Review* was not a journal for intellectuals or professional writers. Each issue contained articles and letters by rank-and-file workers. This made it one of the rare venues where rank-and-file men and women could express their views to a broader public.

This book includes a collection of Marcy's anti-war writings which appeared in *The International Socialist Review* between 1914 and 1917. The outbreak of the First World War led European social democratic parties to abandon their pre-war opposition to war. All the supposedly socialist parties succumbed to their national ruling classes' demand for patriotic obedience.

As Marcy argued, the real enemy is not the working class of another country but the capitalist class at home. The only real solution to war is social revolution which removes the ruling classes. While SP leadership viewed such positions as utopian, Marcy countered with the case of Italy where the threat of a general strike had forced the government to remain neutral. Of course, the working class of Russia would soon remove the revolutionary perspective from the realm of utopias.

Marching toward war

As U.S. government officials bang the war drums ever louder, growing numbers of unions are taking a stand against the slaughter. In August, the Washington State Labor Council approved a resolution criticizing the "national AFL-CIO's uncritical support for this profit-driven war." The resolution notes that the "war on terrorism" has been used to justify imprisoning over 1,000 immigrant workers, hand over billions of dollars to military contractors and airlines, and raid social programs to foot the costs.

The resolution called for repeal of the USA PATRIOT act, pressure on law enforcement to refuse to cooperate with FBI spying on labor and anti-globalism activists, the immediate release of the detainees, and union participation in efforts "to pressure President Bush and Congress to stop the war and redirect money from corporate handouts and the military budget to assist laid-off workers, restore and expand public services, and promote global justice by providing humanitarian and economic aid — administered by unions — to our brothers and sisters in other countries."

On Sept. 7, IWW members joined members of dozens of New York City labor orga-

For more than a decade war and militarism had been subjects at the International Socialist Congresses. Despite the large membership of many of the Social Democratic parties, they had not avoided war and European workers were slaughtering each other. Marcy notes that these congresses were long on rhetoric by leaders and short on practical proposals for uniting the socialist parties to meet the impending war crisis.

At the International Socialist Congress of 1912, for example, the general strike was proposed as a weapon to avert a war in Europe. Unfortunately there was strong opposition to the idea, especially from German delegates who feared that talk of a general strike would lead to increased repression by the German state. As a result, the proposal was referred to committee. The largest socialist organization in the world, with more than 4 million members, thus relinquished responsibility for developing practical actions to prevent the outbreak of war. In the end it was unprepared to develop any solution to the crisis which was about to emerge.

The authoritarian practices of Second International parties, with their party discipline, hierarchical division between leaders and followers, and passive membership, presented an impediment to workers' organizing against war and for a classless society. These must not be the practices of revolutionary socialists. Thus, Marcy joined those calling for a new international organized along lines distinct from those of the Second International and based in those working-class movements which had maintained their principles during the war. Marcy was strongly influenced by the politics and culture of the IWW and drew from the Wobblies a sense of the importance of working class self-expression and creativity.

The selections begin with an argument against working-class patriotism and national chauvinism. In "The Real Fatherland," Marcy asks a question that she believes applies to every worker in the world: "What has 'your' country ever done for you?" Her answer is that workers' homelands have done nothing for them. Nation-states defend the ruling classes and protect the interests of the powerful against the needs of the poor. There is no reason for workers to love the land of their birth any more than other lands. The

nizations protesting the ongoing repression against immigrant workers.

In Canada, the president of the Canadian Labour Congress said "Canadian workers are watching with growing disbelief the U.S. government's preparations for a full-scale attack against Iraq and they want nothing to do with it."

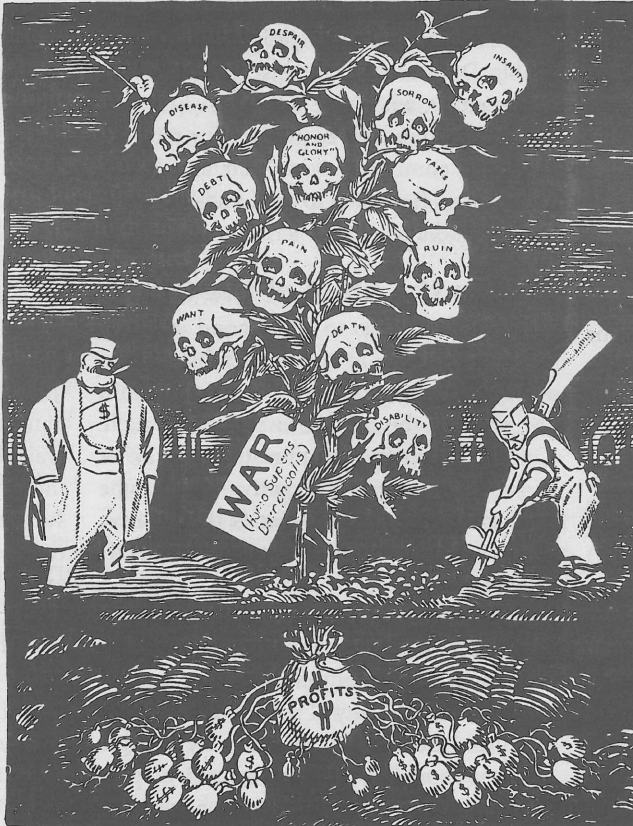
In England, the country's two rail unions tabled an emergency resolution at the TUC conference opposing military action against Iraq. The resolution carried on a hand vote, but was declared defeated when several large unions cast block votes in favor of an alternative resolution insisting that any military attack must first receive United Nations approval.

RMT general secretary Bob Crow said: "Our members see services crumbling through lack of investment, while the government is considering spending tens of millions of pounds on death and destruction. This is criminal madness."

Crow also denounced the continuing bombing campaign which has now become so routine it goes unmentioned in news reports, but which sees almost weekly bombing runs over Iraq.

only real homeland for workers is a world without property and profit, a world of socialism.

It is not enough to oppose war. All of the socialist parties opposed war until there was war. Socialists need to develop definite tactics for preventing war. Protests, resolu-



BIG BUSINESS (to Labor, generously): "My good fellow, you'll be well paid for your patriotic action in 'tending this glorious plant; you shall have all the fruit above the ground—I'll take ONLY the roots!"

tions and objections will not prevent war. Marcy argues that socialists must call for a general strike in time of war. This is the best weapon, the only weapon strong enough, to stop governments which are threatening war.

Marcy was outraged and exasperated at the lack of even sporadic industrial action by socialists to slow the wheels of the war machine, let alone grind it to a halt. The sense of frustration is clear when she states: "Four million, five hundred thousand Social Democrats and not one train delayed in rushing troops to murder French and Belgian workingmen! Could impotence go any further?"

In the interesting article, "Better Any Kind of Action Than Inert Theory!," Marcy refutes arguments that the rush to war was a result of "primal instincts" or "primitive emotions." She points instead to the importance of acquired habits. In a telling passage which identifies work discipline as one crucial acquired habit for war, Marcy states: "And when we look closely we find almost an utter lack of enthusiasm, an amazing lack of emotion among the soldiers. They went toward France like men going to work in a factory; they discharged their guns like 'hands' running a machine in a steel mill." The habit of obedience has worked to make the war a fact. Without this habit of doing what one is told to do, of following orders and obeying leaders, Marcy continues, the "desires of the capitalist class for new conquests would have remained fruitless."

Marcy lays some of the blame for this obedience on the German Social Democrats. Their authoritarian and representational structure fostered the same sense of inaction and passivity among rank-and-file members as the German military and government. In the party, members were taught a respect for authority and a trust of leadership. Party discipline meant obedience to compromising politicians.

Marcy presents the revolutionary position on capitalist armies and war in clear, straightforward terms. "We are opposed to all armies and all navies because they always have been and always will be the weapons of the ruling class to keep us in wage slavery. The army and navy have never been used in the interests of the working class." All appropriations for armaments will be used against workers at some point, whether internationally in war or domestically to stop rebellions.

Marcy was by no means advocating pacifism. "We believe in war, but war upon the enemy of our own class — capitalism." Socialists who opposed direct action to stop war were in fact siding with the violence and bloodshed of war, while claiming to speak against violence. "The only war worth fighting is the class war, the war of the workers against the robber class. The abolition of the profit and wages system is the only fight that will benefit us."

In "We Must Fight It Out," Marcy notes that it will take more than good ideas or visions of a better future to prevent war or make a revolution. The German and French socialists, she notes, had great ideas but none of these kept them from being led into war. The same will be true for U.S. socialists who rely on the strength of ideas alone to prevent war. "The class war will have to be fought out. And every act of rebellion and revolt will make us better fighters for the overthrow of capitalism, fighters with weapons tried and found effective. Revolt! Revolt again! And again Revolt!"

Workers cannot rely on legal means to halt war because there are no such means. Referenda are not held on entry into war and the usual protest meetings and letters of dissent will not stop war. The only effective response workers have is industrial action against the machinery of war. Strong industrial organization would be necessary to prevent

war. In order for this to happen workers need to organize in their unions and workplaces to shut down operations in the event of war. The only effective response is to make it too costly for the ruling classes to opt for war. Workers must raise the costs of war business to a level that the capitalists cannot afford to pay.

Marcy is perhaps at her strongest when she is arguing for the importance of workers breaking through the habits of submission and learning how to fight. Union bureaucrats who emphasize cooperation, collaboration and respect for capitalist ownership, build habits of inaction and submission in workers and contribute to the suppression of workers' instincts for fighting.

The book opens with the epigraph: "The Profit System is the cause of all wars today. We are going to prove this to you so that you will recognize the facts even if you have never thought on the subject before in your life." By the end of the book, Marcy has carried through on her promise. In order to abolish capitalist war it is necessary to abolish the root cause of capitalist war, the profit system. While the book does not offer many insights into how to mobilize workers against war, it does provide useful insights into the character of war and points out the fatal errors of social democratic perspectives on war and of hierarchical structures which inhibit the capacity of workers to act against war.

"Friendly" boss goes sweatshop

When Malden Mills decided to rebuild its burned-out Lawrence factory in 1995, union officials praised the boss — overlooking the unsafe conditions that sparked the blaze (which crippled some workers) and the boss' insatiable drive for concessions. Boss Aaron Feuerstein was hailed as a friend of labor, honored by politicians, and showered with government contracts.

Now Malden Mills proposes to shift much of its production to Shanghai Challenge Textiles, costing even more jobs. The Lawrence workforce is already down to 780 workers, from 1,500 before the fire.

UNITE Local 311 President Joe Melo says the union still supports the boss, but is concerned that more jobs would be lost as production ramps up overseas.

BOOKS FOR REBEL WORKERS

MINORITY UNIONISM

Where the Fraser River Flows

The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia



Mark Leier

When the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia

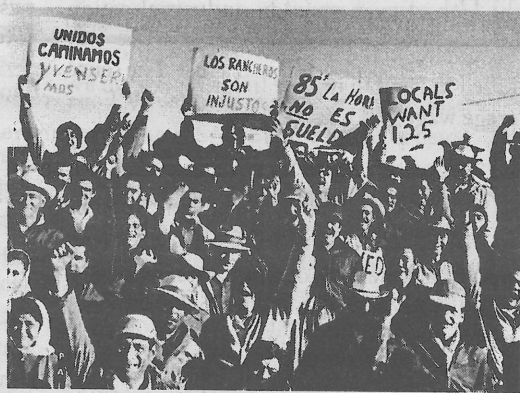
by Mark Leier
Mark Leier's history of the IWW in British Columbia focuses on the Free Speech Fights of 1909 and 1912 and IWW organizing in the timber fields, demonstrating that the Wobblies were fighting not just the bosses and the government, but also more conservative elements in the labor and socialist movements. A lively read, Leier also offers a sympathetic discussion of IWW ideas and tactics. The larger history of IWW organizing in Canada remains uncovered, but this book is an important contribution. **\$15.00**

Solidarity Unionism: Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below

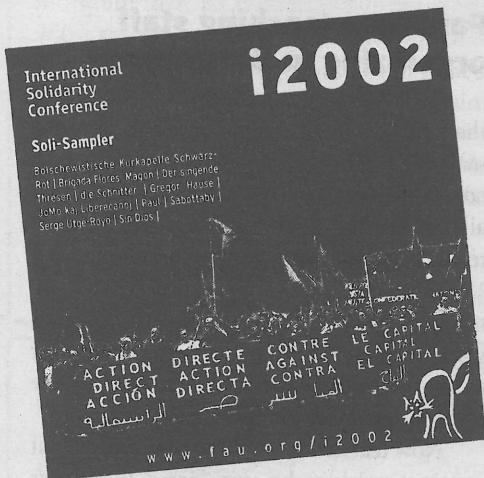
by Staughton Lynd
Staughton Lynd discusses how small groups of workers have created new forms of democratic organization, and argues that building a revolutionary labor movement today means nurturing such experiments in the face of corporate power. A modest, but deeply optimistic, search for possibilities. **\$9.00**

The CIO's Left-Led Unions

Edited by Steven Rosswurm
In 1949 and 1950 the CIO expelled several left-wing unions. This collection explores the history of eleven of these unions, addressing the role of race and government policy in shaping unionism, the impact of anti-communism on race relations and working conditions, and the impact of the expulsions on the labor movement. Several of these unions had strong direct action traditions and had provided an important counterpoint to more bureaucratic tendencies. **\$10.00**



Songs for Struggle



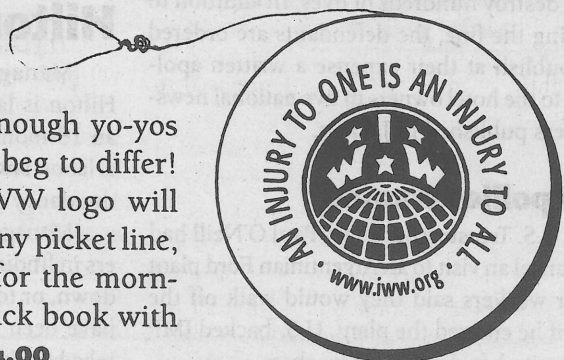
i2002 Soli-Sampler CD

On August 27 through Sept. 1 there was an international conference of revolutionary unionists in Essen, Germany (see report on page 5). Conference organizers, the FAU, have produced an excellent benefit CD for the event, featuring songs in German, English, French, Spanish and even Esperanto. Contributors include Sabotabby, Brigada Flores Magon, and Sin Dios. **\$15.00**

Picket Line Fun

Wobbly yo-yos & trick book

Think we already have enough yo-yos in this organization? We beg to differ! Red yo-yo with black IWW logo will help you pass the time at any picket line, boring meeting, or wait for the morning bus to work. Yo-yo trick book with a Wob twist included. **\$4.00**



Workers Against War

You Have No Country by Mary E. Marcy
See review on page 10. **77pp \$5.00**

The Wobblies at War: A History of the IWW and the Great War in

Australia by Frank Cain
The Australian IWW, which got started in 1907 to bring the flag of "One Big Unionism" down-under, was a major force in opposing Australia's involvement in World War I. So efficient was its Anti-War campaign, which opposed conscription, blind nationalism, and the thirst for blood of the employing class all over the world, the Australian government banned the union in 1916, and attempted to drive the organization into the ground in 1917 by deporting prominent leaders. **300 pp. \$16.00**

Union Democracy

Democracy Is Power: Rebuilding Unions from the Bottom Up by Mike Parker & Martha Gruelle. This book offers practical ideas of how the rank and file can run unions. Major discussion of Teamsters for a Democratic Union experiences in this area. **254pp \$17.00**

Labor History

Strike! by Jeremy Brecher A classic text – a history of American workers' struggle from a working-class viewpoint, arguing that class upsurges are based in everyday life and rank-and-file initiative. While this edition is somewhat less optimistic than the original, it still provides rich detail of workers' rebellions throughout American history, and abundant evidence for the proposition that workers are fully capable of making our own history, should we set our minds to the task. **\$22.00**

Global Workers Organizing

Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory

by Miriam Ching Yoon Louie
Sweatshop Warriors highlights the voices of the pioneers of the growing anti-sweatshop movement: immigrant women workers. In this up-close and personal look at these extraordinary organizers, Miriam Ching Yoon Louie records the voices of these working-class heroines sounding the charges for the anti-WTO legions. **256pp \$18.00**

Made in Indonesia

by Dan La Botz
A dynamic new labor movement emerged in Indonesia in the 1990s, helping to bring down the brutal Suharto dictatorship in 1998. Through rare personal interviews with the activists who are leading the rebirth of struggle for democratic rights in the world's fourth-largest country, La Botz draws valuable lessons for workers in the United States seeking to build international labor solidarity. **256pp \$18.00**

IWW Literature

Little Red Songbook 36th Edition
103 labor songs to fan the flames of discontent from around the world, with music. Includes songs by Joe Hill, Billy Bragg, Anne Feeney, Utah Phillips, and more. **\$10.00**

One Big Union An introduction to the structure, methods and goals of the Industrial Workers of the World. **\$2.00**

The General Strike by Ralph Chaplin
The classic text – a call for organization. **\$2.00**

Organizing Help

A Troublemaker's Handbook: How to Fight Back Where You Work and Win! by Dan La Botz. An encyclopedic work on worker initiative and organizing on the job. Shows that sitdown strikes still aren't dead and immigrant workers can be organized. **262pp \$17.00**

The New Rank and File

by Staughton and Alice Lynd
With this inspiring collection of interviews with working class organizers from many facets of the international labor movement, the Lynds demonstrate the type of grassroots approach that we need if we are to build the strength to win against a global, wealthy and well-armed foe. Directed at two groups – rank-and-file workers and young people entering the labor movement – this book directly takes on the ideology of business unionism and offers hope and ideas for democratic, solidarity unionism. **262pp \$16.00**

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Workers resist bosses the whole world 'round

General strike in Bangladesh

Bangladeshi garment workers held a nationwide strike Sept. 1 to demand an increase in the minimum wage. The strike was called by the Bangladesh Garment Workers Unity Council, which brings together six garment workers unions.

There are 3300 garment factories in Bangladesh, employing 1.6 million workers. But garment workers toil in inhuman conditions. The minimum wage has not increased since 1994, and is now worth only US\$14 per month. In many cases workers work 14 to 16 hours per day and 7 days a week. Companies routinely ignore health and safety laws and violate union rights.

The Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers & Exporters Association signed agreements with the Unity Council in 1997 and 2000, but these have not been implemented.

UK unions want right to solidarity

The British rail workers union RMT is calling for mass action to pressure the "New Labour" government to restore union rights struck down under the former Conservative government.

RMT leader Bob Crow said restoring the right to secondary picketing and to job actions in solidarity with other workers were the highest priorities. "Solidarity action is how the trade union movement was built," Crow said. "Workers in industry should be able to take action for other workers."

"We [should] go on the streets like the Italians and Spanish and say, 'You can stuff your anti-trades union laws.'"

UK safety protest charges dropped

All charges against five protesters who occupied the Shoreham docks of Euromin in December 2001 were dropped Sept. 3, after prosecutors decided it was not in the public interest to proceed with the case.

Farah Bishnani, Crispin Dowler, David Harbinson, Sarah McLaughlin and Carly North, all of Brighton, England, had been charged under section 241 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act of 1992 following a protest at the docks Dec. 3.

Colin Chalmers of the Simon Jones Memorial Campaign says, "We're glad that the CPS has finally realised that the people protesting against this death trap of a dock aren't the criminals here. ... Our campaign will continue until the authorities wake up to what's going on here and shut this cowboy operation down."

Simon Jones was killed while working as a casual laborer at the facility. Anne Jones, Simon's mother, and others were to give evidence at the trial about the appalling lack of safety at Euromin's dock.

Nike workers protest cuts

Some 4,000 Nike workers marched on the U.S. embassy in Jakarta August 20 to protest against planned production cuts. The cutback could cost 7,000 jobs. Rustam Aksam, president of the Indonesian Textile, Garment and Leather Worker's Union, said: "Nike has no social responsibility. They are just exploiting the workers, getting their profit and then leaving."

Nike will terminate a contract with contractor Doso Indonesia in November, but insists compensation to laid-off workers is Doso's responsibility.

Glasgow hospital strike wins

Sodexo was beaten in the Glasgow Royal Infirmary hospital dispute reported last issue, conceding £5 an hour back dated to April 1 to catering staff.



The Coca-Cola killings

BY MARIA ENGQVIST

Days after Coca-Cola learned that a lawsuit filed against it by a union activist had been accepted by Colombia's Constitutional Court, Adolfo de Jesus Munera was murdered by paramilitary gunmen.

Munera is the eight Coca-Cola union leader to have been murdered in recent years. In April 1997 the company's plant chief secretly accused Munera of being a rebel sympathizer. After an army unit raided Munera's home, he fled out of town afraid of being targeted by right-wing death squads. The following month he received a letter from Coca-Cola saying that he was dismissed for not showing up at his workplace.

Supported by the Sinaltrainal food industry workers' union, Munera filed suit against Coca-Cola demanding reinstatement. He won in the trial court, but the company's arguments were accepted on appeal. Munera appealed that decision, and on August 22 received a letter from the Colombian Constitutional Court saying that his case had been accepted. On August 31, gunmen were waiting for him outside his mother's house and shot him dead on the doorsteps.

Almost 4,000 CUT union activists have been assassinated since 1986, without the Colombian authorities taking serious steps to prosecute the killers.

Sinaltrainal has filed suit in Atlanta against Coca-Cola, alleging that the company has contracted death squads to carry out a campaign to destroy the union. The union says that there is no possibility of bringing those responsible for the killings to justice in Colombia, because the death squads are run by powerful members of the elite and senior police and army commanders.

Call centre staff threaten strike

Workers at one of the world's largest call-centre operators in Moe, Australia, are threatening to strike over unpaid wages, unusual pay deductions, bullying and disputes over sick leave. Teletech recently sacked a worker for failing to tell the company she was sick. She was in hospital with pneumonia.

Some workers have not been paid for up to five weeks and had to borrow money to buy groceries. Others had not received sick pay, holiday pay, or training wages. TeleTech, a U.S. firm, opened at Moe with government subsidies in November.

Meanwhile, Reality call centre workers in mid Wales, UK, have voted for strike action over a test of a call centre in Bangalore, India. Workers are seeking a job security agreement guaranteeing they will not lose jobs to overseas workers. Reality's parent company, GUS, runs catalog sales operations.

Solidarity illegal?

A South African labor court barred textile workers from taking solidarity action, on grounds they had not struck soon enough

Remy Cointreau is "Cointreaversial"

BY BRIAN OLIVER SHEPPARD

Recent Remy Cointreau ads feature a svelte female model wearing a large orange peel, holding a bottle of Cointreau's famous orange liquor. The ad's single caption is: "Be Cointreaversial." Taking this advice, at least one plantation producing for Remy Cointreau has killed workers who were involved in union activities.

Amnesty International, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and other groups have cited the recent deaths at the Guacimal orange plantation in St. Raphael, Haiti, as evidence of the anti-worker animosity of bosses there. The Guacimal plantation produces orange extract for Remy Cointreau, which owns a minority share in owner Produits Agricole Guacimal.

In May, a march of the union Batay Ouvriye ended in two workers getting chopped to death by plantation boss thugs working to prevent union members from organizing in the fields. Workers who are not killed in Haitian orange fields receive an average wage of \$1.50 per day.

Paying for injustice

The High Court of Jakarta, Indonesia, has upheld the right of employers to use civil lawsuits in order to punish workers for carrying out legitimate union activity. On August 27, the court ordered six union activists to pay 20.7 billion rupiahs – US\$2.34 million – in compensation for "damages" stemming from the decision of the owners of the Jakarta Shangri-La Hotel to lock out the entire workforce in December 2000 prior to closing the hotel for three months and firing some 800 union members.

The Shangri-La dispute has become the longest-running and best-publicized labor dispute in Indonesia owing to the determination of the SPMS members to continue fighting for their rights, their union and their dignity. The lawsuit is designed to impress upon Indonesian workers as a whole the futility of resistance to the employers' right to hire and fire at will and to run "their" enterprises without regard to labor rights.

To hammer home the point, the South Jakarta District Court began the legal procedures for seizing the defendants' homes even before the first pre-trial hearing took place last year. The six unionists and their families thus face losing their modest homes and savings in "compensation" for the owners' decision to close the hotel, bust the union, and destroy hundreds of lives. In addition to paying the fine, the defendants are ordered to publish at their expense a written apology to the hotel owners in five national newspapers published in Jakarta.

No polities wanted

U.S. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill had to cancel an visit to an Argentinian Ford plant after workers said they would walk off the job if he entered the plant. U.S.-backed IMF austerity has devastated workers.

Police attack striking unionists at hospitals

More than 3,000 riot police stormed two hospitals in Seoul early Sept. 11 in separate raids to break up unionized workers who had been staging long-running strikes.

Police hauled away 326 striking unionists from Kangnam St. Mary's Hospital in southern Seoul and 165 workers from Kyung Hee University Medical Center in the northern part of the capital.

Five leaders of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions were also arrested while protesting the police action.

Workers had been striking for months, demanding pay hikes and improved working conditions. Shortly after police left, hundreds of union workers reoccupied the Medical Center and resumed their sit-in in the hospital lobby.

In the southern island of Cheju, where nurses and technicians have been striking for two months, some 100 private security guards stormed the hospital and forced strikers from the building. Many workers were injured in the attack, which came three days after the mass firing of 108 of 115 workers for strike activity.

The strike began May 29, centering on the demand that irregular workers receive negotiating rights and job security. The union also demanded a wage hike.

Pakistani workers protest temp jobs

Workers across Pakistan held protests August 12, against fast-growing unemployment, unchecked inflation and the growing use of temporary and contingent workers in violation of labor laws.

Workers demonstrated in Lahore with banners and placards protesting the "regularization of temporary and contract employees" hired for jobs of a permanent nature, restoration of union rights, resumption of work in 6,000 factories lying closed, withdrawal of criminal cases brought against union leaders, and measures to combat violence and harassment of women workers.

The government has also denied public sector workers the right to take grievances to the labor courts. Union officials also called for a higher minimum wage, redistribution of land to peasants, equal opportunities for women workers, and shorter working hours.

Part-time teaching staff organizing in UK colleges

In UK colleges and universities more than 50,000 lecturers work part-time – the majority on short-term, hourly pay or agency contracts. Higher education employs 11% of all fixed-term contract workers, second only to the hotel and catering sector.

More than half of new teaching staff are now being brought in on short-term contracts, working without any job security for substandard pay. Women and black staff are often singled out for contingent work.

Now teachers unions are demanding that contract workers be transferred to regular status within two years, and that part-time staff be protected against discrimination.

Hilton stiffs staff

Managers at the Sydney (Australia) Hilton is laying off nearly 500 workers for an 18-month renovation project, and using a labor law loophole to escape normal redundancy pay.

Management also refuses to assist workers in finding new positions during the shut-down, or to guarantee staff – some of whom have been at the hotel for 20 years – their jobs back when the hotel reopens.