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### **May Day: International Workers' Day**

The following was written by Eugene Barnett from his prison cell, to which he had been sentenced for his part in defending the IWW hall in Centralia, Washington, from an American Legion mob set on murder: The first of May is International Labor Day. It is the workers' own day and is celebrated by all class-conscious workers in every country of the world.

"Labor Day" in September is the day the employing class – the industrial kings – allow their employees – their slaves – to parade before them in review. But Labor Day, the first of May, is the day the workers of all lands break down the barriers of national patriotism, differences of religions, race hatred and prejudice fostered by the international ruling class and pledge anew their vows of Solidarity to working-class principles and to each other the world over. On that day, the employing class cringes in the shadows with the look of a hunted creature on its face. For in that day they see the direful prophecy of a greater day when the workers of the world will all be united in one big industrial union and every day will be Labor's day. Well they know that on that day they will have to begin to earn an honest living...

So on this May Day ... remember, the hands of your imprisoned fellow workers are held out to you from dark cells behind steel bars, in the pledge of allegiance to our class – to Solidarity, not for a day or a year, but as long as life shall last. On this day let us resolve that never again will we allow the employing class to reconstruct their false barriers to divide and enslave us... (Industrial Solidarity, May 1, 1924)

May Day – Our Labor Day! May Day, when nature, herself in revolt against the trammels of the ice and cold, with sun and earth in harmony, preaches the gospel of progress! .... True, our masters have given one day a year as a day for Labor. We, the militants of labor, want no day contaminated and disgraced by legal sanction.

Your Labor Day means the perpetuation of capitalism; ours means its overthrow. Your Labor Day symbolizes the enslavement of the workers; ours their approaching liberation. Your Labor Day .... means nationalism, division of the workers; ours means internationalism – the solidarity of the workers of the world. Your Labor Day shadows the past of tears and blood; ours is the future. ...

The songs we sing ... sound the might of a class. We are confined to no country, no flag. Our songs herald your overthrow. This is Our Day. We are the forgers of revolution – the destroyers of the old and the outgrown. We are the nemesis of idlers – the doom of masters – the emancipators of slaves. We are revolt. We are progress. We are revolution. (*Industrial Worker*, May 1, 1917)

May Day, originally a rural holiday to celebrate the coming of Spring..., is now a day of internationalism. ... All the predominating characteristics of modern social systems are international... The ruin of the American farmers is due to the competition of Canada, Russia, Argentina and other countries, in the markets of the world. ...

Undoubtedly, no nation lives unto itself alone, especially the United States with its increasing credits and concessions throughout the civilized world. The capitalism of this country is conspicuous everywhere... Ideas lag behind events. We still have the ideas of nationalism with us... But it won't be long before it will *May Day: continued page 2* 

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### The IWW Centennial: A shipyard worker's view

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#### **IWW Conference marks** 100 years, looks to future

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# Temping on the grading assembly line

BY WALT WEBER, JR.

I began my job as a test grader much the way that other people get a job – I answered an ad in the paper that said you could get hired to grade standardized tests for \$12 an hour. Not a bad wage, so I showed up, filled out an application, took a ridiculously easy test, and was easily hired along with 150 other people

I was hired by Kelly Services, a well-known temp company, to work for CTB/McGraw Hill in the McGraw Hill education division. Both of these companies are in the Fortune 500, and make quite a lot of money. The testing division of McGraw Hill was built through acquiring other companies in a vertical integration strategy. Since they already publish text books and tests, why not grade them as well?

Although I was working for McGraw Hill, nearly all of the employees were temps. The trainers who taught us the ropes of test grading were temps; their supervisors were temps. Even the top decision makers on the test were mostly temps.

Other than the boss of the entire facility – a rah, rah cheerleader style boss – and the woman who did payroll, it was hard to find anyone who actually worked for the company. The janitor, the people who scan the tests, and everyone else I met had the horizontal photo ID that showed that they were a temp. None of us had imagined before we arrived that it would be like this.

Of all the things that we weren't told in the initial interview, the most important was that we were not guaranteed a job. In order to actually get the job, we would have to be trained how to grade the material, and then be tested on our grading abilities. The training consisted of a series of training sets, and a qualifying set, which required a grade of 80 percent or higher. Anyone who could not get higher than 80% on the questions in a section

would be thanked, and sent home.

Well, this blew all of our minds, until we started to look over the material, and it became pretty clear that qualifying would be pretty easy. After three days of training, we were finally allowed to move on to "live" papers. We never had access to the actual papers, however; the papers were instead scanned into a computer database, and we worked with images of the tests. We were told that they had done this in order to keep the tests secure and anonymous. There were other reasons as well, which had great benefits for the company.

The first reason was so that test readers could be given check sets, which are pre-graded papers that you can't tell are pre-graded. When you grade them, the score that you give them is weighed against how the supervisor scored the paper. If there are too many discrepancies, than you might have to be re-trained, and if you did bad on the re-training you were asked to leave.

Another reason why the company loved the computer grading system was the administration of what are called read behinds, in which a more experienced reader, usually a team leader, reads a random number of the paper that you have

scored, and sees how much agreement is there. Disagreement with a team leader could lead to the same consequences as bad check set scores.

A third reason that they needed the computer system was for a secret report that the bosses developed called the 1440 report. This report tracked each person logged into the computer system, and logged their production over time in a graph. A spike in the graph indicated when you weren't being productive. It was later found out that this was used to monitor and isolate break "abusers" – people who took long bathroom breaks, or excessive continued on page 10

# 15 more die for oil profits

Fifteen workers were killed March 23, and dozens seriously injured, in Texas City when flammable liquid and vapors erupted from a 100-foot tower in a BP Amoco refinery. Of those injured, about 70 are plant workers and 30 are local residents.

The catastrophe is a vivid reminder of the serious dangers posed to workers and our environment by the bosses' mad rush toward outsourcing and deregulation.

BP Amoco has long known that the facility was dangerous. In 1992, Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspectors warned that the refinery's practice of releasing flammable gases through a tower, rather than burning them as most plants do, exposed workers to flammable and toxic gases. (Local residents also breathed in the toxic brew, if in more diluted form.) Amoco eventually settled 15 violations for a \$50,000 fine, but was not required to fix the problem. The company was later acquired by British Petroleum.

The explosion and fire began in an isomerization unit which was in the process of being returned to production after scheduled maintenance. None of the 15 workers killed was employed directly by BP Amoco – they worked for contractors hired to get the facilities up and running as quickly as possible.

This work was once performed by highly trained union workers who had undergone an extensive apprenticeship. However, the oil companies now contract out their maintenance work and the non-union workers

receive only the training the contractors deem absolutely essential to get the work done. They work without benefits for a fraction of the wages paid the dwindling number of union workers on the site.

There were 3,300 workers at the refinery – 1,100 represented by the PACE union and 2,200 nonunion workers employed there by contractors. Many of the dead were working in a shed located near the unit that exploded, in violation of BP Amoco's safety standards.

The refinery is BP's largest in the United States, processing 460,000 barrels of crude oil daily. Management was quick to assure investors that production would not be seriously affected by the blast.

The complex was built in 1934 and has been owned by several oil companies over the years. Two pipe fitters were scalded to death and a third seriously injured at the plant last September when a seal burst on a water pump they were working on, spraying them with superheated water and steam.

A lawyer for the family of one of the victims says that BP Amoco has more accidents at its refinery facilities than any other operator, with at least 3,565 accidents since 1990. The refinery and its parent company, BP North America, have been fined more than \$172,000 by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for violations that have occurred during the last 12 months. The company paid \$109,500 following the Sept. 2, 2004, deaths of the two pipe fitters.

#### **Remembering FW Donald MacRitchie**

Fellow Worker Donald Mac-Ritchie was a long-time friend and member of the IWW. He was born Oct. 27, 1907, in New York City, and died April 20, 2004, in Rochester Hills, Mich.

around 1995 and found him taking care of his wife, Martha, who had had a stroke. Over the years, Don and Martha would visit us from time to time in Cleveland.

For many years Don was a seaman, sailing on a number of ore boats on the Great Lakes.

In the early years Don was with the IWW in Detroit, and also helped with a number of organizing efforts in Cleveland during the 1930s and 1940s, when Cleveland was an important center of IWW organizing.

By the way, regarding Ottilie Markholt, my husband Frank Cedervall and I met her after she organized a West Coast speaking tour for the IWW for Frank in the 1970s. Ottilie did a masterful job of coordinating our itinerary, from San Diego up through the state of Washington.

Frank died in June 1996 at age 92, and remained loyal and supportive of the IWW until his death. In May I will reach the same age

Some of our long-time friends in the labor movement include Fred Thompson, Henry Pfaff, Mike Kaciban, Tony Truppo, and Dick and Jean Tussey.

Yours for a better world, Jennie Cedervall, Ohio FW Cedervall sent in a substantial contribution to the IW Sustaining Fund in memory of Carlos Corte, Donald MacRitchie and Ottilie Markholt. We asked if she could share some memories of FW MacRitchie.

### Industrial Worker

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#### **Ottilie Markholt**

Enclosed is a donation to the Frank and I last visited Don IW Sustaining Fund from Nancy and me in memory of FW Ottilie Markholt. We had the good fortune to meet Ottilie at IWW Conventions held in Chicago in the late 1970s and early '80s. We were struck by both her schoolmarmish air and her unflinching devotion to the cause of labor. Also by her intelligence and

practicality. She will be missed. For the One Big Union, Steve & Nancy Kellerman

#### **Poisoning workers**

The Environmental Protection Agency recently issued new regulations for mercury emissions from coal-fired electricity generating plants. The power companies now are going pass on the cost of the new regulations to consumers.

Only in our capitalist system would we let companies "pass on" the cost of cleaning up their poisoning of our environment to low-income consumers.

**Bob Rice** 

### We, the Workers of the World

We wind our way through fields and factories in tractors and forklifts, on feet of 'too early' morning weight. We fight along these days,

cursing in cars and buses the oaf who claims us his, and tries to separate us from our wealth and desires. We dream of other days when no alarms electrocute our slumber when we order the time to our desires

and the sweetness that is life is ours to savor. We recognize and embrace our fellow/sister travelers, our comrades in agitation.

We swap tools of troublemaking, and stories of days when the tired shall rest, the hungry be full the homeless be home

And Love and Solidarity be the pride of our world. We do battle against the parasitic disease of 'more to few' instead of 'enough for all'

We laugh and cry but always - forward. We continue to be the bridge between our ancestors and our progeny until the ancestors call us home. We are the Workers of the World and we want it back!

In memory of CC Redcloud

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### May Day, Our Day....

continued from page 1

be recognized as obsolete, as was the independent city of old and the doctrine of states rights. ...

A recognition of modern world tendencies will do much to promote working-class internationalism. In fact, such recognition is doing much to this end even now. It is a noteworthy fact that workers in many nations must be suppressed in order to prevent expressions of fraternity with one another. For instance, oppression is planting its iron heel on the necks of the workers in many lands in order to prevent international organization against war. But, in view of the underlying tendencies of capitalism to world unification, this is not likely to prevail long.

Let it be soon! Help along this consummation by promoting fraternal relations with the labor organizations of the world. For, as capitalism is internationally organized, so also must labor be. Labor can not stand alone, no more than the nation can, in these, the days of international dependence and unification. (Industrial Solidarity, April 22, 1923)

On May Day we customarily assure each other that some day we will build an international labor organization powerful enough to usher in the new society. It is a good thought for May Day, or any day...

The knowledge that all who work for wages have something in common ... gives us a foundation for fellowship. It gives us an enduring base for unity, though on occasion we shoot each other in wars not of our own making or hate each other

because of prejudice and ignorance.

But history tells us that International May Day is linked with a fight for the shorter work week... It was in fact the decision to make May 1, 1890, the starting time for an international fight for the 8-hour day that first set the day apart as a special one in the annals of labor history... Today the need for a still shorter day is even more apparent. ...

The only kind of work time reduction employers have ever unanimously approved is the kind that cuts the hours of work of as many workers as possible to zero. ..

It is not so long ago that employers' publicity men peddled the folly that automation creates more jobs than it eliminates. In areas dominated by capitalistic propaganda, where words are professionally tailored to sound well no matter how little they reflect reality, the weird idea was sold as a remedy to hush the complaints of the unemployed. ...

For May Day this year we recommend that all of us resolve to apply whatever power and influence we have, in unions or elsewhere, to getting a mighty drive for a shorter work day or week on wheels and on the road

How short should a work day be? The IWW has long been on record for a six-hour or even shorter day. It is a good objective to keep in mind. But recognizing that the ultimate goal is necessarily further away in this instance than the next step will carry us, for now let's slash one hour at least off the work day across the nation. (Industrial Worker,

April 24, 1963)

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### IWW & NUM celebrate anniversaries of struggle

BY PETER MOORE

Politicians of every stripe will destroy national industries to avoid facing a determined industrial union, said union activists in Newcastle, northeast England. The workers spoke March 6, at a celebration of the IWW centennial and the National Union of Miners' 1984-1985 strike.

Edinburgh IWW branch secretary Eddie Murray opened the event by speaking about the origins of the Industrial Workers of the World and the key role the Western Federation of Miners played in the founding of the revolutionary industrial union. He quoted Big Bill Haywood on a fateful strike

# **Dump the bosses** off your back

BY RICHARD MYERS, DENVER

Storytellers Charlie King and Karen Brandow call their afternoon performances workshops. They use these intimate sessions to "examine the history of people's dreams and struggles for a better world as recorded in their songs." The presentations are "like thematic concerts but with greater emphasis on setting a song's historical context and more opportunity for dialogue." The audience participates in a role that is as comfortable and familiar as singing a traditional folk song.

King and Brandow recently came to Colorado with their newest workshop, "Dump The Bosses Off Your Back," a performance that "captures the spirit, tactics and history" of the Industrial Workers of the World. The slide projection imagery is familiar, much of it having appeared in Joyce Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices*. But the heart of the performance is in the music and in choice quotations from Haywood, Gurley Flynn and others which succinctly capture the essence of the IWW and its rivalry with the old AFL.

These wonderful folk singers present the real IWW, they pull no punches. They sing "Solidarity Forever," but also sing and explain "Sabo-Tabby Kitten." At the same time Charlie and Karen are intelligent interpreters of the IWW philosophy. They know their history and they present it thoughtfully.

The audience in Denver was primarily a church group. The performers didn't blush a bit when they sang Utah's lyrics, "I don't know a lot about what you'd call class, But the upper and middle can all kiss my ass..." Yet when one fellow asked about the role of spirituality within the IWW – a question that might have generated some real heat in light of historical struggles for the soapbox – Charlie's response was both informative and tactful. The Denver performance was well-received, and donations were respectable considering the modest size of the crowd.

King and Brandow do not retire their workshops; for example, they could easily be coaxed into a reprise of their ever-popular Remembering Sacco & Vanzetti, or any of the other workshops they list on their web site.

That means "Dump The Bosses Off Your Back" won't be retired after the centennial, it will be performed as often as there is interest. The program could be a great outreach tool, potentially introducing another generation to the IWW through story and song. The role of local IWW organizations could be to coordinate with their tours, to secure workshop venues and bring in the audience.

Karen and Charlie are comfortable performing in union halls, churches, schools, community groups or on college campuses. Their normal routine is to set up a tour in a particular region of the country, fly in and rent a car. They may have an evening gig scheduled for the high brow folk crowd, but they're delighted to precede it with an afternoon workshop in a more intimate setting.

We in Denver liked "Dump The Bosses Off Your Back" so much, we look forward to having them present it here again.

Their web site: www.charlieking.org

of Colorado miners: "The miners of Colorado fought alone the capitalist class of the United States; we don't want to fight that way again." Murray compared this to the sell-out of the 1984/85 miners' strike by the Trades Union Congress and trades union bosses, despite strong rank-and-file support for the miners. He emphasised the importance of One Big Union of all workers.

He also announced the formation of an IU650 job branch of administrative staff in the new Scottish Parliament, all currently members of the Scottish Socialist Party but with a declared and growing interest by Green Party administrative staff. Such a parliamentary job branch is a breakthrough, he said.

IWW member Dave Douglass, who until March 2005 was the delegate of the now-defunct Hatfield Main NUM branch in South Yorkshire, and National Union of Miners President Ian Lavery spoke about the struggle of British miners for justice during the afternoon and evening events.

In 1984, the National Coal Board provoked a strike by closing without notice the Cortonwood colliery, breaking a promise of at least five years' work for the miners. After a series of mass meetings and votes throughout the Yorkshire area, the union's national executive authorized the strike and miners moved to secure the support of other areas, who also struck. Miners saw the closure as a prelude to a government plan to shut down mines across the country.

"The option was to walk away from a fight and see the industry butchered quicker than what we did," said Ian Lavery, the current NUM president. "The only thing you can do is fight back and fight back immediately and that's what we did."

But the strike failed, largely due to a lack of solidarity from other unions, such as the dockers, and from a minority of miners, primarily in the Nottingham region. These miners, whose coal seams were more accessible, benefitted disproportionately from a Labour government productivity incentive

scheme introduced as a divide-and-conquer strategy, according to Douglass.

"We were in the minority," said Bridget Bell of Women Against Pit Closures, who supported strikers in Nottingham. She said some pubs posted signs on their doors prohibiting strikers from entering.

When the miners british Iww members returned to work in March 1985 without a deal, pit owners sacked 1,200 miners, many of whom were blacklisted and could not find work again. Under a Labour government compensation scheme, no more than 140 received any compensation. The year-long strike resulted in frequent clashes with the police, resulting in the deaths of two picketing miners, the death of a taxi driver taking a scab to work, hundreds of arrests, and an estimated 20,000 injured in the clashes.

The strike was a defeat for the miners, but it did not dull the will of the miners to fight for their jobs. Less than two years later, 77.5 percent of the 100,000 remaining miners voted nationally to strike again. In response, the government accelerated its pit closure and privatization program.

"The only way to solve the problem of the miners was a to get rid of the mines. That was a final solution, a form of industrial genocide against a race of people who'd always been there," said Dave Douglass. NUM membership now stands at 3,042.

The result of the closures is the nearelimination of Britain's coal mining capacity and a 90 percent dependence on fuel imports from countries such as Russia, Iraq, Iran and China. The Labour government is now pinning its energy hopes on an underwater pipeline to import fuel.

Lavery said the government is putting Britain at risk with this policy. "You cannot



British IWW members joined March 19 anti-war protests.

control something that you don't own," he said. He urged the government to fund clean coal burning projects instead of this "ludicrous" pipeline scheme and the war in Iraq.

"How much does it cost this country to illegally invade Iraq? The Iraqi war isn't for anything else other than energy. So the money's there. If Blair and other people want to use the money they have at their disposal to maim, kill innocent people and soldiers, ... then that's absolutely disgraceful. But remember that money's for energy," said Lavery.

Douglass said that Britain is now relying on cheap coal and other energy sources that are based on exploitation and dangerous working conditions.

"They've taken the conditions we had 200 years ago and shipped them abroad," said Douglass. Eighty percent of all miners killed in the world die in Chinese mines, he said, adding that the unofficial estimate of miners' deaths in China'is tens of thousands of deaths above the official toll of 9,000.

Members of Germany's Women of Courage told the gathering that the German coal industry has undergone the same collapse faced by miners in Britain and elsewhere.

What was once an industry employing 607,000 German miners in 1957 has become just nine mines employing 34,000 workers. Despite higher coal yields per men per shift of 6.5 tonnes versus 1.6 tonnes in the Fifties,

continued on page 4

### 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.

### Join the IWW Today

he 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



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### **Student actions support** university service workers

BY MARK WOLFF

Reminiscent of the 21-day student occupation of Harvard's Memorial Hall for a "living wage" in 2001, Georgetown University students went on hunger strike for nine days and brought administrators to the negotiating table. Most of their demands on behalf of janitors who service the college were met.

Three years of campaigning by the Georgetown Living Wage Coalition paid off in an agreement March 24. Along with grievances such as workplace dangers and failure to increase wages, Coalition members fought intimidation campaigns organized by the university to keep workers from complaining to contractors about the difficulty of surviving in Washington, D.C., on substandard wages.

Beginning March 15, students reacted to the university's Advisory Committee on Business Practices refusal to grant increases by launching the hunger strike. Two coalition members were hospitalized before the university agreed to pay raises on the tenth day. Full-time workers will get an increase to \$13 an hour by July 1, that will rise to \$14 by July 1, 2007. Included are provisions for safety and protection from harassment, guarantees of non-interference with union organizing, and university privileges.

At the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 150 people marched through Lenoir Dining Hall April 4 to protest the arrest of cafeteria worker Vel Dowdy, who was accused of "embezzlement of food." Student Action with Workers and Students Against Sweatshops insist the arrest was linked to Dowdy's speaking out on behalf of union organizers at UNC. Administrators say that contractor ARAMARK food services was responsible for the arrest, but agreed to review their contract

#### **Educate, Agitate, Organize;** Selling labor books online

BY ERIC LEE

If you ever want to be a best-selling author, take my advice: don't write books about and for unionists. Our movement with its millions of members does many things very well, but one thing we do not do well is buy and read books that are written for us.

A couple of years ago, I was having a discussion with what might be called a "labor intellectual" at a conference in Chicago. He was bemoaning the fact that even the most intelligent and best-informed trade union leaders he knew simply did not read the books that they should be reading, if they read books at all.

The best-seller lists reflect this. Even though there are millions of union members, the books aimed at unionists are never listed there. If you're a gardener, or a cook, or a movie-goer, the books targeted at you may sell in the tens of thousands. History books are sometimes big best sellers - but not books about labor history.

I was thinking about this as I recently searched through online bookstores looking for candidates for the Labor Book of the Day, which is currently being promoted on LabourStart (www.labourstart.org/books.

There are so many books out there dealing with the issues of union-busting, organizing, globalization, labor history - and yet these books are not reaching nearly enough union activists. I'll bet every one of you has heard of The Da Vinci Code but how many of you have seen Reorganizing the Rust Belt, Selling Women Short: The Landmark Battle for Workers' Rights at Wal-Mart or Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America. And we're not just talking about serious books for adult activists; online bookstores are full of children's books which teach the next generation about why we need unions. In fact, the best-selling titles in LabourStart's online bookstore have been Click, Clack, Moo - Cows That Type and Kids on Strike!

to ensure fairness and non-discrimination.

At Washington University in St. Louis, 20 members of the Student Worker Alliance occupied the admissions office to demand wage increases for janitors, grounds keepers and food service workers. SWA insists student members will stay until Chancellor Mark Wrighton agrees to a living wage. He spoke out against recommendations of a university task force in 2004 that investigated worker mistreatment. On Oct. 1, prior to the 2004 presidential debate at the university, Wrighton reiterated his obligations to donors and student customers to keep wages low.

On April 1, 200 students, people from the community and union members rallied outside of Wrighton's office, and then marched in to deliver a list of demands. The sit-in was initiated April 4 in solidarity with a national week of action organized by the Student Labor Action Project. Students from 300 colleges acted in commemoration of the week between the March 31 birthday of Cesar Chavez, and the assassination date of Martin Luther King, April 4, 1968.

#### U Cal. workers strike

Thousands of workers struck across the nine-campus University of California system April 14, protesting two years without pay raises and stalled contract negotiations. Most students honored picket lines, leaving the normally busy UC campuses deserted.

The strike was called by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 3299, representing 7,300 custodians, food service workers and other low-paid employees. The 16,000-member Coalition of University Employees, representing clerical workers, joined the strike. The

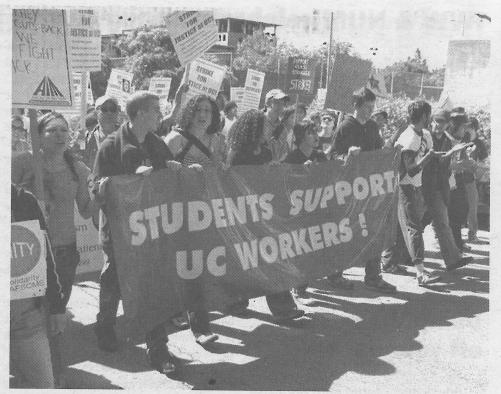


It's not for lack of trying. There are companies like Union Communication Services (www.unionist.com) which sell a whole range of union books. The IWW always devotes considerable space in the Industrial Worker to promoting labor books, and sells these online as well (www.iww.org). There are groups like Labor Notes (www.labornotes.org), whose latest book, A Troublemaker's Handbook 2, is one of those essential titles which should be in hands of every union activist. And LabourStart has long been partnered with unionized Portland, Oregon, book shop Powells.com and more recently with UCS in efforts to promote the sale of books aimed at unionists.

us a real chance to finally get labor books into the hands of labor activists. Amazon has shown the way, doing what many pundits thought impossible: they have helped stimulate sales of books during an era when many were predicting a decline in book sales. Thanks to the tremendous choice now available online - many times more than you'd find in a local book shop - people are tempted more than ever to buy books.

I can almost guarantee that your local book shop will not be carrying very many books like A Troublemaker's Handbook 2. And this is a problem not only for small, local shops. I had the experience not so long ago of wandering through one of the best and largest bookshops in Toronto, trying in vain to find any books at all about Canadian unions. Such books exist, but you won't find them while browsing in bookshops.

If union activists were to read more books about labor history and strategy, they would do their jobs better. They would know what works and what doesn't. They'd learn from



Students joined picket lines across the University of California system to support strikers' demands for a living wage. This march was at the Berkeley campus. IndyMedia photo

6,000-member University Professional and Technical Employees also said it would honor picket lines, although many of its members scabbed after administrators threatened to discipline workers who joined the strike, which they claim is illegal.

Nearly half of AFSCME members earn poverty wages of less than \$10 an hour. "The university is a low-wage employer, and thousands of workers don't work during breaks when campus is closed, and they are not eligible for unemployment," said AFSCME negotiator Paul Worthman.

Although some professors canceled classes, or moved them out to the picket lines, most reportedly crossed the line. Teaching assistants, represented by the United Auto Workers, reportedly honored picket lines.

the experience of others. They'd expand their horizons and understand better our globalized world and how we fit in. I think it's obvious that we in the labor movement should be doing all we can to promote the sales of such titles to our members.

This is what we've done on LabourStart: We've partnered with unionized bookshops. We've identified titles that unionists should own. We've asked our readers to recommend and review books. And we've selected and promoted a new title every day of the week. All this is just a beginning. We could do much more, but we're just one web site.

Unions could do even more. They already sell all kinds of goods and services to their members. The Teamsters, for example, sell a whole range of products through their online store including watches, clocks, jewelry, clothing, t-shirts, sport shirts, outerwear, leather goods, glassware, hats - but not books. Not a single book.

The American Federation of Teachers The good news is that the Internet offers has got the right idea - the front page of their web site promotes online book sales through Powells.com, but the union doesn't make even a single recommendation of a book one might want to buy there. It's all well and good for the union to earn its share of sales of the latest Harry Potter book, but if you've already got the members doing their book buying online, why not also point them to books they might find useful and interesting as trade unionists?

Imagine what would happen if the Teamsters, with their 1.4 million members, were to aggressively promote the sales of a book like Teamster Rebellion, the great history of the 1934 Minneapolis strike. Don't such books deserve to enjoy the same kinds of sales as, say, books about the Scott Peterson case? (This week, three of the top 15 nonfiction bestsellers are about that trial.)

Wouldn't it be great to one day look at the New York Times best-seller list and see it topped by Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman's new book, Wobblies!: A Graphic History of the *Industrial Workers of the World?* 

#### **Emerson College student** strike backs faculty union

More than 300 Emerson College faculty, students, and alumni attended an April 14 protest in Boston, marking the second day students boycotted classes to support the faculty against the college's September 2003 decision to withdraw union recognition.

The American Association of University Professors represents approximately 100 fulltime faculty at Emerson. A separate AAUP local represents part-time faculty. Under U.S. labor law, full-time faculty can be denied union rights if they have substantial participation in college governance. Emerson claims it is in the process of finalizing such a governance procedure.

#### Coke blood money rejected

Poet Martin Espada will donate \$1,200 received from a Coca-Cola-funded endowment to speak at Kansas University to a union battling the company at its Colombian bottling plants.

"Until the disturbing questions about Coke's labor record in Colombia have been answered, I cannot in good conscience accept monies from Coca-Cola or have my name associated with the company," Espada told the 200 people at his reading. "Giving up \$1,200 is not easy for a poet, but the union needs the money more than I do.'

#### **IWW, NUM commemoration**

continued from page 3

German miners are paid between 1,100 and 3,000 Euros per month, with half of their earnings going to pay state social security and taxes.

'The coal miner dropped from the top of the industrial pay scale to its end," said Ilka Schroeder, whose father and brother both lost their jobs as miners. The result is the devastation of the Rühr, Germany's industrial heartland.

"Courage and determination are required against powerful and often unfair opponents. We need to stand firm in situations where we have problems against those who we thought were on our side and who betrayed us," said Nikole Weber, a German social worker, referring to the social democratic and green parties.

The German women's answer to this crisis has a distinctly syndicalist tone. "We could take charge of this wealth and use it for the benefit of all mankind. We could control production and living ourselves, much better and more effectively than those who are currently in charge," said Karin Krehl.

FROM THE EDMONTON GMB

# Who's picking your pocket?

The AFL-CIO has just updated its Executive PayWatch website and database, and the figures show that crime does pay.

Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott presides over a company that just settled legal cases involving child labor violations (for \$135,540) and hiring undocumented immigrants as janitors (for \$11 million), and is facing a massive sex discrimination case and several lawsuits for forcing hundreds of thousands of workers to work for free.

The company is also being investigated for closing down a Canadian store rather than bargain with workers who voted to form a union, and for funneling off-the-books payments to an executive to finance secret union-busting projects.

Most Wal-Mart workers live in poverty, and few can afford the company's health care plan. For this work, Scott got a 2004 pay package worth almost \$23 million. It would take a typical Wal-Mart worker about a thousand years to match that.

But some corporate managers are doing better. Yahoo CEO Terry Semel tops the list with \$109.3 million in total compensation last year. In 2004, the average CEO of a major company received \$9.84 million in total compensation – up 12 percent over 2003.

The AFL-CIO suggests that that money should go to shareholders (union pension plans have filed 140 resolutions seeking to limit CEO pay so that stock holders can get higher dividends), but in fact every penny of that wealth was produced by the workers.

## 3 Wobs arrested in New York anti-war protests

BY THOMAS GOOD, NEW YORK

March 19 was the second anniversary of the Bush administration's quest for oil and profit in Iraq. The M19 demonstrations in New York City included an action called by the War Resisters League that began with a rally at the United Nations and ended with a sit-in at Times Square. The NYC GMB fielded a sizable contingent of marchers. By day's end three Wobblies would be jailed.

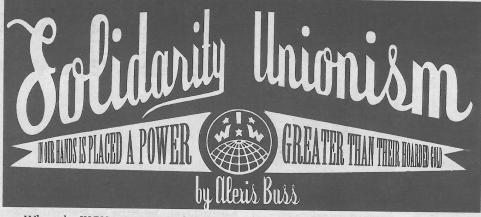
Daniel Gross, an IWW member and Starbucks organizer who was arrested during the Republican National Convention (charges were later dropped) was a featured speaker at the rally preceding the civil disobedience.

He was introduced by Carmen Trotta of Catholic Worker who said: "Get this, we have Daniel Gross of the Industrial Workers of the World as a speaker!" Loud cheers erupted – many War Resisters also carry red cards. Gross spoke briefly about the "barbarism in Iraq" and Bush's "war on the working class." At the podium he was flanked by branch secretary Samuel Morales, Jr. and Wobbly City editor David Temple.

After the rally, IWW marchers helped carry cardboard coffins, draped with either black shrouds or U.S. flags (for Iraqi and U.S. war dead, respectively) west on 42nd Street. The line was flanked by police as it wound to Times Square. Behind the coffins was a sea of red and black flags and Wobbly banners. Arriving at Times Square at noon the marchers able to risk arrest moved to the front of the line and were herded into a barricade pen near the recruiting center by police. The center had been closed on the normally busy Saturday due to the protests.

Organizers then led the CDers into the middle of Broadway for a die-in designed to block traffic. As demonstrators lay in the street, police battled media photographers in an attempt to clear the busy street. Those arrested were nylon cuffed and photographed before being led to a waiting police van.

Three Wobblies (Sam Morales, Eugene Lerner and myself) were among 27 arrested in the action, all of whom were taken to the seventh precinct in Soho (lower Manhattan); eight more demonstrators were arrested in a smaller action in Brooklyn.



When the IWW was organized in 1905, the U.S. labor movement was in a dismal state. Less than 10 percent of workers were unionized, the dominant American Federation of Labor subscribed to a model of craft unionism increasingly irrelevant to then-modern industrial conditions, and workers were losing strike after strike.

We worked long hours, lacked health care coverage, and struggled merely to survive. The bosses were poisoning workers, and our planet, in their relentless quest for profits.

The AFL was apparently content to represent a handful of skilled crafts workers, and to serve essentially as a labor agency for the bosses. But many workers recognized that things had to change. The Western Federation of Miners was organizing industrially and reaching out to workers in mining communities to build broader support. The American Railway Union brought together workers across craft lines in a series of heroic battles against the rail barons. Immigrant and women workers were looking for a union movement that would welcome them.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS A

PRODUCT OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

EH?!

Sound familiar?

In the 100 years since the IWW was founded, the mainstream labor movement has opened up to women workers. Many unions welcome immigrants as dues payers, even if they are often discouraged from actually running the unions that "represent" them. And craft unionism is disappearing – instead, many business unions now function as general unions signing up anyone they can to keep the lights on.

But union membership has once again fallen below 10 percent of private sector workers; the mainstream unions seem trapped in a model of government-certified unions and contractual structures which have proven incapable of responding to workers' needs, or giving workers an organizational vehicle they can use to tackle conditions facing them on their jobs.

Where workers once undercut each other's struggles in the same workplace, and today union scabbing remains a problem. But now the bosses can shift our work anywhere in the world with the click of a mouse.

As a class, we are losing ground. For most



workers, inflation-adjusted wages have been falling for decades. In the US, we are working some of the longest hours in the world, even as millions search for jobs.

Our environment has become so toxic that millions are dying – at the workplace, and in our communities – of diseases hitherto unknown.

Growing numbers of workers recognize that we can't go on this way.

We need new models of organizing, and new tactics of struggle.

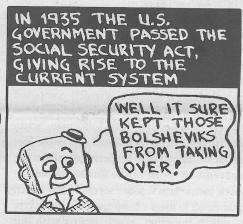
We need unions that bring together workers on the job, in the community, and around the world to struggle against our common enemy; unions through which workers take direct action to accomplish their goals; unions that recognize that an injury to one is an injury to all, and make that principle the central focus of their activity; unions that recognize that our future requires dumping the bosses off our backs.

In short, we need a union like the one that delegates from across Canada and the United States came to Chicago to launch in June 1905 – a union like the Industrial Workers of the World.

We will be back in Chicago this June, at a centenary conference reflecting on the legacy of the IWW and on the challenges facing workers today. (See back page for details.) I hope to see you there.

### **UK union may expel racists**

The Transport & General Workers' Union has won a case against the treasurer of the far-right British National Party, who sought £60,000 compensation after he was expelled for inciting racial harassment.

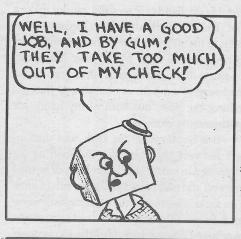


YOU MEAN

ME?

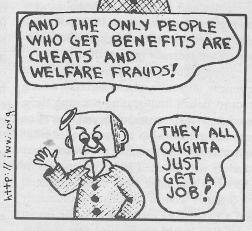
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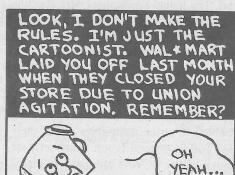


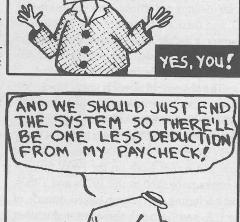


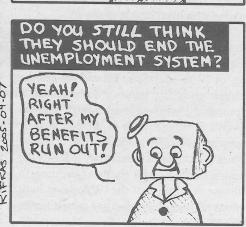




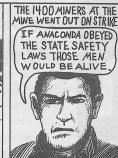
















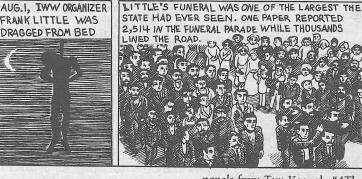




A CHANGE IN THE HIRING SYSTEM CALLED THE RUSTLING CARD SYSTEM' WHICH WAS A SYSTEM OF BACKGROUND CHECKSEBLACK-LISTING, IF A MINER QUIT A JOB THE BACKGROUND CHECK BEGAN AGAIN. THIS TOOK SEVERAL WEEKS. THIS WAS DONE TO PREVENT MWERS FROM QUITTING BECAUSE OF BAD WORK CONDITIONS. THE MIWERS COULD NOT AFFORD SEVERAL WEEKS OFND PAY.









panels from Tom Keough, "4The Miners," in Wobblies!

### Wobblies! A graphic history of the IWW

REVIEWS BY JON BEKKEN

Wobblies! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World, Edited by Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman. Verso, 2005, 305 pages, \$25, paper.

While there are some classic IWW graphics in this attractively produced volume (and a few that have been "modernized" in ways that do little justice to the originals or, one hopes, to the talents of those who did the bowdlerizing), Wobblies! is largely composed of original work by 35 artists including Dylan Miner, Tom Keough, Seth Tobocman, Spain Rodriguez, Nicole Schulman and Mike Konopacki. The result is, perhaps inevitably, uneven - in terms of the quality of the artwork (some soars, some seems to have been dashed off to meet a commission), the degree to which the artist seems familiar with our organization and its spirit and history, and of course the narrative flow.

The editors, or perhaps the book designer, decided to forego page numbers (most text pages are paginated, but that accounts for 40 of 305 pages); the artists and artwork are identified primarily in the table of contents (several did sign their work, but it is often difficult to figure out whose work you're looking at); and there are footnotes only for the final chapter, a highly idiosyncratic discussion of IWW art and music (and even its footnotes are spotty) which quite misses the point.

The absence of notes is annoying as one hopes a book of this sort will encourage readers to explore the subject in more depth – and while the bibliography includes many titles (ignoring much of the most significant early and recent work on the IWW in favor of books published in the 1970s and 1980s, and excluding everything issued outside of the U.S. and Canada), these are tied neither to the brief essays that open the book's six sections (on the IWW's formation, Lawrence and Paterson, the West, wartime repression, the post-war period, and a look at the contemporary IWW that will be pretty unfamiliar to anyone who lived it) nor to the art.

Wobblies! is a deeply romantic history – one that has little room for the gritty details of workers' lives, or the hard work of organizing, or IWW successes. Instead we see the familiar gloss: big names (Mother Jones is a prominent presence even though she was never a member), flash-in-the-pan strikes, moments of heroism, and ultimately always failure even where it is necessary to falsify the historic record to make the case (asserting, to cite one example, that the IWW never built unions in the textile industry – somehow, the creators imagine, as have some "historians"

before them, that strikes simply erupt and fall under the magic spell of IWW orators... would that it were so easy!).

There are a great many myths here, and factual errors on nearly every page of text. The artists generally do better on the basic facts, even if they subscribe to the romantic ethos at the core of the work and largely ignore IWW successes in the harvest and timber industries, in maritime, in mining, in metalworking, and of course in Latin America – to cite some glaring omissions.

In the end, it is the artwork that will draw people to this volume. Some is stunning, some situated in particular aesthetics that will appeal mainly to their initiates. But the book will sit on the coffee table comfortably enough, and reward the casual grazer.

I suspect most readers unfamiliar with our history will come away with a sympathetic interest in the IWW, but also with a host of misconceptions, not the slightest sense of what we are about as a union, and few tools to learn more.

Michael Miller Topp, Those Without A Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists. Minnesota University Press, 2001, 319 pages, paper.

This is the only English-language history of the U.S. Italian Socialist Federation (FSI), which was affiliated with the IWW in the 1910s and 1920s. Many Wobblies were immigrant workers, and the IWW published dozens of foreign-language papers, but historians have generally ignored them.

Topp's book examines the intersection of ethnicity, migration, gender and class among radical Italian immigrants, situating these workers in their communities and their often strained relationship to the broader labor movement. Most troubling to contemporary readers will be the FSI's hyper-masculine discourse that must have made it difficult to organize women workers and ultimately led a handful of members into the fascist orbit. The Italian syndicalists were also unable to respond effectively to the rise of the Amalgamated, which unlike the AFL actively organized immigrant workers.

Topp works the Italian-language sources effectively, but swallows ACWA claims that the IWW scabbed on its strikes (the Amalgamated demanded a closed shop, asking Wobblies to strike themselves out of their jobs) and in general is not nearly critical enough of the ACWA's campaign to channel radical garment workers into business unionism. Nonetheless, this is a significant contribution to the history of the IWW.

# The IWW Centennial One shipyard worker's perspective

BY ARTHUR J. MILLER

Come with me for a moment up upon an old rusted steel ship. Up the gangway to the main deck, then into the main house and down the steps to the engine room. Then off to the port side of the engines and down into the bilge over the top of a small opening to a ballast tank. Yesterday we removed all the nuts from the lid of the tank. This morning a marine chemist tested the air of the tank and certified that it was safe for workers.

Before going into the tank we take a padlock and attach it through one of the holes in the lid so that no one can bolt the lid back onto the tank. We do this because there are no hole watches. We climb down into the tank, which is about four feet deep. On our hands and knees we crawl through the tank and the lightning holes that divide the tank structurally. Getting through the pipes where they go through the lightning holes, is hard and some people just can't do it because they panic. We reach the piping and valve we must remove with our little bucket tools.

Our job is to remove the ballast valves and any section of the ballast piping that is rusted away. Once we finish this tank we have three more ballast tanks to do the same job in.

The tank is all rusted out and so are the pipes, and the bolts and the nuts connecting the pipes to the valves. First we disconnect the reach rod attached to the top of the valve. We take out a wrench to fit as a backup for the cap side of the bolt so that the bolt does not move as we take off the nut, and another wrench for the nut side. One of us holds the backup wrench while the other works the nut side of the bolt. The bolts are all rusted out and will not come loose by hand, so we have to use a five-pound maul to beat them loose. Because of the rust we must beat the nuts all the way off. We then must disconnect the tail suction piece off the valve, and then remove the valve off the rest of the piping. We inspect the inside of the piping and find that it is rusted out; then we cut the piping out with a power saw until we reach the forward bulkhead. We cut the pipe into sections that are as long as we can make them and still be able get them out of the hole. These sections are used to fabricate new pipes in the shop. When the new pipes are ready we must drag them down into the tank along with the new valve, fit the system back together and have a welder weld out the joints connecting the sections of pipe.

My hands begin to get stiff from all the hammering and holding the wrench that sends a shock wave through my hands when I hit the wrench with the maul. By the end of the day my hands are so stiff I cannot make a fist. The heavy vibration from the power saw adds to the stiffness. The stiffness comes from many years of such work, hour after hour of abuse of my hands, year after year. I have had surgery on both my hands and that did relieve the pain, but both of my hands are permanently damaged.

It is hot down in the tank, and the longer we work the hotter it gets. Soon we are drenched in sweat. Hour after hour of beating nuts off and pulling old pipes and valves loose can make it seem like the workday will never end. Because the ship is set to sail soon we are working 12-hour days until the job is done. Then they kick us out the damn door like we were nothing but trash until there is another pipe fitting hell to endure. Welcome to my reality of the working class experience.

What does the IWW mean to me as an industrial worker? It means the only hope for real industrial change. What do I think of the IWW's centennial? One hundred years of workers like me resisting our bosses and trying to make a decent life and decent working conditions for all workers.

From the belly of ships to the grease pits of fast food joints, we labor for the benefit of

a few. From the dark shafts of coal mines to the confined cubicles of office workers, our conditions serve to maximize profit. From the long-haul truck drivers to the janitors of office buildings, we are dehumanized as lowly servants of the rich. From the hot steel furnaces to the farms where our food is grown, our human existence only has value in our production. From every job from all the lands of the world, we suffer as a class to satisfy the greed of a few. Must this forever be the doomed fate of working people? No! We can as a class organize together and seize the tools of production and create a society where there is honor and respect for labor; where our conditions are set by us the workers who do the work. Our toil will no longer benefit a few parasites but rather where we will labor for the well-being of all. That is the hope the IWW brings to the working class even in the hardest of times.

Many historians and advocates of various political philosophies will write or talk about the IWW's first 100 years in many different ways. The words they write will often be guided by their own personal agendas. More often than not, such writings will lack a true understanding of the IWW, because the IWW was founded and existed for 100 years based upon the one thing they have a hard time understanding and acknowledging: the direct experiences of rank-and-file workers who sought to organize for a better life.

I am not a political philosopher or a historian from the intelligentsia; I am a simple shipyard worker and a member of the IWW for 35 years. This article seeks to give a different perspective on the IWW's first 100 years, one that is grounded in the reality of the working class experience.

The IWW turns 100 years old this year. Who could ever imagine such a thing? But when you think about it, who could ever doubt this birthday would come about? For there is something about the IWW that will live on as long as working people are exploited by the employing class. Like Joe Hill, the Wobblies will never die.

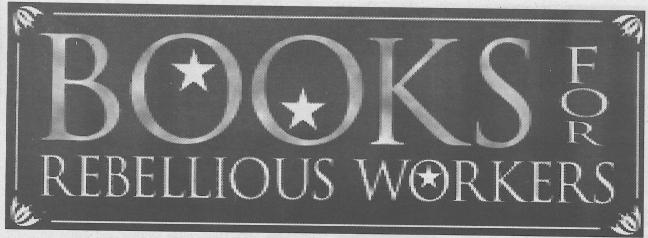
There are some who will tell you that the days of the Wobblies have long since passed, some even say that class no longer matters. But those folks just don't understand the reality of working for a living. It does not matter if you are slinging burgers at a fast food joint or digging coal down in some deep dark mine, or if you lived in 1905 or 2005. "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common"; these words are as true today as they were 100 years when they were first written by workers in the Preamble of the IWW.

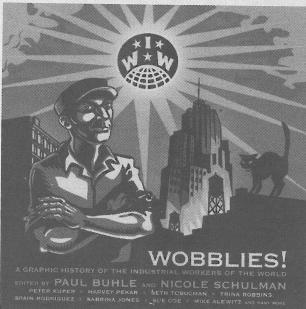
It is not that us working folks are looking for a fight; the class struggle is forced upon us. Every day of our lives we struggle in order to survive. Every thing that we do to improve our way of life involves a struggle with the class of folks who live off our labor. The business unions may help us gain more nickels and dimes from our employers, but the Wobblies want more than just a few more crumbs off the industrial table, we want peace that will only come from an end to class conflict. That is why our Preamble also says:

"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 be overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Sometimes I get asked why I continue to be a Wobbly year after year. On many jobs I have worked the shop is organized by other unions. I have been a member of five AFL-CIO business unions with their limited vision and their top-down form of organization. Being a Wobbly keeps me grounded in the

continued on page 7

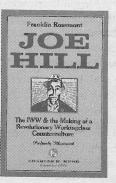




#### Wobblies! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World, edited by Paul Buhle & Nicole Schulman

The stories of the hard-rock miners' shooting wars, young Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (the "Rebel Girl" of contemporary sheet music), the first -sit-down strikes and Free Speech fights, Emma Goldman and the struggle for birth control access, the Pageant for Paterson orchestrated in Madison Square Garden, bohemian radicals John Reed and Louise Bryant, field-hand revolts and lumber workers' strikes, wartime witch hunts, government prosecutions and mob lynching, Mexican-American uprisings in Baja, and Mexican peasant revolts led by Wobblies, hilarious and sentimental songs created and later revived-all are here, and much, much more.

Contributors include Carlos Cortez (former editor of the Industrial Worker), Harvey Pekar (author of American Splendor), Peter Kuper (current artist of Mad's Spy vs. Spy), Sue Coe, Seth Tobocman, Chris Cardinale, Ryan Inzana, Spain Rodriques, Trina Robbins, Sharon Rudahl, and the circle of artists for World War 3 Illustrated. 256 pages, \$25.00



#### Joe Hill: The IWW and the Making of a Revolutionary **Workingclass Counterculture.**

by Franklin Rosemont

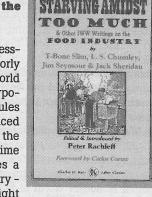
"In Franklin Rosemont, Joe Hill has finally found a chronicler worthy of his revolutionary spirit, sense of humor, and poetic imagination. This is no ordinary biography. It is a journey into the Wobbly culture that made Joe Hill and the capitalist culture that killed him. But as Rosemont

suggest in this remarkable book, Joe Hill never really dies. He will live in the minds of young rebels as long as his songs are sung, his ideas are circulated, and his political descendants keep fighting for a better day." - Robin D. G. Kelley 639 pages, \$17.00

#### **Starving Amidst Too Much and** Other IWW Writings on the **Food Industry**

edited by Peter Rachleff

This is a book about the irrepressible conflict between the poorly paid workers who feed the world and the multi-billionaire corporate powers that make the rules and grab the profits. Reproduced here are classic documents on the "food question" by four old-time IWWs. T-Bone Slim provides a detailed critique of the industry chockful of penetrating insight



and knockout black humor. Organizer L.S. Chumley portrays the horrid living and working conditions of hotel and restaurant workers circa 1918, stressing the need for direct actoin. Wobbly troubadour Jim Semour, with his inspired saga of "The Dishwasher" reflects on the possibilities of a radically different diet. Jack Sheridan's fascinating 1959 survey of the role of food in ancient and modern civilization, especially in economic development, is also a crashcourse in the materialist conception of history at its Wobbly soapboxer best. In his introduction, historian/activist Peter Rachleff traces the history of the food-workers' self-organization, and brings the book up to date with a look at current struggles to break the haughty power of an ecocidal agribusiness and the union-busting fast-food chains. Plus a foreword by Carlos Cortez. 128 pages, \$12.00

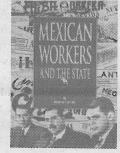
#### Where the Fraser River Flows: The IWW in British Columbia by Mark Leier

Focuses on IWW organizing in the pre-World War I era, showing how Wobblies found themselves pitted against not just the bosses and government but also against conservative elements within labor and the left. An important contribution to the history of the IWW in Canada. 138 pages, \$14.95

#### **Harvest Wobblies: The IWW & Agricultural Laborers in the** American West, 1905-1930 by Greg Hall

Increased mechanization and the expansion of new markets transformed the face of farming in the early decades of the twentieth century, especially in the American West. These changes demanded a new kind of ag-

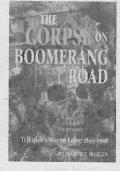
ricultural worker. Gone was the local farmhand, replaced by a cheap and temporary labor force of migrant and seasonal workers. Hall's fascinating book analyzes how these men, women, and sometimes children were organized by the IWW and examines the changing nature of the agricultural work force, offering a social and cultural history of a union uniquely suited to organizing tens of thousands of migrant and seasonal workers. 288 pages, \$35.00



#### **Mexican Workers and the State:** From the Porfiriato to NAFTA by Norman Caulfield

In contemporary Mexico, as during the Porfiriato, the forces of global capitalism are transforming labor, the political system, and other sectors of society. The situation has popular uprisings, violence, militarization and a volatile economy. Within this context, organized labor

seeks to redefine itself. Caulfield's book, which contains extensive work on the IWW's cross-border organizing, helps readers understand the importance of independent, internationalist, working class movements. 180 pages, \$15.00



#### The Corpse on Boomerang Road: **Telluride's War on Labor 1899-1908** by MaryJoy Martin

In 1907 newspapers in Colorado declared that the bones of William J. Barney had been recovered from a shallow grave, thus proving the Telluride Miners' Union had butchered him in 1901. Mine owners, newspapers, and Pinkertons claimed the union had inaugurated a reign of terror with the slaying - a night-

mare of brutality that would end only when the union men and their families were driven from the region. The belief that the Miners' Union was a pack of assassins and its victims were numerous has endured for more than a hundred years. Yet meticulous research has revealed no reign actually existed, and the alleged victims were, in fact, alive long after their "murders." 392 pages, **\$29.95** 



#### Oil, Wheat & Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930

by Nigel Anthony Sellars

One of the best local histories on the IWW, Nigel Anthony Sellars describes Wobblies' efforts to organize Oklahoma's migratory harvest hands and oil-field workers and relationships between the union and other radical

and labor groups such as the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor. Focusing on the emergence of migratory labor and the nature of the work itself in industrializing the region, Sellars provides a social history of labor in the Oklahoma wheat belt and the mid-continent oil fields. Using court cases and legislation, he examines the role of state and federal government in suppression during World War I.

320 pages, published at \$34.95, now \$12.00

The Great Bisbee Deportation by Rob E. Hanson Wobblies so worried the authorities of Bisbee, Arizona, that the state ran them out of town. This comprehensive account brings the events of the day alive. 56 pages, \$2.50

#### **Rebel Voices:** An IWW Anthology.

edited by Joyce Kornbluh Culled from Wobbly periodicals from the movement's founding in 1905 to the present, Rebel Voices presents pamphlets, stories, songs, poems, courtroom testimony, skits, cartoons & illustrations that bring the story to life in native accents. -Detroit Labor News



We Shall Be All

Where the

Fraser River Flows

446 pages, \$24.00

#### We Shall Be All: A History of the **Industrial Workers of the World** Abridged Edition

by Melvyn Dubofsky,

edited by Joseph A. McCartin

Originally published in 1969, Melvyn Dubofsky's We Shall Be All has remained the definitive archive-based history of the IWW. While much has been written on aspects of the IWW's history in the past three decades, nothing has duplicated or surpassed

this authoritative work. The present volume, an abridged version of this labor history classic, makes the compelling story of the IWW accessible to a new generation of readers. 296 pages, \$18.95

#### The Industrial Workers of the World: 1905-1917 by Philip S. Foner

One of the basic and most thorough texts on the life of the IWW from its founding through WWI. No labor shelf should be without it. 608 pages, \$15.00

#### **Solidarity Forever** by Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas, & **Deborah Shaffer**

Oral histories of IWW members, with historic insights on organizing tactics, debates within the membership, and comments on the importance of the union. Includes over 50 photos and illustrations. 247 pages, \$13.00



#### Free Speech in its Forgotten Years by David M. Rabban

David Rabban richly details the forgotten legal history of free speech. The pre-World War I era saw extensive battles on behalf of free speech, fought by a variety of individuals and organizations, for a range of causes he collectively labels "libertarian radicalism." Central to this period is the Free Speech League (FSL), precursor of the ACLU, which Rabban claims was "involved in virtually every major free speech controversy during the first two decades of the twentieth century" In the IWW's "free speech fights" from 1906 to 1917, the FSL played a major role in establishing free speech as a real and extraordinarily complex legal issue. A chapter is devoted to the subject. Rabban also explains why pre-WWI free speech history has been relegated to the dustbin: the civil libertairans of the post-War period wrote radicals out of the history books.

404 pages, published at \$34.95, now \$10.00

### COVENCTON HALL LABUR STRUGGLES in the DEEP SHIPS & Other Writings DAVIDE ROKESTOKE

#### Labor Struggles in the Deep South & Other Writings by Covington

Hall,

edited by David Roediger. The greater part of this book is devoted to IWW organizer and poet Covington Hall's history of southern labor struggles, many of which he participated in or covered for the IWW press. Never before published, Hall's manuscript has been quoted in every serious history of southern labor. This is not just an important his-

**LUCY PARSONS** 

FREEDOM, EQUALITY

& SOLIDARITY itings & Speeches, 1878-1837

GALE AHRENS

ROXANNE DUNBAR-ORTIZ

torical source, though, it's also a fascinating read. It also includes several articles by Hall, covering issues such as lynching to IWW strikes to worker education, and a few examples of his poetry. Historian David Roediger adds a biographical sketch of Hall's life. 262 pages, \$14.00

#### Lucy Parsons: Freedom, **Equality & Solidarity:** Writings & Speeches: 1878-1937 edited and introduced by Gale Ahrens with an afterword

by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

"More dangerous than a thousand rioters," that's what the Chicago police called Lucy Parsons -America 's most defiant and persistent anarchist agitator, whose cross-country speaking tours inspired hundreds of thousands of working people. Here, for the first time, is a hefty selection of her powerful writings and speeches on anarchism, women, race mat-

ters, class war, the IWW, and the U.S. injustice system.

183 pages, \$17.00



Juice Is Stranger Than Friction: **Selected Writings of T-Bone Slim** 

T-Bone Slim was one of the IWW's best-loved columnists. Working-stiff. hobo, and revolutionist, T-Bone created a language all his own to lambast the plutocrats, scissorbills and faddists of his day. Funny, dazzling, and lyrical, T-Bone Slim is as enjoyable today as

156 pages, \$12.00

#### The Rambling Kid: A Novel About the IWW by Charles Ashleigh, introduction by Steve Kellerman

First published in London in 1930, up until now it had never been reissued and was practically impossible to locate, even in libraries. Soapboxer, writer, poet, agitator and publicist, the Britishborn Ashleigh was active in the IWW from 1912 until his deportation nine years later. As a first-hand account of the Wobbly way of life in the 1910s, The



Rambling Kid has few equals. Steve Kellerman's introduction provides biographical information about Ashleigh and discusses the historical forces that produced the work.

302 pages, \$14.00

#### **Just Passing Through** by Paco Ignacio Taibo II

In this elegant and literate mystery adventure novel set in 1920's post-revolutionary Mexico, Paco Ignacio Taibo II is searching for a hero, specifically a leftist hero, and he thinks he has found him in the person of Sebastián San Vicente. But everyone, including the baffled novelist, is trying to figure out exactly who San Vicente really is.



There is some record of San Vicente in FBI records during the Wilson era, and some mention of him in anarchist records and rumors, some connection to the IWW, but the rest has to be filled in. And who better to do this than Taibo? Meanwhile, with Taibo busy in the background trying to resolve the mystery of his hero's identity, San Vicente goes about his avocation of organizing strikes against the capitalists, dodging thugs and hiding out from the Mexican Army.

173 pages, published at \$21.95, now just \$10.00

#### Harlem Glory by Claude McKay

Written in the 1940s, this semi-autobiographical novel by the renowned Jamaican poet and novelist evokes the life of Harlem in the Great Depression and New Deal. McKay captures the exuberant clash of social movements and ideologies, acutely sensitive to the vitality and diversity of Black culture and drawing on McKay's experiences in the IWW and the socialist movement. 112 pages, \$6.00

#### **Break Their Haughty Power:** Joe Murphy In The Heyday Of The Wobblies by Eugene Nelson

Joe Murphy, chased out of his Missouri hometown by anti-Catholic bigots, hopped aboard a freight train and headed west for the wheat harvest. Within weeks, the 13 year old Joe became a labor activist and organizer for the IWW. Eugene Nelson, a longtime friend of Joe Murphy, recounts many labor



and free-speech struggles through the eyes of 'Kid Murphy.' This biographical novel relates Murphy's adventures in the wheat fields, lumber camps, and on the high seas. Historical events include the 1919 Centralia massacre in Washington state; the Colorado miners' strike of 1927; and the 1931 strike by workers building Boulder Dam. Nelson also relates the young Murphy's reflections on meeting Helen Keller, Eugene Debs, and Bill Haywood. A classic slice of labor history brought to life. 367pages, \$16.00



century.

Big Trouble by J. Anthony Lukas.

A governor who spent his career cozying up to mine bosses is assassinated. Pinkertons and prosecutors pin the blame on three union officials, including Big Bill Haywood. Lukas examines every facet of the case, from sensationalized press to the prosecution's manufactured evidence. This is a rich, engaging narrative of one of the labor frame-ups of the 20th 873 pages, was \$32.50, now \$12.00

### The Case of Joe Hill by Philip S. Foner

The legendary Wobbly songwriter and organizer was tried for the murder of a local grocer, then executed in Salt Lake City in 1915. In this concise study, the greatest of American labor historians demonstrates that Joe Hill was framed by the Utah State authorities, because of his union activity. You've probably heard the basics: this book is where to learn the ugly details of the famous case. 127 pages, \$6.00



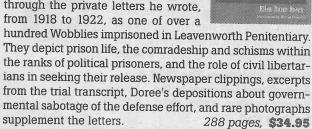
The Truth about the Lynching of Frank Little by Mike Byrnes and Les Rickey

This is the first book-length treatment of the lynching of IWW organizer Frank Little during a miners' strike in Butte, Montana. The authors, both long-time Butte residents, have tracked down contemporary historical records and newspaper accounts - and several photographs re-

produced here for the first time - to offer a definitive answer to the question of who killed Little, and why. A richly detailed narrative of the event that transformed Butte and crushed the IWW presence in Montana's mining industry. 127 pages, \$16.95

#### A Wobbly Life: IWW Organizer E. F. Doree by Ellen Doree Rosen, **Intoduction by Melvyn Dubofsky**

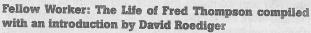
A key IWW organizer, union head, writer, and defense committee officer, E. F. Doree experienced all of this firsthand. Seventy-six years after his death, his daughter tells his story through the private letters he wrote,





#### **Memoirs of a Wobbly** by Henry E. McGuckin

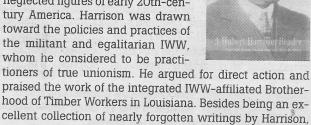
The classic narrative of a lesser-known Wobbly hero who hopped freights all over the continent, saw action in the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913, and manned the jails during many a free speech fight. An IWW masterpiece that will fit in your pocket. 94 pages, \$10.00



"Let's make this planet a good place to live." That was the slogan of the author, who was a Wobbly, Socialist, historian, and class war prisoner. Thompson (1900-1987) organized with the IWW throughout his life, and his memories bristle with wisdom and humor. 93 pages, \$10.00

#### **A Hubert Harrison Reader** edited by Jeffrey B. Perry

Hubert Harrison (1883-1927) was a brilliant writer, orator, educator, critic, and radical political activist and one of the most important, yet neglected figures of early 20th-century America. Harrison was drawn toward the policies and practices of the militant and egalitarian IWW, whom he considered to be practi-



the overall work poses interesting questions on the con-

cepts of multi-cultural unionism, political action, and "Race

#### The Autobiography of Mother Jones introduction by Clarence Darrow

First" organizations.

Mother Jones was one of the most colorful and best-known fighters for the cause of workers' rights from 1880 into her advanced years. By the time she wrote these memoirs, her battles on behalf of miners, against the evils of child labor, and for unionism in general had become legendary.

302 pages, \$12.00

473 pages, \$25.00

#### Words on Fire: The Life & Writing of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn edited by **Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall**

Both a biography and a collection of writings, this book tells Flynn's story, as well as discussing her influence in politics and activist circles. The collection includes analyses of strikes and class struggle, Wobbly speeches, views on women's rights, articles on house-



work and fashion, as well as love poems and letters describing the life, joys, and sorrows of a leftist organizer. 302 pages, \$10.00

#### Rebel Girl: An Autobiography, My First Life by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

The most famous of Wobbly women tells her amazing story. From teenage soap-box orator to IWW leader, this memoir covers some of the great labor struggles of the age from the mouth of a key participant. 326 pages, \$12.00

#### Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left by Helen C. Camp

While in the IWW, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn organized factory workers in the East and lumberjacks in the West. This biography also covers Flynn's life after the IWW, as a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the first woman to chair the American Com-munist Party.

396 pages, was \$21, now just \$12.00

#### Singlejack Solidarity by Stan Weir edited by George Lipsitz foreword by Norm Diamond

Blue-collar intellectual and activist publisher, Stan Weir devoted his life to the advocacy of his fellow workers. Weir was both a thoughtful observer and an active participant in many of the key struggles that shaped the labor movement and the political left in postwar America. He reported firsthand from the



front lines of decisive fights over the nature of unions in the auto industry, the resistance to automation on the waterfront, and battles over racial integration in the workplace and within unions themselves. Written throughout Weir's decades as a blue-collar worker and labor educator, Singlejack Solidarity offers a rare look at modern life and social relations as seen from the factory, dockside, and the shop floor. This volume analyzes issues central to workingclass life today, such as the human costs of automation, union policies, mass media images of work, and intergenerational relations in working-class families.

Gathered here for the first time, Weir's writings are equal parts memoir, labor history, and polemic; taken together, they document a crucial chapter in the life story of working-class America. 384 pages, \$19.95

#### **Punching Out & Other Writings** by Martin Glaberman edited by Staughton Lynd

A collection of writings by autoworker, historian and poet Marty Glaberman. This collection reprints some of Glaberman's classic writings on the union movement, Marxism, the challenges facing radical movements in the 1970s and 1980s, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, and a selection of labor



poetry. Among the gems to be found are Egghead comics, a critique of Walter Reuther (which notes that Reuther championed racial equality and democracy everywhere except in his union), an appreciation of C.L.R. James, and of course a reprint of the classic pamphlet on business unionism, Punching Out. Glaberman celebrated the possibilities of informal work groups both to resist capitalism and to run industry once we've dumped the bosses off our backs.

231 pages, \$14.00

#### The New Rank and File edited by Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd

Interviews with 27 organizers from the 1970s through the 1990s who are facing the challenges of a new economy with the same determination and creativity shown by those profiled in the Lynds' earlier collection of interviews with activists of the 1930s. With section heads drawn from the lyrics to



"Solidarity Forever," these stories run the gamut from rankand-file organizing around the world to community struggles against shut-downs, from direct action organizing to a campaign that transformed scabs into solid union members.

262 pages, \$16.00

#### 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.

63 pages, \$15.00

#### The Power in Our Hands by William Bigelow and Norman Diamond

Curriculum materials for middle and high school teachers on the history of work and workers in the United States, including units on workers rights, exploitation, scientific management, the Homestead and Lawrence strikes, racial conflict and the labor movement, labor songs, and more. Includes lesson plans, hand-outs for students, and other resources. 184 pages, \$18.00

#### Green Bans, Red Union, Environmental Activism and the New **South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation**

by Meredith and Verity Burgmann At the height of the Australian building industry boom in the 1970s a remarkable union campaign stopped

billions of dollars worth of indiscriminate development that was turning Australian cities into concrete jungles. Enraging employers and politicians but delighting many in the wider community, the members of the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation risked their jobs in order to preserve buildings, bush and parkland. The direct impact of this "green bans" movement can be seen all over Sydney. Green Bans, Red Union documents the development of a union that took direct action on a number of social issues. Apart from the green bans, union members also used their industrial power to support the rights of oppressed groups, such as Aborigines, women and homosexuals. In telling the colorful story that inspired many environmentalists and ordinary citizens, Meredith and Verity Burgmann open a window on a period when Australian workers led the world in innovative and stunningly effective forms of environmental protest. 352 pages, \$20.00





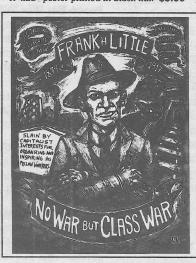
Pyramid of the Capitalist System poster. 17"x22" color repro of the classic graphic \$9.50



Joe Hill by Carlos Cortez 17"x22" poster printed in black ink. \$9.50



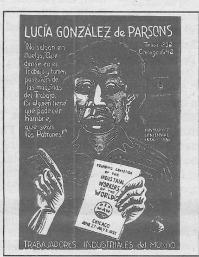
Don't Be A Scab poster. 17"x22" Duotone repro



Frank Little by Nicole Schulman 17"x22" poster printed in red ink. \$9.50



**Ben Fletcher by Carlos Cortez** 17"x22" poster printed in blue ink. \$7.50



**Lucy Parsons by Carlos Cortez** 17"x22" poster printed in purple ink. \$7.50

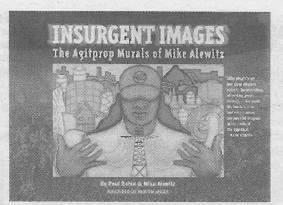


The Beehive Collective's Free Trade Area of the Americas Poster. A huge 31"x60" black and white poster, suitable for coloring, describing the effects of the FTAA and the global resistance to corporate colonialism.



#### **Subscribe to the Industrial Worker**

The grassroots voice of the revolutionary labor movement, published since 1909. News of the struggles of working people written by those who are fighting on the front lines. 11 issues per year, \$15.00



#### **Insurgent Images: The Agitprop Murals of Mike Alewitz by Paul Buhle and Mike Alewitz**

An inspiring book of history, struggle, and artwork by the most prolific of U.S. labor muralists since the 1940s, Mike Alewitz. Murals on the Centralia massacre, the P-9 meatpackers' and UPS strikes, Karen Silkwood, cross-border solidarity, and dozens of others, are reproduced in beautiful full color. 149 pages, \$28.00

#### **Arguments for a 4-Hour Day by Jon Bekken**

The IWW first began demanding the four-hour day in the early 1930s, after decades of fighting for first the eight- and then the six-hour day. At the time, the six-hour day seemed destined to become the norm - the U.S. Senate even passed legislation to adopt it. But with U.S. entry into WWII, the labor movement's fight for shorter hours was almost totally abandoned. Now workers put in more hours on the job than we did 70 years ago. This pamphlet reviews labor statistics which show the four-hour day is both practical and necessary.

16 pages, \$2.50

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For growing numbers of workers, the eight-hour day is but a faint memory. Miller's pamphlet is based on his experience working 14 hours a day, seven days a week in a shipyard. He decries the relentless fatigue imposed by a soul-crushing schedule; reflects on how workers got into this miserable situation; voices his rage at what this job is doing to his body, his son, and the planet; and notes the desperate need to put an end to forced overtime and resume the fight for a shorter work 16 pages, \$2.50



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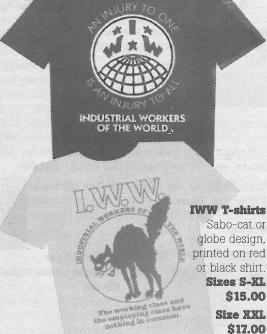
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Utah Phillips: I've Got to Know In Utah's Words about this record: During the (first) Gulf War, I got plenty good and mad. I parked my car and wouldn't drive it because I said it wouldn't run on blood. Then, with the help of Dakota Sid Clifford, I went into a small but very fine studio here in Nevada City. I said to Bruce Wheelock, the engineer, "Set up two mikes and start a tape. I'll tell you when I'm done." For the next seventy minutes I spouted, fulminated, and sang about war, peace, pacifism, and anarchy. I used song, poems, and rants to make the point, and said, "Okay, turn off the machine." Bruce said, "Don't you want me to edit it?" I said, "No! I'm mad! Leave it the way it is!" 33 songs and stories \$15.00

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The songs and performances on Spain in My Heart, many of them in Spanish, form a mosaic of surprisingly delicate and moving emotions. The yearning for simpler or better times by the Spanish Republican soldiers and their families is portrayed in "Asturias," per-

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Joe Glazer: Songs of the Wobblies Re-released for the first time on compact disc to help us celebrate our centenary, Joe Glazer's tribute to the IWW includes 12 songs and a rare recording of Ralph Chaplin, IWW organizer, poet, songwriter and illustrator.



Jack Herranen & the Ninth Ward Conspiracy: To Fan the Flames of Discontent A project born from a collection of musicians gathered in New Orleans, this release is a soulful and original celebration of IWW song.

#### **Peace Not War Volume 2**

This 37-track compilation redefines protest music for the twenty-first century: non-stop funky beats on one disc and hard guitars on the other, with deep and inspiring lyrics throughout. Includes Sonic Youth, Jane's Addiction, Jurassic 5, Spearhead, Le Tigre, Propagandhi, Paris and Anti-Flag



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Pete Seeger: If I Had a Hammer: Songs of Hope & Struggle. A compilation of 24 songs recorded in the 1950s and 60s on labor, peace, civil rights, and hope for the future. Includes "Banks of Marble", "Talking Union", and "If I Had a Hammer." \$17.00

Here Comes the Troublemakers: To Fan the Flames of Discontent. Maybe the catchiest activist music ever, the New Orleans Troublemakers brand of singalong calypso will have you humming about Emma Goldman, thrift store shopping, international solidarity and, course, troublemaking. \$10.00



### Calendar of **Centenary Events**

April 29; Brooklyn, NY: Book release for Wobblies! A Graphic History of the IWW at Vox Pop, 1022 Cortelyou Rd. 718-940-2084. 8:00 p.m. with contributing artists Seth Tobocman, Mac McGill, Sabrina Jones, Tom Keough and Nicole Schulman.

April 30; Denver, CO: Concert with Ellen Klaver, Julie Davis, Debra Gallegos, Gary Ball, Harry Tuft and more. Swallow Hill's Daniels Hall, Yale and Broadway.

April 30; Madison, WI: Madison Center for Creative & Cultural Arts, 306 W. Dayton, 7:00 p.m. Celebration of IWW Culture. The Irish Brigade, Vicki Guzman, and others. 608-255-1800. May 1; Sydney, Australia: The ROC wraps up its annual assembly the day before, and

will celebrate the IWW's Centenary with a contingent in the annual May Day parade. May 2; Madison, WI: Two Degrees Coffeeshop, 307 W. Johnson, 6:00 p.m. Mother Jones birthday party and discussion of radical labor politics.

May 6; Milwaukee, WI: Puddler's Hall, 2461 S. St. Clair, 7:00 p.m. May Day Concert with labor troubadours Anne Feeney and Dave Rovics. 608-262-9036.

May 6; Winnipeg, MB: Mondragon Cafe & Bookstore, 91 Albert St., 7:00 p.m. A presentation on the IWW in Manitoba, tunes by the 1919 Insurrectionary Orchestra and historical photos. Part of Mayworks: Festival of Labour and the Arts. winnipegiww@hotmail.com.

May 7; Newark, NJ: A one-day historical conference on the IWW.

May 7; Madison, WI: May Day Concert with Anne Feeney and Dave Rovics at the Terrace in the UW Memorial Union.

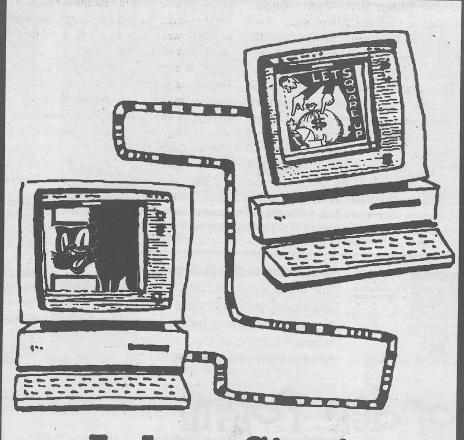
May 14; Madison, WI: Discussion on Wisconsin IWW history. 7pm at UW Memorial Union. May 14; Albany, NY: James Connolly celebration. This event will focus on James Connolly's life and contribution to the IWW and the international labor movement. June 10-12; Vancouver, B.C.: Pacific Northwest Labor History Association 2005 Conference. Focused on the IWW, with sessions on the IWW press, music and art, and papers on IWW organizing in Argentina, Canada and the American West, and the IWW's influence on historic and contemporary labor movements. Simon Fraser University, Harbour Centre campus in downtown Vancouver. www.pnlha.org.

June 18-19; Hartford, CT: A weekend of cultural events, films and discussions about the legacy of the IWW and its impact on today's labor movement. wobct@hotmail.com or www.homestead.com/homefront.

June 23-26; Chicago, IL: Thursday: Utah Phillips and John McCutcheon concert. Friday: Celebration dinner banquet. Weekend: A two-day conference on the IWW's founding and alternative models of worker organizing. Saturday Eve: "Fan the Flames of Discontent" concert. Register on-line at www.iww.org, or using the form in the *Industrial Worker*. September 6 - Nov. 23; Ann Arbor, MI: Exhibit at University of Michigan Library commemmorating 100 years of the IWW with materials from the Labadie Collection. www.lib.umich.edu/spec-coll/labadie/

Sept. 15-17; Kansas City, MO: Conference on Radical Economics in the 20th Century: Radical Economics and the Labor Movement. http://iml.umkc.edu/econ/iwwconf/ October 21-23; Detroit, MI: North American Labor History Conference. This conference will focus on the IWW's first 100 years and the centenary of the Russian Revolution.

More details for most events can be found at www.iww.org/projects/centenary, which is regularly updated to include new events.



## LabourStart,

the global trade union news and campaigning website, salutes the

**Industrial Workers of the World** on the occasion of your centenary. Workers of the world, unite! http://www.labourstart.org concepts of what a union should stand for and how a real union should function. Though I have been active in other unions I paid dues to, still there ain't no shame or contradiction in being a dual unionist.

I have lived in the underbelly of this world, which they do not show you on TV or teach you about in the schools. As I grew

up I was placed in youth institutions and foster homes and learned that this system cares not for the youth of the poor. All they want is blind obedience. I saw how our society keeps people of color down and uses its doctrine of "mightmakes-right" to keep them there. At the age of 17 I had to quit school and work full-time for my survival. Finishing high school was not an option if I wanted to eat.

I have worked a string of jobs that I would not care to see

anyone be forced to endure. It is not work itself that I rebel against, it is the dehumanizing conditions of labor. I worked assembly lines, as a farm worker, and washing dishes until I landed a job in the hard rock mining industry. At Bunker Hill Mining Company as a zinc stripper, I saw just how far the workers could be subjected to abuse by their employers, 56 percent of the Bunker Hill workers over the years have come down with kidney disease due to lead poisoning, including myself, and hundreds of children who lived in the area were poisoned as well. Five miles down the road at the Sunshine Mine, the murder of 91 miners was called an industrial accident.

At that point I decided I wanted to learn a trade so I became a marine pipe fitter. Since 1974 I have worked in 14 shipyards on the west, east and gulf coasts. When I could not find work in shipyards I worked other jobs, roughneck on a wildcat oil rig, long haul and port truck driver and as an environmental technician at some nasty toxic sites and oil spills. This is where my Wobbly perspective comes from, not out of some damn book.

As a young Wobbly, my mentors were old-time Wobblies who were still around, people like Gilbert Mers, Blackie Vaughn, Fred Hansen, Carl and Fanny Keller, Paul Ware, Walter Westman, Frank Cedervall, Fred Thompson and others. From them I learned what being a Wobbly was all about. The first thing they taught me was that there is only one class of Wobblies - no matter if you joined years ago or you joined today, every Wobbly is a Wobbly, there are no second class Wobblies. And that every worker no matter how they labor, as long as they did not labor against their fellow workers like scabs and cops, were just as much a worker as any other worker. Though these old-timers may not be in the history books, to me they were the real heroes of the IWW because they never gave up on the class struggle.

Contrary to what many have written, the IWW was not created out of a coming together of different political philosophies. The IWW came about as a direct result of the direct experiences of working people who

tried to organize labor unions.

The IWW turns 100

years old this year...

There is something

about the IWW that

will live on as long

as working people

are exploited by the

employing class. Like

Joe Hill, the Wobblies

will never die...

It has always been the experience of working people that as individuals or as tiny individual organizations little could be gained. Only when working people united together and supported each other in universal solidarity did we ever stand a chance against the employing class.

> It was found that the old craft style of unionism only had a limited effect and only for a few workers. In craft unionism, workers on the same job were divided into different unions and many workers were left unorganized. Out of that experience came the concept of industrial unionism, where all the workers in an industry were organized into one union. Unions such as the Western Federation of Miners and the American Railroad Union pioneered the idea

of industrial unionism here in America and those experiences inspired workers to create the industrial unionism of the IWW.

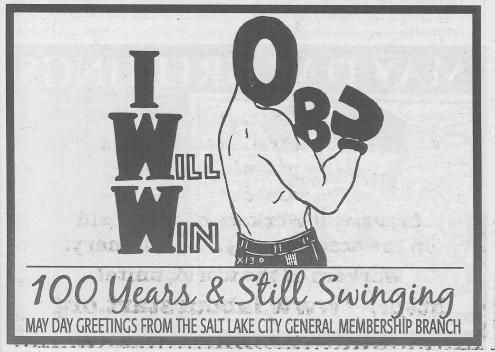
Even with industrial unionism advancing the power of organized labor, workers quickly found that single-shop or single-area organizing had its limitations and that those limitations became even clearer as the companies of the employing class became larger and went well beyond limited geographic areas. Out of that realization came the idea of creating national and international industrial unions and the concepts of industrial organizing and industrial action.

It was realized that there needed to be an organization that united the industrial unions and would directly seek to organize those who have yet to be organized. This was necessary in order to build a labor movement that could stand up to the organized power of the employing class.

The direct experiences of labor struggles showed that the existing economic arrangement meant continuous class conflict and limited gains for working people. Nowhere in the creation of our world was it written in stone that one small class of people had the divine right to own the means of production within society and that the many, the working class, was doomed to forever toil for that same class of owners.

This economic arrangement made the employing class very rich and condemned those who did all the real work of society to poverty and faced with forever being in a state of class conflict in order to improve their lives and to protect those improvements. Not wanting to leave future generations an inheritance of poverty and class conflict, many good unionists came to believe that the organized labor movement needed to do more than just gain more crumbs from the bosses' table of riches, but that the labor movement also had the responsibility to change the economic system and that the only system that could create industrial peace was one where the producers controlled their production.

In 1905 veteran unionists gathered tocontinued on page 8





### Columbine coal strike reader

BY RICHARD MYERS

In 1927 the IWW called a general strike to protest the judicial murder of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Colorado's coal miners walked out in huge numbers.

This occurred in the state that had given us the Western Federation of Miners, Big Bill Haywood, Cripple Creek and the 1914 Ludlow Massacre. For many, Ludlow seemed a watershed, an event that drew worldwide attention to the state's industrial feudalism. Ludlow ushered in Rockefeller's company union and the birth of the public relations industry to repair John D.'s reputation. But Colorado's coal operators were not yet finished spilling the blood of workers.

Conditions were desperate. Miners complained that coal bosses didn't give a damn about their lives. Mules used to haul the coal were treated better than the men. It cost money to purchase and train mules; men could be hired for nothing, and then forced to pay their own expenses.

Miners were not paid for "dead work" such as timbering that kept the mines safe. They had to pay for their own tools and blasting powder. Miners were cheated at the scale that weighed their coal. Many were paid in scrip redeemable only at the company store. Coal towns were armed camps surrounded by barbed wire. And pay rates were falling.

With little consideration given to safety, Colorado coal miners were dying by the hundreds. A decade before the Columbine Mine Massacre, 121 miners died in an explosion in the Hastings mine. In 1919, 31 were killed in the Oakdale and Empire mines. 1922 and 1923 saw 27 killed at Sopris and Southwestern. These were only the big events; miners were dying individually almost every day.

Colorado miners not only honored the Sacco-Vanzetti general strike, they extended it for a day. Recognizing their discontent, the Wobblies organized a coal strike. Strikers shut down all of the 14 mines in northern Colorado except for the mighty Columbine, north of Denver in the small company town of Serene. The Columbine normally employed 500, and lured 150 scabs to work during the strike by granting a 50 cent per day raise.

Throughout Colorado, 12 mines were still operating Nov. 1, the 15th day of the strike, while 113 had been closed. Newspapers portrayed the strike as faltering, dutifully parroting the company line that "miners are expected to return to work on Monday." Day after day the Denver Morning Post repeated the phrase, "The backbone of the strike appears to be broken," even within the same column that detailed more mines closing. Caravans of strikers brought food, donated material continued on page 10

goods, and car loads of enthusiasm to support union efforts. Miners saw with their own eyes that the strike was succeeding.

Colorado had an anti-picketing law that prohibited any sort of speech with persuasive intent relating to hindering commerce. Strikers suffered many arrests for picketing, and police locked up anyone they could identify as an organizer. In Walsenburg "agitation of strikers" - speaking to miners on strike - was considered a crime.

Because the Columbine continued to work, it was a focal point for the strike effort. The mine was owned by Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. Josephine Roche, daughter of the recently deceased owner, insisted that strikers' rights be respected, but she was not yet in full control. Officials of other companies maneuvered behind the scenes to orchestrate a bloody confrontation that would bring Colorado's notorious National Guard into the field.

Roche's liberal views had led her to a career in social work and a stint as Denver's first police woman patrolling Denver's bustling "entertainment district" where prostitutes plied their trade. She had participated in an investigation of Ludlow, and ultimately went to work for the United Mine Workers union after Rocky Mountain Fuel failed.

Women powerfully influenced the struggle. On Nov. 8 the Denver Morning Post headlined, "Women Marching As Pickets Turn Back Before Guns." They didn't always turn back; when bullets flew, some of the most seriously injured were women.

Another Post story declared, "Strike Control Passes Into Hands of Women - Hordes of Amazons Storm Jail Demanding to See Deported Sons and Husbands; Mexican Mother Assumes Leadership With Fiery Speech." The article continued,

"Leadership of the I.W.W. strike at Walsenburg today passed into the hands of the women with an Indian halfbreed, Mrs. Felix Arrellano, at their head.

"If we were asking for diamonds we wouldn't deserve them,' she began her morning address. "But we are asking for bread...'

"And the women are behind her. Their enthusiasm, slow to catch fire at the start of the strike, was fanned to a brisk flame by this wobblie Joan of Arc."

Other prominent women included Colorado's own rebel girl, Flaming Milka, who led hundreds of strikers into combat on the picket lines. Newspaper reporters drew comparisons between Milka and Mother Jones, deciding Milka packed a meaner wallop.

Activities in the south - where John



### Cooperation, militance in auto

REVIEW BY MATT WHITE

Lisa M. Fine, The Story of Reo Joe: Work, Kin and Community in Autotown, U.S.A. Temple University Press, 2004.

In our preamble we make clear that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common"; strangely enough, not every worker is sold on that idea. A bunch of workers who weren't, according to Lisa Fine in her new book, were the workers of the Reo Motor Car Co.

Fine traces East Lansing, Michigan, the Reo company, and its workers from its prehistory to its demise in 1975 at the hand of a cut-throat capitalist, instead of the paternalists who usually ran Reo. Fine traces workers and their relationship to their community, their family, women and their bosses with a combination of scholarship and theories from David Roediger's The Wages of Whiteness and modern gender history. The result is a work that is readable, occasionally funny, and sensitive and respectful of her subjects.

Fine asks why workers accepted the paternalism at Reo, making a strong case that shared racism, propaganda, a degree of class mobility, repression and similar ideas of manhood held worker militancy in check. It was often felt that if a worker did his work, Reo would do good for the worker. Reo workers were rewarded for being white and having shared values, and some workers took to this. Conversely, Fine argues that notions of gender and race privilege encouraged militancy when workers felt that they were not being treated as white men should. Fine also

the importance of working-class members of the National Rifle Association," etc., and

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attempts to understand Reo Joe's uncomfort-
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able relationship with women and the effect
he hiring of women had on Reo Joes.
Fine's book is useful in understanding
'George Wallace's popularity in the North in
1968, the Reagan Democrats of the 1980s,
he importance of working class members

ture, union records and other sources.
One quote Fine uses to frame a chapte
is too good not to mention in the Indus
trial Worker: our beloved President Herber
Hoover's statement that "the white race can
not survive without dairy products."

how Klan members could make militant UAW

members (p. 9). Fine supports her argument

with oral histories, newspapers, Reo litera-

Of particular interest to IWW members is an analysis of the IWW at Reo in 1947. While the book does not mention any IWW influence at Reo during the teens or twenties, as Reo was the domain of craft unions who were constantly beaten by the bosses, the IWW made an appearance at Reo in 1947. As local UAW bureaucrats made more bossfriendly compromises, a group of IWWs and others demanded more shop control, shop democracy and the removal of UAW officers who "played golf with company officials."

Fine says the "IWW won some converts because its militant, manly stance was more appealing to returning vets then the contractual labor-management relations endorsed by the international UAW" (117-18). I generally agree, but is the implication here that UAW contractualism is more "feminine" than IWW-style tactics? As an extension of this idea, was to be more militant "manly"? Is direct action "manly"?

I wonder how useful it is to comment only on the "manliness" of IWW tactics. Historians are now paying greater attention to articulations of gender, calling our attention to union rhetoric that drew on cultural notions of "manliness" and strength often even when organizing women workers. This is certainly worth exploring, but one suspects much of this work relies too heavily on modern sensibilities.

#### E.F. Doree, a Wobbly life

Ellen Doree Rosen, A Wobbly Life: IWW Organizer E.F. Doree, with an introduction by Melvyn Dubofsky. Wayne State University Press, 2004, 256 pages, \$35, paper.

Doree was an important IWW organizer, and one of those sentenced to prison in the Chicago frame-up trial. This book by his daughter draws heavily on Doree's prison letters home to paint an intimate personal portrait of a man whose life was spent in the cause (he died at age 38, a few years after getting our of prison). The letters, trial transcripts, photos and other material add little to our understanding of the IWW, but do give us a richer sense of a Wobbly who played a key role in organizing harvest hands and dock workers for the union.

### 100 years of IWW organizing...

gether to create an organization based upon their collective experience that would include those things they had come to realize a labor movement needed: universal working class solidarity, industrial unionism, industrial organizing and action, a union that would seek to organize all workers and would seek the end of class conflict by transferring control of the economic system to those who produce. The organization they created was the Industrial Workers of the World.

For 100 years Wobblies have struggled and organized working people. Though historians like to focus on a few Wobbly struggles and so-called leaders and to declare them successes or failures, that is not the true history of the IWW.

The IWW, like the class struggle of which it is a part, can not be looked at in the isolation of a few events or individuals. The class struggle is a long journey down the road of liberation, and each step down that road adds experience and knowledge, making further steps possible. As long as working people struggle against their exploitation, no part of their struggle is a failure because, in the long run, all of their struggles together help us reach our collective goals. Even when we reached our lowest point of membership in the late 1950s, those Wobblies who remained did an important job of keeping the organization and our ideas alive for the next generation of Wobblies.

Each Wobbly struggle is important. From the massive grand Lawrence textile strike in 1912 all the way to the smallest fast-food strike, each worker is important and every struggle is worth fighting. We do not say "an injury to many is an injury to all," rather we say "an injury to one is an injury to all." All the IWW struggles throughout our 100 years have been the result of the efforts of rank-and-file Wobblies. But that is not what the history books tell you. They say that our struggles were the result of a few leaders. The history of the rank-and-file Wobblies is the history that has yet to be written.

A few years ago I was asked to speak at a college where the film "The Wobblies" was being shown. Then a labor history professor spoke for 45 minutes about the IWW. He did not understand our history. He did not understand that the IWW is not about a few historical events, but rather is a long journey down the road of class struggle. He seemed to think we are just moved by ideology, rather than by the collective working class experiences. Though he knew words out of books on the IWW, he did not know or understand the IWW. I guess I was there like some museum piece, a real live Wobbly. When he was done ranting his nonsense, he told me I had five minutes to speak. How could I explain the truth of the IWW in that time? So I did not use up that five minutes of token time. Rather I got up there and said, "Labor historians are to workers as anthropologists are to Indians. Don't believe a word that they say." I looked out at the shocked expressions on the faces of everyone there, and I walked out. I ain't no damn museum piece, nor anyone's token!

The IWW believes in the idea of building a One Big Union of the working class. But in practice Wobblies support the struggles of all

workers against their bosses no matter what organization they may belong to, and we have tried to educate working people to the great idea of universal working class solidarity. In the reality of day-to-day struggle the One Big Union has also come to mean the organized solidarity of the working class.

Universal working class solidarity is something that you will not find much of in the business unions. It is not uncommon for business unions to scab on each other by crossing picket lines or handling scab goods or even doing the work that striking workers would have done. Though a few unions may gain a little by scabbing on other unions, the labor movement has greatly suffered because of it. Based on my experiences with business unions and the Wobbly tradition, I have written up some Principles of Universal Labor Solidarity:

I. Every worker on every job throughout the world has a right to organize with their fellow workers in their common interests.

II. Every worker throughout the world has a right to a living wage, safe and healthy working conditions and health coverage.

III. Every worker throughout the world has a right to labor free of harassment and discrimination based upon race, sex, nationality, religion, or any other form of bigotry.

IV. Every worker throughout the world has the right to refuse to partake in or support wars where working people of one country are used to fight and kill working people of another country.

V. Every worker throughout the world has the right and responsibility to protect the environment of this world.

VI. Every worker throughout the world has the right to withhold their labor as the means to advance the above principles.

VII. No worker throughout the world should ever be a scab. No worker should ever cross the picket line of striking workers. No worker should ever supply a shop on strike with goods or services. No worker should handle scab goods. No worker should consume scab goods. No worker should ever do the work that striking workers would have done if they were not on strike.

VIII. Whenever workers are faced with government repression because of union activity, then all workers should withhold their labor from the companies profiting from that repression and a universal boycott should be imposed on all goods going to that country, coming from that country, and on the companies profiting from the repression.

Every strike or job action should be supported with direct solidarity unless it violates the Principles of Universal Labor Solidarity.

#### **Resisting oppression**

Wobblies have always understood that resistance to the employing class and the governments that work directly in their interests takes many different forms. Though the purpose of the IWW is creating a revolutionary industrial organization, still the Wobblies have actively supported other forms of resistance and at times even gave their lives doing so. Wobblies fought in the Mexican Revolution, and fought the fascists in Spain. Wobblies have been active in such





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social movements as: free speech, antiwar, civil rights, anti-apartheid and defense of the environment. Wobblies resisted segregation laws in the U.S. South decades before the renewed Civil Rights Movement started in the 1950s. Wobblies have actively supported indigenous people's resistance. Wobblies actively worked in support of political prisoners from Mooney-Billings and Sacco-Vanzetti in the old days to Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal today.

Wherever you find resistance you are sure to find some Wobblies. There were many Wobblies in the streets of Seattle during the 1999 protests against the WTO and many Wobblies working to save the redwood oldgrowth trees.

Though the history books seem to think the IWW was and is a U.S. labor organization, this is not true. The Industrial Workers of the World, as its name suggests, is an organization of workers around the world. The IWW has had major organizing and industrial action in Chile, South Africa, Mexico, Canada and Australia, to name just a few countries. The IWW understands that the employing class and their corporations go far beyond national borders and thus the organized class struggle must be international in scope.

In today's world where the employing class is organized internationally far more than ever before and where it is clear that the capitalists seeks complete control over the world's natural resources, the international working class must organize in order to be able to withstand the onslaught of international corporate totalitarianism. In my view, only the organizational ideas of the IWW have a plan for the international organization of the working class that is needed in the modern world.

We no longer have the luxury of passing off our responsibility of actively seeking change to the mythical someone else who will do it for us. I strongly believe that the capitalists are blinded by their greed and will pursue their quest for greater wealth until our planet is nothing more than a wasteland unable to sustain our continued existence upon it.

We must organize and take action for our very survival. Industry must be changed, not only in who controls, but also to make it safe for our environment. Though there are environmental activists who have carried on important resistance, the organized working class needs to make the industrial change. First, because the economic system must change, for there ain't no way to reform the greed of capitalism. And because the workers are at the point of production where the changes must take place. The time has come where class responsibility is not just to your sisters and fellow workers but also a responsibility to the earth we dwell upon. Class responsibility is not something we can pass off on others, it is the responsibility of each and every worker.

There are those who see the working class as nothing more than a mass entity. The working class is a great diversity of individuals and that diversity is our strength and not our weakness, for every worker brings skills, ideas, knowledge and a creative spirit that is unique to them. That is one of the things that has made the IWW survive for so long, for we not only believe in the uniqueness of each worker, that has been the backbone of our organization. That also is why we seek you out, fellow worker, to join us. We need your uniqueness with us, for that will make

### MAY DAY GREETINGS

As we celebrate 100 years of workers' struggles & continue the fight for our emancipation

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us even stronger.

From 1905 to 2005 the Wobblies always struggled for day-to-day improvements in the conditions of working people while at the same time educating and organizing workers for the long-term class struggle that they always hoped would eventually realize industrial peace and well-being for all working people. Through the years there have been many different political ideologies calling for this, that and some other thing. I place my hope in the ideas of the IWW. The IWW ain't an idealistic utopia that sounds beautiful while getting there seems next to impossible. Nor is the IWW a top-down controlled plan by those who believe they can save us all; but who will save us from the saviors? The IWW is a simple idea of how to organize working people together by working people themselves in order to make improve their working lives and to organize the class power of working people so that when their organized power is greater than the organized power of the employing class, then the final battle of the class war will be fought and all the bosses and capitalism will be removed like a parasitic cancer growth from the host body of human society.

So that, my friends, is my perspective on the IWW based upon the working class experience that I have lived. I wish all Wobblies a happy centennial birthday and I feel honored to have been with you through the years and with thoughts of past and present Wobblies that have made up our first 100 years, it has been an honor to be a Wobbly.

# **Utah's Co-op miners need our solidarity**

BY TONY ROEHRIG

Several Wobs from the Salt Lake City Branch joined more than 100 supporters at a March 12 gathering in Price, Utah, to support 30 Co-op miners who were fired by the owners just before a union election last December. In the latest move to prevent workers from forming an independent union, the bosses demanded new SS numbers and work papers from the mostly Mexican nationals just two days before the union vote. The penalty for not having said papers was termination.

The owners, the polygamist Kingston family, have also filed a slander and libel suit against groups including the Mormon-owned *Deseret News*, the local chapter of Jobs with Justice, and the Socialist Workers Party and their paper, the *Militant*. Lawyers have called for the suit to be thrown out as a 'vexatious lawsuit' using the courts to hassle supporters of the miners – nothing new there.

After the miners spent nearly a year on the picket lines, they finally won back-to-back rulings by the NLRB last summer. The first win was the reinstatement of the workers who were locked out after they walked out in support of two fired workers. The second win was over who would be eligible to vote in the election. Of more than 200 workers at the mine, the NLRB found that over 150 were related to the owners, leaving about 30 eligible to vote. The latest move by the owners was to fire outright the workers pressing for a union. This too will be met by strong resistance, but they can't do it alone.

Wobs joined members of the PACE local and SLC Chapter of JWJ to drive truckloads of food to the miners and their families. We heard updates on their struggle, talked and shared food with the strikers. They are strong and positive in the midst of their plight, which is going on a year and a half old.

Please do what you can to help out. Donations and letters of support can be sent to: Co-op Miners, c/o UMWA District 22, 525 E. 100 S., Price UT 84501, (435) 637-2037.

#### **Neutrality agreements legal**

A National Labor Relations Board administrative judge has upheld the legality of a 2003 UAW agreement under which the Dana Corp. agreed to take a neutral stance toward union organizing. The National Right to Work (for less) Legal Defense Foundation says it will appeal the decision.

# The IWW: 1905 - 2005

An undated IWW cartoon from the *Industrial Worker* The caption read "What will the Harvest Be?"

The IWW's Agricultural Workers' Organization, later the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, organized among agricultural workers, primarily in the Western United States and Canada.

The Industrial Workers of the World collection at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University has many IWW cartoons and other illustrations.

Anyone interested in the collection, or in adding to it, should contact William LeFevre at the Archives at 313-577-2789 or by email at William. LeFevre@Wayne.Edu.



D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron was located – included police padlocking union halls, attacks on picket lines, and intimidation. Arrested organizers were moved from jail to jail in a shell game to prevent

access by IWW lawyers. Many IWWs were taken to the state line or left gazing at Colorado's snow covered peaks on an isolated stretch of prairie – a practice known as "white capping" since the Cripple Creek "reign of terror" days – and warned never to return.

The plight of the miners had long been ignored, and newspapers focused on the impact of the strike rather than the working conditions of the strikers. Winter was coming and coal stocks were dwindling. "Coal is available in small quantities, but prices are high, due to the fact that most of it has been shipped in from outside the state," lamented the *Denver Morning Post*. No one had expected the Wobblies to successfully shut down Colorado coal.

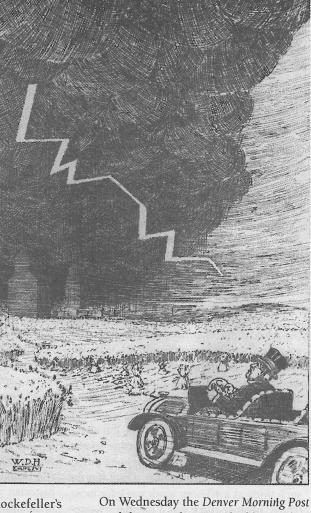
Not content to report the news, editors demanded state violence to discipline the Wobblies. The *Post* declared that it was time for the state to unleash the "mailed fist," to "strike hard and strike swiftly..."

Prejudice against minorities or foreignborn workers played a significant role in public attitudes. There was mock dive-bombing of union rallies by National Guard aircraft in the weeks before the massacre, and the pilots who engaged in the harassment expressed views in the *Post* that seem typical:

"We are not opposed to union labor but we are opposed to the wobblies. They are displaying the American flag prominently, but that means nothing unless there are American citizens behind the flag.

"The only safe place for them if martial law is declared is to dig a tunnel under the Spanish peaks where we can't get them."

The Morning Post promoted the idea that the miners had no right to strike because they were foreign-born. On Nov. 7 they referred to strikers as "Mexicans, Italians, Bulgarians, Slavs, Negroes, Austrians, Americans, and nondescripts whose nationality was not apparent ... Speeches were made in every language except pure English." The Post criticized their spelling, their speech, their dress, their personal hygiene, and even mocked one organizer's lack of skill with a typewriter. IWW leaders were called "tramps with their pants pressed."



On Wednesday the *Denver Morning Post* reported that a machine gun had been taken to the Columbine. The paper added, "A number of additional deputies and state officers are expected to re-enforce the peace squad which has been on duty."

Thursday's Boulder Daily Camera ominously heralded the new arrival: "Machine guns are the best answer to the picketers. Posted at the Columbine mine, willing workers go to work while picketers slink back. Machine guns manned by willing shooters are wanted at other Colorado mines..."

Early the following Monday the strikers arrived, expecting another peaceful rally. When 500 miners and their families attempted to enter Serene, police opened up with deadly fire directly into the crowd. In the early dawn light the miners scattered under a hail of lead. Twelve remained on the ground, some writhing in agony while others lay still. At least six died; more than sixty were injured. Significantly, no police or mine guards were shot; the standing order in the IWW was to leave all weapons at home or at the union hall, so the miners were unarmed.

The violence did not end with this massacre. More strikers were killed by the state police in Walsenburg a few weeks later. Union halls were ransacked and shot up, their contents destroyed, their windows smashed.

The slaughter of miners at the Columbine Mine marked the last significant industrial action in the region conducted by the IWW, but also became the catalyst for change in Colorado's coal mines. Rocky Mountain Fuel Company shocked the other coal operators by announcing that the strike had been caused by conditions. After gaining control of the company in the aftermath of the massacre, Josephine Roche declared that it was time to recognize a union – any union, that is, except for the Industrial Workers of the World.

As happened so frequently, the workers were not allowed a free choice. Indeed, they were not even consulted. Roche ultimately chose the United Mine Workers. The AFL-affiliated UMWA, which had engaged in outright war during two previous coal strikes, ultimately proved less threatening to Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. than the non-violent Wobblies, who preached the radical notion that labor is entitled to all it creates.

Slaughter in Serene: the Columbine Coal Strike Reader features the writings of Eric Margolis, Joanna Sampson, Phil Goodstein and Richard Myers. Much of this material has never before been published. The book will be available this summer, for \$19.05. For copies contact the IWW or the Bread and Roses Workers' Cultural Center, c/o P&L Printing, 2298 Clay St., Denver CO 80211, or email breadandroses@msn.com

### The grading assembly line...

continued from page 1

breaks etc. The program would automatically print out reports on alleged abusers, for daily delivery to the supervisors.

So, aside from the big brother benefits, computer scoring also allowed the company to quickly identify accurate readers and promote them to team leader. The team leaders were micro-managers who looked after the accuracy of five to 10 readers, and also supposedly monitored their behavior. The team leads answered to project supervisors, who monitored the accuracy for an entire grade. Those project supervisors had to answer to one or more project managers, who monitored the entire test, across grades. Each and every one of these people worked for the temp company, and were usually overseen by one member of the actual staff.

Yet another factor in this mess of a job was that there was no guarantee on the amount of work that you would get. We were told in the beginning that as temps there would be work for about a month, and then after that they would see. This turned out to be untrue, as work continued to stream in over the next four months or so. But there was no guarantee of a full week's work, so you found yourself working 30 hours one week, 27 hours another, 37.5 another. There was no such thing as a 40-hour work week for most temps, because there was a mandatory one-hour lunch break, which was unpaid.

Working at this place on a regular basis meant that you would work for a week, have off a week, work a week, and never know when you would have work. You would be off one week, and then working overtime for two weeks. No benefits, no job security, all of your performance under perpetual review, with one bad day meaning that you could be laid off for weeks until the next project starts. And, of course, since everyone was a temp, anyone could be let go at any time.

With such a tight job market, it's not surprising that so many people were attracted to the \$12 an hour wage. Of course most people did not know coming in to the job all the downsides, and others just wanted something temporary until something better came along. A seemingly endless supply of people would come in take the job, only to find out, gradually, that this was a very terrible, nerve-racking job.

We later found out where the \$12 figure came from. When McGraw Hill was contracted by states to score their tests, an estimate of the number of work hours it would take to score the test was made. Based on that estimate, they billed \$65 per work hour. They kept \$35 and gave the temp company \$30 per work hour. The temp company kept \$18 per hour, and the workers were paid \$12. This is trickle-down economics at its best, with two different parasites each making more money than the actual workers.

This is a peek into the workplace of the future. Workplaces will have hundreds of workers who don't actually work for the company, but instead work for a temp company. Each individual is completely expendable at any moment, for any lapse in production,

# British miners: a legacy of struggle

REVIEW BY PETER MOORE

Strike Not The End of the Story: Reflections on the Major Coal Mining Strikes in Britain, By David Douglass. National Coal Mining Museum for England, 2005.

Dave Douglass' book is not an objective history by a disinterested third-party, but a people's history by one of the miners who have so often ended up on the sharp end of the "winners" history. It was designed to accompany an exhibit of the 1984-1985 British miners' strike that only British people and tourists are likely to see at the National Coal Mining Museum for England in Wakefield, but it easily stands alone on its own merits.

Dave Douglass, known by his miners as "Danny the Red" was until March 2005 the delegate of the now-defunct Hatfield Main branch of the National Union of Miners in South Yorkshire. He currently runs a Miners' Advice Centre, www.minersadvice.co.uk, that offers support to miners and their families who live with the legacy of their industry. He is also a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and Class War. His branch in Stainforth, Doncaster district played an important role in the 1984-1985 coal strike.

Douglass' challenge as a rank-and-file historian was to write a book that met the museum's standard for accuracy about still disputed events and his own critique of "bourgeois and petty bourgeois commentators and academics" who he derided in a previous book, *All Power To The Imagination*.

# Nike discloses production sites

Nike has released a 108-page report listing 700 factories that produce its footwear and clothing, and providing information on abuses documented by monitors.

The report, which has been posted to Nike's web site, admits to widespread problems, particularly in Nike's Asian factories. The company said it audited hundreds of factories in 2003 and 2004 and found cases of "abusive treatment" in more than a quarter of its south Asian plants. Up to half of its contractors restrict access to toilets and drinking water, and do not give workers even a single day off each week. In most Nike factories, workers put in more than 60 hours a week, often for less than the legal minimum wage.

Nike's disclosure of the names and locations of the more than 700 suppliers currently manufacturing its goods worldwide was welcomed by International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, which called on other multinational brands to follow suit.

quality, or just because the company feels like firing them. The company saves money by offering no benefits, no pension, no vacation, and by putting their labor costs out to bid to multiple temp companies. The end result is a changing American workplace where workers have almost no power and organizing is even more difficult.

Next issue: No Child Left Behind

He succeeds on both sides, presenting facts and statistics to support his interpretation of events, arguments and defence of the miners. Overall, the book provided a mix of facts and statistics alongside Douglass' own eyewitness accounts of the events that dominate the book – the year-long 1984-1985 coal strike and its context in the Seventies and early Nineties.

The March 1984 strike, provoked by the arbitrary closure of the Cortonwood pit in Yorkshire by the Conservative government under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, ended with the miners returning to work in March 1985 without a deal or any guarantee for amnesty from the government. This defeat resulted in pit closures and the firing and blacklisting of about 1,200 militant miners from the mines.

Known by miners as "The Great Strike," the strike and defeat slowed but did not end the government's plan to close and privatize the coal pits. From an industry that employed 750,000 miners in 980 mines when the British government nationalised the industry in 1947, only nine mines now remain, employing about 30,000 workers. These workers are primarily independent contractors, with only 3,042 belonging to the NUM. The government privatised its last pit 11 years ago.

Throughout the book, Douglass noted that solidarity from rail, power generation, and dock workers was the essential ingredient to the miners' victories and losses.

The nine-day General Strike called for by the British Trade Union Council in support of a miners' strike in 1926 brought out 2.5 million workers in support of the miners. However, this unprecedented support failed when the TUC leadership's nerve broke under government pressure. "Without any commitment from Government or coal owners, the General Council called off the strike," he wrote. Another factor was the formation of a company union in Nottingham. The miners struggled on, but eventually returned to work without a settlement, a defeat echoed in 1985.

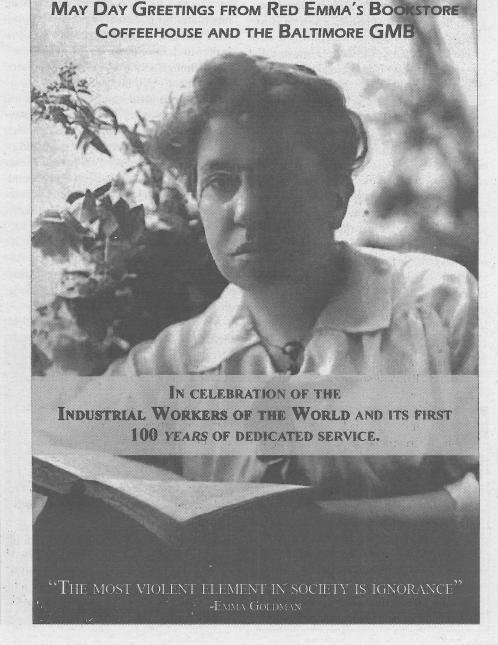
In the miners' strikes of the 1970s, crossindustry solidarity helped the miners defeat

two Labour governments and gain concessions. When Thatcher came to power, she sought to isolate the miners by making secondary strike action illegal. Indeed, the strike may well have succeeded had the government not had the help of the pit supervisors' union which cut a secret side deal, three-quarters of Nottingham miners who crossed the picket lines, and the dock workers' union that allowed non-union workers to unload imported fuel in Immingham.

Douglass takes pains to debunk one of the myths of this strike: that the miners' union leadership, particularly Arthur Scargill, called the strike unilaterally and did not let miners vote democratically on the strike in a national ballot. He provided valuable inside context for how Yorkshire miners distrusted the national ballot as an exit strategy for a leadership reluctant to strike. Instead, he said that the workers themselves called the strike, and received massive support from other areas with Nottingham being the exception.

The national leadership's endorsement of the strike was, in effect, a case of leaders catching up to their members who saw a government ready to close pits. Even had there been a national ballot, there is little question that the required 55 percent of the miners would have voted in favour. Just a few years after the most bitter defeat since 1926, miners surprised both union leaders and Thatcher's government when they voted 77.5 percent in favour of striking over a discipline code the government had imposed.

While the book is a fascinating and generally accessible read, the book title is misleading. By implying with his phrase "perhaps it is too early to tell" that new clean coal burning technology could represent a new future for the miners, Douglass nostalgically has ignored his own convincing analysis about the government's intentions to end British coal in favour of cheaper foreign energy. The privatization of the coal industry is the end of the story, not only of the industry, but for the mining communities who now suffer the deprivation and depression that comes from a people who have lost the foundation of their cultural identity.



From Haymarket to the World

May Day

Greetings



San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch



### Iranian workers turn to strikes

BY ASQAR KARIMI

Important developments are taking place in the labor movement in Iran, including a new wave of strikes and solidarity actions with a more radical and assertive working class. Government-affiliated papers feature daily reports of several strikes in important industrial and relatively key centers.

Today, strikes are the most important and prevalent form of labor protest; often accompanied by protest gatherings at government centers. In comparison to the recent past, where pre-strike methods of protest such as signing petitions or letters to government officials were prevalent, today the strike and mass gatherings and meetings have become the main form of labor protest.

Moreover, the duration of strikes is increasing. One or two week long strikes and even at times five to six week long strikes are no longer rarities.

These strikes are a defense response vis-àvis the unprecedented attack on workers' livelihood, but also reflect the reality of a growth in class consciousness amongst workers. The closure of many important manufacturing and production centers, waves of redundancy,

## Korean general strike against temp jobs law

More than 100,000 workers staged a four-hour walkout across South Korea March 31 to demand that a bill allowing greater use of part-time and temporary workers (who typically earn lower wages and can be dismissed at any time without cause) be scrapped.

Instead, unions want the government to enforce existing labor laws barring companies from pressuring workers to accept temporary status for jobs that should be covered under regular contracts.

"If lawmakers pass the bill, we will go on a general strike from then on without a time limit," Korean Confederation of Trade Unions president Lee Soo-ho warned. "We learn from experience. We will not take part in another dialogue in which the government sticks to along with uninhibited change of contract of employment to temporary and short-term contracts which are expected to cover 90 percent of workers in a year or two's time is hammering the working class in Iran.

Several million unemployed workers have no access to any form of benefits. In addition, those in employment face such low wages that, according to official government statistics, wages are one-third of the formally defined poverty line. Even these meager wages are not paid for months at a time.

Workers' demands are extremely varied. Calls for increased wages several times higher than current wages, an end to temporary contracts, payment of unpaid wages, unemployment benefits, improved health and safety at the workplace, social benefits, improved retirement conditions, freedom of speech and organization and strike are some of the demands that are expressed in strikes and in the efforts of labor activists.

Despite conditions that one would expect would diminish the level of expectations among workers, the level of expectations of workers or at least the progressive segment of them for a human life has increased greatly.



its stance and pretends to listen to the labor just to make it look good."

While the government sought to downplay the significance of the strike, employers said it caused huge losses. Hyundai Motor said the strike cost 27 billion Won (US\$264 million) in losses to the company as a total of 1,816 cars were not made in its Ulsan, Asan and Chonju Plants. Kia Motors claimed they suffered losses of around 13 billion Won.

### Israeli arms trade protest targets Caterpillar workers

BY GREG DROPKIN, INDYMEDIA

Workers arriving at the Caterpillar - Perkins plant in Irlam, Greater Manchester, UK, April 8 were surprised by a 30-foot yellow banner with an image of a Palestinian, head in hands, his house being demolished by a Cat bulldozer while an Israeli soldier stands guard. The spray-painted text proclaimed, "Stop Caterpillar... Palestine... House Demolitions... Apartheid Wall... Perkins... 100% owned by Caterpillar... Israeli Tank Deal."

The banner flew from a mound of grass along the private road to the security gate. Management had hunkered down on red alert with police and dogs since 2 a. m.

Drivers rounded the banner to be met by huge photos of armoured Caterpillar D9 bulldozers smashing into Palestinian houses, while children flee. Below, protesters distributed leaflets to the slow-moving cars.

#### 50 killed in factory collapse

At least 50 workers were killed, with nearly 100 more missing and feared dead, in the collapse of a nine-floor garment factory in Palashbari, Bangladesh, April 10. Some 250 people were working an overnight shift when a boiler in the illegally built Shahriar Fabrics plant apparently exploded.

The International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, which includes Bangladeshi unions, has called on the government to inspect all garment factories to ensure that they meet minimal safety standards, and to examining whether the newly introduced 72-hour work week may have contributed to the tragedy. In response to the end of global textile quotas, Bangladesh's government has authorized garment makers to require up to four hours of overtime a day in order to make Bangladeshi workers more competitive.

Irlam is the world distribution centre for Perkins diesel spares. Caterpillar bought Perkins in 1997. Perkins CV12 engines are incorporated in T72 tanks in a joint venture with the Israeli company NIMDA for reexport to the world market.

Although some workers attempted to ignore the protest, many took leaflets. Some knew nothing about their company's role in Palestine and thanked us for the information. Some knew of the issues and agreed with us. Some, it seems, were embarrassed to go into work through our line. We were surprised by that, but even more so to discover that – apparently – the site is completely nonunion. We encouraged workers to join a union and take up their own issues.

To our knowledge this protest was the first to focus on Caterpillar workers, the people who could really stop Cat's collaboration with ethnic cleansing in Palestine. It was a small first step. Why not try it in your area?

#### **General Strike in Pakistan**

A general strike brought much of Pakistan to a standstill March 18 as thousands of workers took to the streets to protest against high unemployment and the government's plan to privatize public utilities. More than 25% of Pakistan's 8 million workers are unemployed. Polls show that about 45% of the population lives below the poverty line.

The strike affected most state-run offices and cut services in hospitals, schools, banks, post offices and other public facilities.

"Workers and pensioners are being deceived," said Pirzada Imtiaz Syed of the All Pakistan Federation of United Trade Unions. "We want real wage increases and real jobs, not a return to the labour conditions of the Middle Ages."



### Nicaragua points to fight against CAFTA

"A horrible development model" is how Katherine Stecher of the Campaign for Labor Rights described possible implementation of the Central American Free Trade Agreement recently to the IWW International Solidarity Commission.

Based entirely on the 11-year-old North American Free Trade Agreement, the new pact would have devastating effects on workers in Central America, particularly Nicaragua.

While Nicaragua struggles to retain meagre standards for pay, working conditions and the right to organize in a post-MFA climate's increased job flight to China, CAFTA would be a second hard blow to the body of greater human dignity for its working class.

Factories like Nicotex, a Korean-owned sweatshop textiles operation, will be further emboldened to fire and intimidate union organizers and supporters. These and other worker abuses have been verified by the CLR and other international monitoring bodies.

Poor labor law enforcement, foreign capital flight, CAFTA's weak labor standards and trade policies which favor giant agribusiness spell NAFTA-like devastation for jobs and unions as well as small farmers.

While the U.S. Labor Department's watchdog Fair Labor Association wants to enforce, cosmetically anyway, rights in the Nicaraguan workplace, it stands as a smokescreen to push CAFTA into implementation.

The missing link is solidarity with the workers and unions in Nicaragua. CLR's Stecher seeks to comply with the workers' desire for support on their own terms, to avoid "preempting a move that they're think-

## Low bids win in German job 'slave market'

The Observer newspaper reports that a German entrepreneur has set up an online bidding system, jobdumping.de, in which workers are being hired for as little as 3 Euros (\$3.85) an hour. The site is legal because Germany has no statutory minimum wage.

The site asks job seekers from office workers to cleaners to state the minimum pay they will accept. Employers advertise jobs naming the most they will pay. The worker willing to work the cheapest "wins." Buyers and sellers remain anonymous until the auction is over, and there is a trial period of four weeks before labour contracts are signed.

Founder Fabian Löw claims to have held 3,300 such auctions since October, and touts his site as a solution to Germany's high unemployment rate.

### French unionists cut power to EU bureaucrat's home

French union workers have cut off electricity to former European Union commissioner Frits Bolkestein, who spearheaded efforts to privatize the country's public services. Union electricians cut off power to his second home in Ramousies, northeastern France, to "defend public services, and (to fight) against liberalism."

### Iraqi jobless union protests crackdown on street vendors

More than 700 unemployed people in Nasirya joined the Union of Unemployed in Iraq (UUI) in an April 8 demonstration against a decision by local authorities to move sidewalk vendors to a remote location. Although police tried to break up the protest, firing weapons in an attempt to intimidate the workers, the Nasirya mayor ultimately met with a union delegation and agreed to negotiate over the relocation plan.

ing of taking."

For alerts on labor struggles in Nicaragua and other Central American nations, visit the CLR web site: campaignforlaborrights.org.

#### **Guatemalan maquila workers**

The Guatemalan unions SITRACIMA, SITRACHOI and SITRANB jointly denounced death threats and intimidation of their union leaders on April 7.

The unions see international and national solidarity, among maquila workers, workers in general, and women, as the key to facing the death threats. Maquilas are factories often subcontracted by multinationals to make products for tax-free export to more profitable markets. They make everything from toys to clothing.

Vidalia García, secretary-general of SI-TRANB, said a beige car with polarized glass, license plate number P912270, has followed her, parked on her street, and in front of the day care her son attends.

The two other union leaders received telephoned death threats against themselves and other union officials.

"Everyone knows that in the maquilas, the employers and their representatives have maintained an anti-union attitude and continue to do so by violating national and international labour rights," said the unions, in a statement.

The union is urging Guatemalan president Oscar Berger to investigate who is responsible for the threats.

Please send emails demanding an investigation to Berger, información@scspr.gob.gt, and to the Minister of Labour Mr. Gallardo, jgallardo@mintrabajo.gob.gt.

### Chinese coal mine bosses ordered into shafts

Leading officials of Chinese coal mines must now regularly go down into dark and dangerous shafts by themselves, according to a newly issued document by China's General Administration of Work Safety. GAWS had appealed for tougher penalties for mine operators responsible for deadly coal mine accidents, blaming them for focusing on money instead of workers' lives.

China has tripled compensation for miners who die in mine accidents to 200,000 yuan (\$24,000). In the first quarter of 2005, 206,970 accidents resulted in 30,697 deaths, according to government figures.

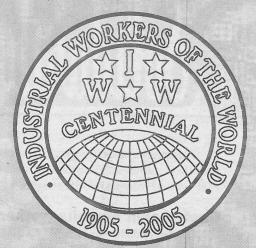
#### Thai unions in indy May Day

The Thai Labour Reconciliation Committee says it will hold its own rally May 1, rather than join the government-sponsored festivities. "The official events on Labor Day have never reflected the plight of workers," said Committee president Wilaiwan Saetia.

Several other organizations said they would join the independent May Day rally and support its demands to expand social security coverage to the agricultural sector, increase the country's minimum wage (which is lagging behind both inflation and economic growth, and the plight of workers in "special economic zones" created as low-cost havens for multinational employers.

#### **Censors Ban Workers Online**

Australian finance company SunCorp is using an email and internet firewall to block employees' access to the labor site Workers Online and other union publications. The company is also one of several Australian employers that block emails to employees from unions, and monitors employee messages — measures that would be illegal under the proposed NSW Workplace Surveillance Bill.



The Industrial Workers of the World's

A celebration of 100 years of workers' struggle

# on the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago • co-sponsored by the Graduate History Society at UIC

### Saturday, June 25 The Once and Future IWW

SESSIONS INCLUDE: The IWW's legacy of interracial organizing; Remembrances of the Fellow Workers who came before us; Stan Weir, Marty Glaberman & the IWW tradition; Learning Wobbly ideas through song; The IWW press; The state of organized labor today, and much more. Complete program will be posted on www.iww.org in mid-May.

### Sunday, June 26 **Alternative Models of Worker Organizing**

The IWW is experimenting with organizing models, sometimes called Solidarity Unionism, that rely on worker self-organizing, direct action, and community support instead of legal recognition and routine contracts. Today, IWW members and workers and organizers from other efforts across the US and Canada will come together to discuss lessons learned from their struggles, and the potential of new models of organizing.

A concert celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Industrial Workers of the World

SATURDAY 7:00PM

Featuring Performances by:

John Berquist, Citizens Band, Anne Feeney, Charlie King & Len Wallace, Larry Long, Rebel Voices, Mark Ross, and a guest appearance by Utah Phillips

Tickets: \$20.00, \$15.00 for students, seniors and unemployed \$10 for IWW Centenary Conference Participants

Admission includes the Centenary Edition of the **IWW's Little Red Songbook** 

### CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

#### **Conference Registration and Fees:**

Regular Registration: \$45

IWW Members/Students/Seniors/Unemployed: \$30 Registration includes Saturday and Sunday lunch and conference materials. Breakfast is available for those utilizing conference housing.

- A Friday night dinner is available at \$10 for those interested.
- Saturday's "Fan the Flames of Discontent" concert is \$10 to conference registrants, \$20 to the public.

Please check the box on the registration form if you will attend the Friday evening dinner and/or Saturday evening concert.

Housing is available at Hostelling International Chicago for the evening of Friday June 24, and Saturday June 25. Please check off if you want conference housing. The additional cost for conference housing is \$35 a night. Breakfast is included.

Registration deadline is June 5. Please complete a registration form for each person attending. Payments can be made with one check to cover the registrants from your organization.

Make checks payable to IWW.

Affiliation (if any)

Mail to: IWW Centenary, PO Box 13476, Philadelphia, PA 19101 For information contact 215-222-1905 or centenary@iww.org

William Full St. To have the entitle from the engineering to switch in the following adjustice.
Please return to: IWW Centenary, PO Box 13476, Phila., PA 19101
Registration Fee
☐ Regular \$45
☐ Discount (IWW Member/Student/Retired/Unemployed) \$30
Housing
☐ I would like conference housing and my housing cost of \$35 per night is included in my registration payment.  I need housing for the night(s) of:
☐ I would like to share a room with
(leave blank if you don't care and you will be paired with someone of the same sex)
Friday Dinner and Saturday Concert:
☐ I will attend the Friday evening dinner and my \$10 is
included with my registration payment
☐ I will attend the Saturday evening concert and my \$10 is included with my registration payment
Special Needs Dietary Restrictions
Disabilities
Contact Information
Name
Daytime Phone
Evening Phone
E-Mail
Address
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