

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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## Reaching Out To Prisoner-Workers: The New IWW Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee

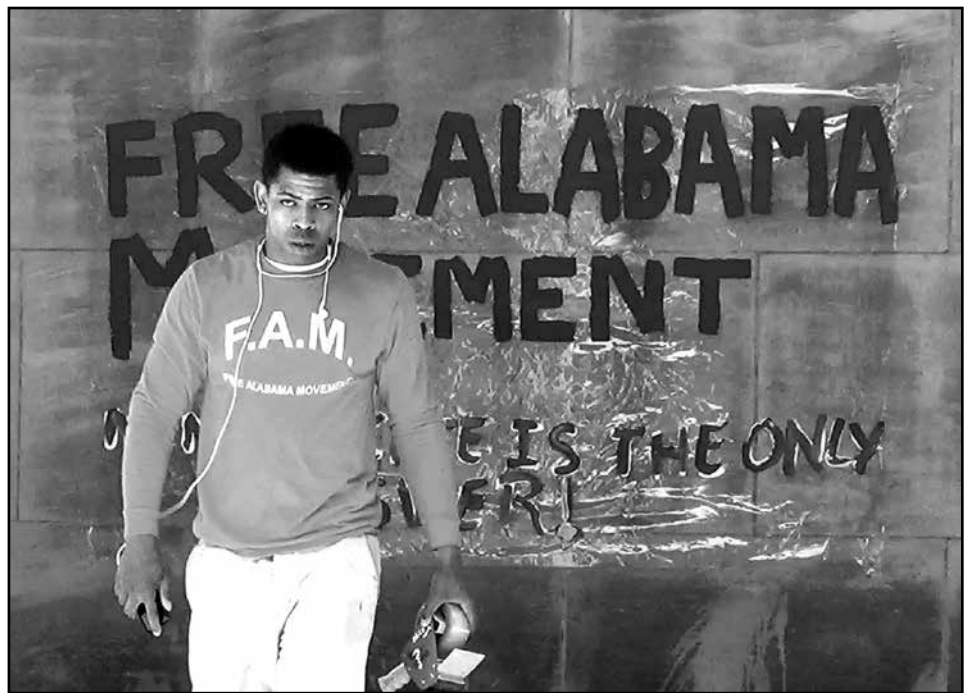
By FW Jim Del Duca

A delegation representing the recently-formed IWW Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC) traveled to Birmingham, Ala., on April 26 to offer IWW support to the Free Alabama Movement (FAM) in their struggle for abolition of prison slavery and transformation of the Alabama prison system. Approximately 40 family members and friends of state prisoners gathered in historic Kelly Ingram Park, where 1960s Black civil rights activists (supporting Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.) resisted police attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses to demand justice and equality. The park is across the street from the 16th Street Baptist Church, where, in 1963, a dynamite-bomb was detonated by white supremacists, killing four African-American choir girls. This historic location will now add another civil rights milestone—the first public outreach of the IWW IWOC.

In early March of this year, an IWW

delegate was introduced, via Facebook, to FAM organizer and spokesperson Melvin Ray, a current Alabama inmate. Ray explained to IWW organizers that, using smuggled cellphones, he and his fellow organizing committee members have managed to build a campaign for resisting their captivity and pressuring for positive change, all from within prison. Using only a cellphone, FAM created a website (<http://freealabamamovement.com>), a YouTube channel with a large number of documentary videos, an online book explaining their grievances and detailing their demands, and a draft of a legislative bill for prison reform which they wish to be introduced to the Alabama state legislature. They were also able to enact a 10-day work stoppage that took place at St. Clair Correctional Facility in early January of this year and that was intended to get the attention of the state government by disrupting production in prison industries.

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Free Alabama Movement member in Birmingham, April 26.

Photo: FW Brianna

## Wages Of Class War: Reflections On Portland's May Day



Portland IWW banner on May Day.

Photo: FW Shane

By FW Shane

May Day can be your local mixer of "who's who" in the radical and progressive scene, giving ample excuse to bring out the flags and dust off IWW songs from the 1930s. As we are heading into deep periods

of post-crisis recession, institutional union busting, increasing repression of civil liberties, and a general crisis in working-class confidence, it can take something like May Day, or International Workers' Day, to bring back people's confidence in the movements they are seeding.

The May Day event in Portland, Ore., has been marked by a unity of radicalism and "Big Labor," where unions participate alongside anarchists just as they would in more conventional Labor Day parades. In the wake of the Occupy Movement, the march in 2012 was glossed with police confrontation and militant street action. The last two years saw a far more tame show by comparison, but saw

steady participation and rhetoric about both capitalism and corporate control without using coded language to soften the blow.

This year, as many as 1,000 people descended on Portland's South Park Blocks to first rally, then march, bringing together a diverse crowd that seemed to highlight a few key ideas. As with the event in 2013, immigration was a top focus with signs donning slogans like "No One Is Illegal," and the crowd had a larger influx of Spanish speakers. Both universal health care and a call for a \$15 per hour minimum wage were popular targets, part of which is from the local \$15 Now campaign pushed by groups like Socialist Alternative. This is on the heels of Seattle's announcement that they will be the first city to institute a \$15 minimum wage, which was a main platform point of their new socialist city council member. Though the 10-year plan to institute this new minimum wage leaves a lot to be desired, it clearly was motivat-

ing a great deal of action locally. Portland IWW's new High \$5 campaign was infecting new life into the discussion of what wage increases can mean beyond simply adjusting the minimum wage, especially since its goal looks at \$5 per hour raises through organizing in the workplace.

Whether it was targeting the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), looking towards labor issues or suggesting a critique of late capitalism itself, economics is still at the forefront of a day used to celebrate the success of the eight-hour workday.

Since May Day is an annual event that is not dependent on a specific campaign, we often see more generalized anti-capitalist language. All of this is built on a set of ideological ideas, since, as the history of the holiday suggests, these are ongoing struggles that are not disappearing after individual campaigns are won or lost. With that being known, it can often be more of a

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## IWW Environmental Unionist Caucus Protests

By Karen Hansen

The IWW Environmental Unionist Caucus (EUC) protested the Koch brothers' PetCoke Facility on April 28 in Pittsburgh, Pa., the Chevron Refinery on April 29 in Richmond, Va., and Crude by Rail at the Union Pacific's Ozal Train Yard in St. Martinez, Calif. on April 30.



Elliot Hughes. Photo: EUC

Union organizer and environmental activist Elliot Hughes released a statement that the IWW EUC would take several direct actions over those three days to orchestrate a general strike of the poor, the unemployed and the working class. "Our goal is the liberation of the people on the planet that is our home. With the increasing amount of industrial disasters, we cannot wait any longer because the health

and safety of all workers of the world is on the line."

Hughes furthered that, "We must reclaim our lives and the land from the ruling class that oppress us every moment. I call on the workers of the world to form a united front and spend this next year to prepare for a global general strike. We build strike support in the form of self-sufficiency and mutual aid, as well as sharing our skills and trades with all. From guerrilla gardening and land reclamation to wildcat strikes and workplace take overs there are many ways to abolish wage slavery and live in harmony with the earth."

This piece was originally published on Examiner.com. It was reprinted with permission from the author.





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- \$40 for 4" by 2 columns
- \$90 for a quarter page

**If It Looks Like A Duck, Walks Like A Duck, Quacks Like A Duck: A Reply To FW Zoda**

By Nate Hawthorne

In "Drifting From Dogma: Towards Growth And Power," which appeared on page 15 of the May 2014 *Industrial Worker*, Fellow Worker (FW) Bill Zoda laid out this plan for the IWW: win. Win more often than we do now, and win more than we lose. Use organizing staff, file National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) elections, win those elections and then do well in negotiations so we win good first contracts. In those contracts, have dues check-off and no-strike clauses. Over time, keep those contracts, rather than lose them, and if we have to, "litigate through a fairly confining process."

FW Zoda described this plan as a departure from dogma, adding that his plan is "based less on ideology and more on the reality" of the world today. So basically, FW Zoda thinks he's right because he understands the world correctly and if you disagree, then you're not only wrong, you're out of touch with reality and you're putting ideology before practical concerns. In general, when someone says "unlike those dogmatic ideologists, I'm a pragmatist," we should keep one hand on our wallets.

FW Zoda wrote "It's time for a new

strategy," but what's new here? FW Zoda's plan is the plan of pretty much every union in North America. Most unions want to win, which they define as winning union elections, getting contracts, and keeping those contracts rather than having them lead to decertification. Those contracts tend to involve no-strike clauses and dues check-off, and most unions rely on staff to win this way. So basically, FW Zoda calls for the IWW to take up the same kind of unionism as pretty much every other union, the kind that has been typical in the United States since around the mid-1930s, but insists that when we do it, it will somehow work out differently.

I think this plan helped create the overall decline of the labor movement. Other unions that pursue this approach are generally losing. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, less than 7 percent of private sector workers are in unions, and union membership is even lower for people under 45 years old. I think if we follow this plan, we'll see the same results: failure. Why will we win if we take up the same plan that's losing everywhere else? Because our goal is to win? Because we have a strongly worded Preamble? Something else? FW Zoda doesn't say.

But let's say for the sake of argument that we follow FW Zoda's plan. Imagine we do all that and we actually start to win in the way he describes. What then? What would we be building? FW Zoda stresses, "We are not the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)." He's definitely right about that. But what does that actually mean?

FW Zoda doesn't say what he thinks the problems are with the SEIU, so it's not at all clear how his plan is actually different from the kinds of organizing that the SEIU does. FW Zoda similarly adds that what he's talking about is different from "a business or service model" of unionism, but again he doesn't say how. He just says that his plan is different from that kind of unionism because of our "radical intent and drive." So apparently we could build unions that look and act the same as the dominant model of unions in law and in practice, but they will somehow be really different because our Preamble says something like "we like solidarity and do not like capitalism." As long as we retain our purity of intentions, our actions will result in different outcomes. Why? I don't know and he doesn't specify. I'm unconvinced, so I guess color me dogmatic.

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Anti-Globalization

# Toward The Universal Declaration Of Corporate Rights

By Alexis Merlaud

On March 26, 2014, the traffic jams in Brussels, the capital of the European Union (EU) and one of its most congested cities, were worse than usual. Several major roads were blocked due to the presence of Barack Obama, who paid us a one-day visit with an impressive staff of 900 people. In the final declaration of this EU-U.S. summit, the first point of out 33 mentions a political decision that may affect the lives of 800 million U.S. and EU citizens:

“We strive to create jobs and sustainable growth through sound economic policies. We seek a landmark Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership to build our common prosperity ...” Later on, the declaration states: “The U.S. and the EU continue to share the same goals... These goals include expanding access to each other’s markets for goods, services, investment and procurement; increasing regulatory compatibility while maintaining the high levels of health, safety, labor and environmental protection.”

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), also referred to as the Transatlantic Free Trade Area (TAFTA), is a free trade agreement between United States and the European Union, which is currently being negotiated and is expected to be finalized by the end of 2014. This free trade agreement has been promoted in particular by powerful lobbies such as the Transatlantic Business Council (TABC). According to its website, the latter is a “cross-sectoral business association representing 70+ global companies headquartered in the U.S. and EU.” TABC may seem unfamiliar to the general public, but the names of its members are much more famous: Philip Morris International Inc., Total S.A., Ford Motor Company, Siemens...you do not have to read Karl Marx to get skeptical about this kind of initiative. Adam Smith, the hero of the free traders, warned us as early as 1776 in “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the

Wealth of Nations,” about laws written by “merchants and master manufacturers”:

“The proposal of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from this order, ought always to be listened to with great precaution and ought never to be adopted till after having been long and carefully examined, not only with the most scrupulous but with the most suspicious attention. It comes from an order of men whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it.”

In the first place, why do we need a free trade agreement between the United States and the European Union? Custom duties are already low between them, particularly due to the long-standing membership of both economic areas in the World Trade Organization.

In fact, TTIP is more than a free trade agreement, as the Atlantic Council think tank wrote on their website in February: “It will go beyond the classic approach of removing tariffs and opening markets on investment, services and public procurement; an essential component aims at making EU and U.S. regulations and technical product standards more compatible.” Indeed, the TTIP will go beyond removing tariffs. Here comes the most important acronym of this story: ISDS.

ISDS stands for “Investor-state dispute settlement.” It grants foreign investors the right to access an international tribunal against a host government if they think the host government is in breach of commitments made in a free trade agreement. ISDS is of course the most important part of the TTIP for the corporate lobbies. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce stated it very clearly in a 2013 statement about the TTIP: “While some argue that investor-state dispute settlement need not be part of the TTIP given the demonstrated

U.S. and EU commitment to the rule of law, the Chamber insists that the United States and the EU must include these provisions.” Is it different from the politician perspective? EU Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht seems reassuring: “Governments must always be free to regulate so they can protect people and the environment,” he was quoted as saying in a press release in January. However, as usual when such people say something which seems pleasant, the important part lies after the “but.” So De Gucht carried on: “But they must also find the right balance and treat investors fairly so they can attract investment.”

Basically, an ISDS may occur each time the activity of a foreign investor is modified by a new regulation in a host country. It happened for instance when Philip Morris initiated an ISDS against Australia’s anti-smoking laws. Are we supposed to believe that TIPP will improve public health? Another ISDS example is the Chevron versus Ecuador case. Chevron was found guilty, by Ecuadorian courts, of having dumped polluted waters into Amazonian streams, causing increased rates of cancers. Chevron thus started an ISDS case against Ecuador, which ordered Ecuador’s government to suspend the case until the investment tribunal would decide. Are we supposed to believe that TTIP will improve environment protection? A last ISDS example is



Graphic: Benjamin Ferguson

the attack on Egypt by Veolia (a French multinational) due to Egypt’s minimum wage increase. Are we supposed to believe that TTIP will improve labor conditions? In theory, ISDS means that no social or ecological progress can ever be made where a foreign investor is involved. In this case, we can trust the investors to push as hard as possible so that the practice follows the theory.

Sixteen years ago, a previous TTIP-like treaty, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, was withdrawn after massive public protests. The 2014 version is another try and it should be stopped as well.

## IWW Constitution Preamble

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

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

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

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

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

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

**TO JOIN:** Mail this form with a check or money order for initiation and your first month’s dues to: IWW, Post Office Box 180195, Chicago, IL 60618, USA.

Initiation is the same as one month’s dues. Our dues are calculated according to your income. If your monthly income is under \$2000, dues are \$9 a month. If your monthly income is between \$2000 and \$3500, dues are \$18 a month. If your monthly income is over \$3500 a month, dues are \$27 a month. Dues may vary outside of North America and in Regional Organizing Committees (Australia, British Isles, German Language Area).

- 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 acquaint myself with its purposes.



Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
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 City, State, Post Code, Country: \_\_\_\_\_  
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# Worker Cooperatives: Crashing In The Same Car

By Ogier

It's difficult for me to describe the deep fluttering of excitement, the too-good-to-be-true feeling, the small awareness growing larger that I had been selected to be a worker-owner at San Francisco's storied Rainbow Grocery Cooperative.

Inside San Francisco, Rainbow is known for being a truly special place—a destination—not because it seeks to be like other grocery stores, but simply by virtue of what it is. With 250 worker-owners and zero managers (as of this writing), it is a sizable example of a truly horizontal, entirely worker-run enterprise that is also consistently profitable.

Our benefits for workers, including all profits shared, health care, dental, vision, massage, reiki, fitness benefits, a 20 percent discount, leaves of absence, queer-friendly policies extending these benefits to loved ones and all formations of family, and much more, has made us well-known in the city. We have the highest starting wage, by far, in the industry. If memory serves correctly, my starting wage as a stock clerk was \$14.93 per hour. We have multiple chances for raises in a year (I was paid more than \$15 per hour before I had worked there a year).

The workers at my store have built a good situation over the nearly 40 years we've been at it. And yet, what excited me so much when I got the call to interview wasn't the long list of benefits, which are impressive, no doubt, but if anything, those perks were just confirmation to me of how well a workplace can run when the people doing the jobs make the decisions. Who else knows better? And that's exactly what moved me so much and had me feeling lucky to be part of a place so special.

Here's a large store, nearly a whole city block in San Francisco, running successfully, built from scratch by the workers, run by the workers, and the horizontal, democratic decision-making process has never been sacrificed. In this store I saw so much possibility—not least of which was a working model of how things could be run at other workplaces, and not just grocery stores, but all industries.

It felt good to finally catch up to my hopes.

I was "on fire" for cooperatives, full of passion, and doing what I believed in. Do you know that feeling of finding something bigger than yourself that gives your day-to-day just a little bit more meaning? It made me want to talk to everyone about it, including my co-workers—which is when I got a question back that I hadn't considered before.

I remember standing in the aisle where I work, casually chit-chatting with a co-worker, wondering aloud about what things would be like if all workplaces were run entirely democratically like our store. I figured without hierarchies, formal ones anyway, big changes could be realized. Workers would own and run everything. It would be the end of capitalism. And then my co-worker said, "Yeah, but if you flipped a switch and tomorrow every place was a co-op we'd still all be competing with

each other, just without bosses."

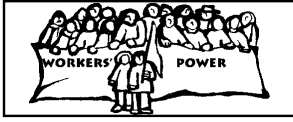
That comment ignited something in me, though at first it just knocked the wind out of my sails. The dizzying possibilities of broad social change I imagined coming from democratic workplaces all over had been shown to have serious limitations. Even with bosses (what I would later learn to think of as "personifications of capital") eliminated from the equation, the logic of capitalism remained. Perhaps even worse is that it would be left to the workers to enact the conclusions of capital on ourselves. In unprofitable years, if things got bad, we would be forced to fire ourselves, reduce health benefits, or cut our own wages or hours. Certainly we would have more say making those tough calls than if a manager were deciding those things for us and about us. But more say in the operations of capitalism is all that worker cooperatives can offer the working class. It reminds me of one of the old rides at the amusement park I went to growing up—the antique cars you could "drive." You could steer the wheel, honk the horn, speed up (to a point), but you could never get off the track the car was stuck on.

The meaning and clear vision cooperatives had provided me turned out not to hold up after looking a little deeper. Seeing the wind had gone out of my sails and figuring I might be ripe to consider a different perspective on class relations and ways of struggle, a friend introduced me to a member of the IWW. God only knows what kind of strange ideas and questions I brought with me to that first conversation.

Disappointingly, talking with Wobblies didn't offer a succinct answer that cleared up all my questions of how to arrive at the post-capitalist world I craved. Why is an oracle so hard to find? Looking back now, I know that if I had been given an easy answer I shouldn't have trusted it anyway. Instead I got conversation and questions, mostly about where I was and how I saw the world, and then questions back to challenge me.

My involvement deepened over time, first starting as an outside organizer where I got to ask questions, spend time with committee members organizing their workplaces, and develop my own understanding of the antagonistic class relations that the Preamble to the IWW Constitution lays out. Some ideas were familiar but most were new, and I was humbled in just how much there was to learn and ask others to slow down and explain. Silly, I used to think I knew something.

The whole time I've been developing as a Wobbly I've still been working at a worker cooperative, and I mean a truly horizontal worker-run and owned co-op, not a business with a hierarchical structure that still calls itself a cooperative. It's been through day-to-day experience that I know that even the most ideologically pure cooperative can only "challenge" capitalism in the most superficial way. This has already been hashed out on Libcom (and earlier between Marx and Proudhon) and the IWW doesn't need to expend time and resources to confirm what we already



## WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY

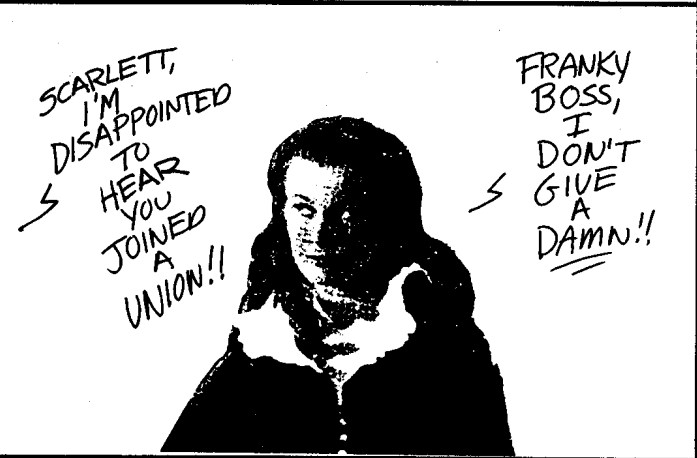
Chapter 73

Looking Southward

**The Wall Street investors shifting capital from the Northeast textile industry to Southern mills in the 1920s convinced themselves that Southern workers were incapable of organizing, but didn't convince the workers. "We are not happy and by no means contented, said one working mother.**

**And no wonder. The little mill towns were completely dominated by the companies. The companies owned the shacks where workers lived and the stores where they shopped. The mills built the schools and churches, paid the teachers and ministers. "Law and order" was company, too.**

**Workers at the German-owned Glanzstoff rayon plant in Elizabethton, Tennessee rebelled in March 1929 when Margaret Bowen asked for a raise and got disciplined instead. Within a few days, 5,000 workers (mostly women) were on strike. A United Textile Workers local came into being, with Margaret Bowen as secretary-treasurer.**



**The company's use of the National Guard and injunctions did not sway the young women's resolve for higher wages. On March 22 a strike settlement committed the company to increase wages and take back all workers.**

**But the company reneged. Active union members were fired. AFL officials were kidnapped and threatened with death. Inspired by a militant strike in Gastonia, N.C., the rayon workers walked out in April. The company flexed its muscle: National Guardsmen, special police and deputies. As machine guns protected scabs, more than 1,000 strikers (including girls as young as 15) were thrown into jail.**

**The U.S. Labor Dept. produced a skimpy settlement in May. The UTW urged strikers to put doubts aside and accept it. Again the company reneged. Hundreds of workers were fired and blacklisted. The owners' message: Southern workers would be "docile," or else.**

(In the next issue: Gastonia!)

Graphic: Mike Konopacki

know. Worker cooperatives are a shuffling around of the roles capitalism casts us in and a short circuit to building working-class confidence when we confront capital together. Cooperatives in no way challenge the need to work for wages, market economics, or capital's drive for valorization. I have never heard proponents of worker cooperatives, who believe they can end capitalism, satisfactorily explain how acting as a boss and a worker will challenge capitalist relations, except in the most

superficial and rhetorical of ways (i.e., co-ops end hierarchies in the workplace and demonstrate that workers can run things, too). The union cannot strive for workplaces to be worker cooperatives and also maintain its revolutionary trajectory.

With this realization I have made a personal commitment to leave my job at the worker cooperative, where there is no revolutionary potential, and salt in where I can develop as a militant working-class revolutionary.

## There's More To Healthcare

By SN Nappalos

Stopped in the hallway, his wife behind him, he wept. His right leg was missing, cut off below the knee, and his hair still retained some of its color. The scent of cigarettes followed him and his limbs, starved of the oxygen in his contracting vessels. His wife impressed me, standing resolute with shoulder-length hair, red like a dark carrot, unwavering in the face of a military man breaking down in tears publicly in the care of strangers.

No matter how long you do it, it's hard to know what to do for someone facing near-certain death. You are never taught by anyone what you might say, in nursing school or otherwise. Still it's a position healthcare workers find them-

selves in frequently, face-to-face with a stranger confronting their shortened life often with only a few hours or minutes together. I think I'm good at it. I touch his shoulder, an exchange happens, and soon he is rolling down the hallway to go for a smoke. With pancreatic, liver, and renal cancer, cigarettes might be called palliative care in a way.

Over the next few days, he broke down a number of times. Living in suburbs remote from urban concentrations of hospitals and clinics, he faced difficulties adapting to his new life, one-legged and on a clock. Skilled surgeons who cut out tumors are all in the metropolis far down the state; his primary care doctors are in a

city an hour or more from his house. The local clinic has little to offer him. His home seems booby-trapped for someone with one leg, a teenager, and a wife that works. I wonder what will happen as the disease progresses. To the teenager. To this man.

I set myself on fighting the system to get him modifications to his home so he could get to the bathroom safely and independently, transportation to his appointments so his wife wouldn't be fired, and the right equipment to get about. He's lucky to have the health benefits he does. Outside the walls of my hospital, he is attacked from different directions: impinging economic pressures, distances and overburdened providers not



Graphic: Wikimedia

connecting the dots.

Most of the discussion about what to do with healthcare is around how we pay for it: via insurance, private markets, nationalized industries, etc. Getting rid of the graft, profiteering and theft certainly would help. Patients like these make me look to something else, something that's missing from our picture of a better world. Real healthcare is where people don't have to bounce from hospital to hospital trying to pick up the pieces, while becoming slowly tediously aware they are dying of cancer. Real healthcare is about changing the ways we live cooperatively and realizing the hopes and wishes of everyday people facing difficulties and trauma.

## Wobbly &amp; North American News

## South Florida IWW Making Progress

By the South Florida IWW

During the month of April, we had two solid contacts from our solidarity network project. The first one was an elderly woman with complicated health conditions who was given 30 days to leave her apartment in Little Havana, Miami. We set up a one-on-one meeting with her and evaluated her issue. Due to the short eviction notice and the fact that the landlord is a real estate lawyer and has connections with the police department, we were unable to

draft out a campaign for her issue. We did, however, help her find new and affordable apartments where she could live.

The second contact was a young Nicaraguan restaurant worker whose wages were stolen. He worked overtime for a total of eight days and was not paid for any of those hours (about \$2,000 worth of pay). We met with him and decided his problem would be a strategic fight to take on. We met both with him and some members of the branch a couple times, and decided that our first action would be to deliver a demand letter, en masse, to the restaurant that owes him money. Since he only spoke Spanish, he dealt mostly with one of the members in our branch who is



**FWs Scott Nikolas Nappalos & Monica Kostas present at the "Lines of Work" launch.** Photo: South Florida IWW

a fluent speaker. The contact proceeded to make advances on the branch member and despite her turning him down, he did not take well to the confrontation and escalated in uncomfortable ways. We decided to not go further with the campaign and instead offered him other options where he could seek help.

Besides the aforementioned activities, we had a "Lines of Work" book launch event on May 1 at Books & Books in Coral Gables. It was live streamed and currently saved in the Books & Books' archives online. Lastly, we continue to hold weekly workshop meetings where we have ongoing discussions about reforms, workplace organizing, and current events.

## Teachers' Assistants Strike At UC Berkeley, IBEW Members Walk Out In Solidarity

By X343464

On Wednesday, April 2, United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 2865 went on strike across the University of California (UC) system. The strike was called by teachers' assistants and, in part, shut down classes across the state. On the first day of the strike in Santa Cruz, 20 strikers were arrested. The next day, two more were also arrested by police. According to a post on <http://www.indybay.org> by Alex Darocy, "[UC Santa Cruz strikers] successfully blocked the main entrance for the whole day, but the attempt to block the west entrance of campus was prevented when a large group of UC police arrested 20 people." Student workers are striking against intimidation by management and police as well as over wages and classroom sizes. According to a post by strikers:

"[We are striking over the] university's unwillingness to bargain over key aspects of our employment, including class size and the length of our workweek. Also at issue is the university's history of illegal intimidation of student workers. For example, this past November, an administrator at UCLA threatened overseas students with the loss of their visas for participating in a sympathy strike—a claim as insulting as it was untrue."

In Berkeley, at 6:30 a.m., one strike supporter with the IWW Bay Area branch



Photo: Doug Anderson went to picket the construction site of Campbell Hall (on the UC Berkeley campus). After about 10 minutes, construction workers who came across the picket line approached the IWW member and decided to respect the picket line. Approximately 20 workers with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) decided to leave work in an act of solidarity with striking UAW workers. Also, while the picket line was set up, all laborers on the work site conducted a work stoppage.

By 8 a.m., members of the UAW had erected a picket line at Telegraph Avenue and Bancroft Way and began holding a large rally. As with all struggles, we seek to generalize the strike as well as class conflict and general defiance within larger society. We wish that students could have occupied buildings across campus, that bus drivers driving students as well as construction workers building new buildings would have walked off the job, and that people across campus could have walked out of classes—not in a desire to make this system simply more fair, but in a human strike against the regime of capital and a willing desire for a different way of life. But at least for now we know that small acts of solidarity with the hope of expanding existing struggles are possible—and with more people, there is no telling how far they may go.



Send your photos to [iw@iww.org](mailto:iw@iww.org) to Win!  
First prize \$25 in Literature Department Credit and your photograph on the front page of the IW! Any photo of IWW-related activity is eligible! All photos received will be deemed submissions released for publication and may not receive a prize. Photography credit will be applied to photos as requested in submission. Literature Department voucher is available to IWW members and IW subscribers only.

## Hong Kong Dock Workers Visit Portland

By Bill Bliss

Stephen and Loy, two Hong Kong dock workers who led a successful dock workers' strike against China's richest man, visited Portland, Ore., on April 9 to lend their support to the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) lockout. Early morning coffee was shared at the Dockside Café, followed



**Hong Kong dock workers Stephen and Loy at the Lucky Labrador Pub on April 9.** Photo: Bill Bliss

by a large meeting at the Lucky Labrador Pub, which graciously hosted the event. ILWU members were in attendance, along with Portland IWW branch members and many other community members of various allied organizations. The local branch helped bring the event to fruition both financially and logistically, while the IWW International Solidarity Commission (ISC) contributed to Stephen and Loy's overall U.S. visit.

The ILWU has been on lockout in both Vancouver, Wash., and Portland for more than a year. There have been attacks on picketers by scabs, backed by Portland police and the U.S. Coast Guard. The courts have been steadily encroaching on physical and legal space belonging

to the ILWU. In neighboring Vancouver meanwhile, anti-union meetings have been held by a Koch brothers conservative front group. All of this for a foreign owned company bent on busting the union.

The Hong Kong union men spoke about their organizational strategy and the community support which brought their action to a successful conclusion. This included both actions at the docks and at the glimmering skyscraper headquarters of their opponents in downtown Hong Kong. The visitors' time in Portland was short, and they were soon off to Seattle. Thanks to Stephen and Loy for visiting Portland and for raising local spirits and determination!

## Walmart &amp; Major League Baseball Profit From Garment Factory Death Traps



**NGWF May Day march in Dhaka.**

Photo: NGWF

By Greg Giorgio

The tragic deaths one year ago in Dhaka—Bangladesh's Rana Plaza garment factory collapse—have begun to focus attention on unsustainable human exploitation in a global race to the bottom for cheap labor. All it took were the deaths of 1,138 workers and 2,500 injuries, three quarters of whom young women.

This senseless destruction of life did help motivate a change in the political climate of Bangladesh, so an increase in the garment industry minimum wage was most welcome. However, the floor had been set so low that the \$68 per month they are entitled to now is still not a living wage.

Meanwhile, the Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh, involving hundreds of brands, is moving through a slow process of enforcement inspections. Many of the out-of-work garment factory employees receive no compensation while they wait for the factories to open again. Some of these facilities will have relocated by the time they open back up.

The accord's provisions for financial reparations to victims and survivors saw an April 24 deadline come and go without appropriate contributions from the industry's biggest players—Walmart, J. C. Penney, The Gap, Children's Place and Benetton.

Walmart hides behind their suppliers, contractors and claims no "direct" involvement in the murder of over 1,000 workers at the Rana Plaza factory last year.

"How many workers were killed to provide you with cheap clothing?" Paul Poulos of the IWW's Bangladesh Working Group has asked more than once.

And then there is Major League Baseball (MLB). They manufacture some

of their licensed promotional gear in sweatshops contracted in the Dhaka manufacturing zone. Sold at ballparks, sporting goods retailers, and a great deal of it at Walmart stores; these hats, team

jerseys and the like are not cheap. Our repeated inquiries with MLB officials and team representatives have yielded little to indicate any commitment that the standards they claim to stand for are in place for their licensed items.

Twenty-eight brands sourced garments from Rana Plaza. Safety standards are improving, but the Walmarts and the MLBs of the world hope we'll soon forget while they continue to rake in huge profits.

Jyrki Raina, General Secretary of IndustriALL Global Union sees the bigger picture in his organization's efforts to improve the pay and working conditions in Bangladesh's garment sector. "There cannot be an effective safety culture without an organized workforce," he was quoted as saying in an April 2014 IndustriALL news release. Forty-thousand workers have signed on with newly formed unions. They're among another 2 million not yet protected under the auspices of the new safety accord.

One million more clothing workers are not covered under the accord and the marginalized face the most chances of further exploitation. Worker organizations like the militant National Garment Workers Federation (NGWF) of Bangladesh have helped lead the way in raising consciousness about the deplorable conditions and lack of union rights they suffer through to feed their families. The NGWF formed a human chain in Dhaka on the April 24 anniversary of the Rana Plaza deaths. They hope we can join hands with them and speak truth to the powerful who are stealing their future.

This piece originally appeared in *The Black Cat Moan*, publication of the IWW Bangladesh Working Group. For more information contact [ggwob56@yahoo.com](mailto:ggwob56@yahoo.com).

# Special Wobblies Participate In May Day Actions Worldwide



Iceland IWW info table at the town square of Lækjartorg. Photo: Ole Sandberg



Edinburgh IWW show their Wob pride. Photo: Edinburgh IWW



May Day brings out all the Edmonton Wobs. Photo: Paula Kirman



Chicago celebrates May Day at Haymarket. Photo: facebook.com/may1chicago

## The Indiana IWW Celebrates Its 2nd Annual May Day As A Branch

By Michael White

On May 1, 2014, the Indiana General Membership Branch (GMB) of the IWW hosted our second annual International Workers' Day celebration at Garfield Park in Indianapolis. The event was held with contributions from and in cooperation with Central Indiana Jobs With Justice, the Indiana chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), the Indiana Socialist Party, Indianapolis



Indiana GMB members. Photo: Michael White

Food Not Bombs, and a member of the Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). It was a fun-filled day with great food, live music, and several workshops going on throughout the day. We had a decent turnout of approximately 30 people over the course of the day, and the giant pagoda we rented (built in 1903) was adorned with many red-and-black flags, banners, and a few CNT flags.

Our May Day planning began in February when we set up our May Day Planning Committee, consisting of five fellow workers. The committee took on the tasks of planning the entire event: locating a space, finding and putting together musical acts and workshops, getting materials and decorations, reaching out to other groups and organizations in coalition building, and publicizing. In the short time between our February GMB meeting and May Day we accomplished all the above tasks through weekly conference calls, establishing an email thread, and constantly communicating as to what needed to be done. By April we presented our final plans and a request for branch funds to the GMB for approval.

Our event ran through most of the day, beginning at 1 p.m. and lasting until just after 7 p.m. We commenced with a beautiful, eloquent, and riveting opening speech by Fellow Worker (FW) J.P. Wright from the recently chartered Kentucky GMB (as of May 1—talk about a monumental May Day!), who gave the opening speech at our May Day event last year. We then heard briefly from each of the groups with which we collaborated. After our opening remarks we broke into the different workshops. Live

music played all day while fellow workers facilitated workshops and others socialized. We had performances by FWs J.P. Wright, Anival Fausto, Michael Cameron, Adam Coppess, comrade Jared Gills, and myself. The music serenaded our event and carried through the entire park, attracting people to walk up to the event and take a look at what was going on. The several workshops we had were well-attended and included "Creating a Consent Culture in the IN IWW and Beyond" led by the Indiana GMB's Patriarchy Resistance Committee, "(Revolutionary) Unionism and Social Protest in Spain" led by FW Pablo Martín Domínguez, and "Socialism as Political Awareness" led by FW John Strinka.

Our May Day was a successful event despite the cold and windy weather. The day was a success in that we signed up a new fellow worker, cooperatively worked with other groups from Indiana in putting on the event, the Indiana GMB's Patriarchy Resistance Committee debuted their first workshop (which was the highest attended workshop of the day), and Wobblies from three states came together (Indiana, Kentucky and Ohio). Next year we look forward to planning our event even further in advance, correcting certain aspects that did not go as well as we had planned, and creating a more radical May Day celebration in Indiana. But all in all, this year's event was radical, educational, and inspiring. We hope to have an even bigger and better celebration next year, and we welcome anyone in the Midwest area to come out and join us!

*Nicki Meier contributed to this piece.*

## Reaching Out To Prisoner-Workers: The New IWW Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee

Continued from 1

However, the strike/work stoppage did not continue long enough for negotiations to be opened. While FAM had come to the conclusion on their own that withdrawing their labor and cooperation are the keys to effecting change, they realized that they needed experienced help in creating and sustaining a long-term strategic campaign. Events are still unfolding in Alabama and will not be detailed further here, but the result of this interaction was that our IWW Organizing Department formed a new organizing committee—the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee—with the assignment of organizing prisoner-workers everywhere.

The IWW has significant previous experience with organizing inmates. In 1987, more than 400 prisoners at the maximum-security Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, Ohio, asked the IWW to represent them in collective bargaining. Conditions at the facility were atrocious and unbearable. The inmates' pleas for change were being ignored, and the prisoners were becoming even more

desperate than is usual in prisons. The IWW agreed to try and aid them as fellow workers despite their incarceration. Regrettably, the Ohio courts ruled that the prisoners did not have the right to form a union, be represented by a union, or engage in collective bargaining. This response was expected, as the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in the 1970s that prisoners have few if any labor rights and legally exist as little more than slaves. The IWW abandoned the campaign. As a direct result of being denied collective voice in constructive change, the conditions at Lucasville continued to deteriorate. In 1993, a huge riot took place, with loss of life and open rebellion for 11 days. The prisoners reached the point where they could not take any more abuse.

One positive outcome of our 1987 Lucasville campaign is that our IWW Constitution now provides for prisoners to be



Graphic: IWOC

members of our union as well as containing provisions for members with no ability to pay dues or to pay dues at a reduced rate related to their actual income—which for prison jobs is just a few cents per hour. As it stands today, organizing prisoners into a union is not a legally-protected activity, nor is it an illegal activity, but rather an extra-legal activity. If we can successfully organize prisoner slave-laborers on an industrial scale despite all the legal and cultural obstacles, they will have a democratic voice in guiding their own destinies. The IWOC is determined to try to make this voice a reality.

The U.S. prison-industrial complex now holds well over 2 million workers in confinement and with a large percentage engaged in various forms of industrial labor. Close to 5 million more prisoners are released and in the workforce under state

supervision while on parole. They are all disadvantaged, exploited by capitalism, and further suffer from discrimination and prejudice. Prison-industry exploitation is especially acute for people of color. The United States holds more Black men in prison-slavery today than existed as chattel prisoners at the time of the U.S. Civil War.

All Wobblies are urged by the IWOC to spread the word: we are organizing! Prisoners and their families are advised to contact the IWOC at iwoc@rise-up.net. The IWOC holds that prisons do not restore sanity to the criminally insane or provide economic opportunity and security to the exploited and oppressed. It is the mission of the IWOC to use Wobbly industrial organization and direct action to democratically and non-violently empower incarcerated workers, and transform capitalism's prisons into institutions of compassionate rehabilitation in the short-term, and to abolish them entirely in the long-term.

*FW Del Duca is a member of the IWOC and can be reached at jdd@iww.org.*

# Special Wobblies Participate In May Day Actions Worldwide



Wobblies in Montréal participate as part of worldwide actions.

Photo: SITT - IWW



IWW members march on May Day in Sydney, Australia.

Photo: Vladuin Vega

## Big Turnout For Liverpool May Day Picket

By the Liverpool IWW

The Liverpool IWW and Class Action held a successful picket of the Foundation for Art and Creative Technology (FACT) on the afternoon of May 1. We participated in the May Day action in solidarity with workers who operate the Picturehouse cinema inside FACT's art center who were striking for a living wage (<https://www.facebook.com/RitzLivingWage>), and to raise awareness of FACT replacing 11 front of house workers with volunteers.

After a sluggish start, approximately 50 people eventually showed up, with many handing out our leaflets to cinema-

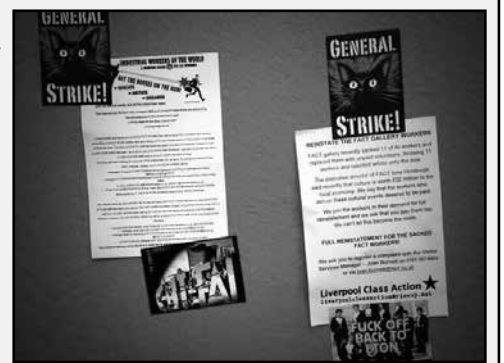
goers arriving to watch "The Amazing Spider-Man 2" or to eat in the Leaf Cafe. This was a great turnout for an event called at three days' notice, especially when more than half of those participating were new faces drawn by the FACT controversy, or concerned about workers' tumbling living standards generally. Promisingly, it was the youngest, most gender-balanced May Day event in Liverpool in many, many years.

FACT had been given notice of our plans, and had a police community support officer inside when we arrived. He didn't intervene in our activities, but his very presence was a preposterous reac-

tion from a "charity" who clearly believe they have reason to be afraid. Visitor services manager Joan Burnett was also dispatched to talk with the public, and hand out yet more cleverly worded, deceitful propaganda.

With tactics like this, FACT's well-paid top floor managers are clearly on the run.

Keep up the pressure: message executive director Iona Horsburgh ([iona.horsburgh@fact.co.uk](mailto:iona.horsburgh@fact.co.uk), @IonaHorsburgh), visitor services manager Joan Burnett ([joan.burnett@fact.co.uk](mailto:joan.burnett@fact.co.uk)), and head of marketing and communications Jen Chapman ([jen.chapman@fact.co.uk](mailto:jen.chapman@fact.co.uk),



Silent agitators. Photo: Liverpool Class Action

@FACT\_Liverpool), and let them know you disagree with replacing paid workers with volunteer workers.



Baltimore IWW at McKeldin Square. Photo: FW Meredith Mitchell



March in Vancouver, British Columbia. Photo: Sean Carleton



DC Wobs at Malcolm X Park. Photo: unknown

## Wages Of Class War: Reflections On Portland's May Day

Continued from 1

celebration for organizers who have been fighting hard and thinking tactically all year to simply come together and stand in solidarity. At the same time, with the amount of effort and labor that goes into it, an event like this is also the perfect time to focus in on our campaigns. We can use the holiday as leverage to build the movements that we need to inch our way forward to the final goals the day is spirited with. While for the May Day event focused around wage and health care campaigns, the real focus of the march became the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 4 and their lockout with United Grain.

Members of ILWU Local 4 have been shut out of their workplace for more than a year as scabs have been brought in. Local 8 in Seattle has seen similar union-busting tactics, and members of the Portland Solidarity Network and many other organizations stood with the ILWU and blocked the scabs entrance to the port several weeks before. This is an ongoing fight and they came in force, with support from everyone from the Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA) to the IWW to Jobs With Justice. As the march continued on its set path, which was permitted spe-

cifically, the ILWU led a breakaway contingent that was made up of the majority of attendees. They headed directly over to the Wells Fargo building, which is also the local headquarters of United Grain. There they rallied in front of the building and told the stories of working people who are trying to make ends meet as their livelihood and right to organize are being severed. They put out a call to action and a call for solidarity, and asked that we collectively stand together as they head into heated negotiations in the coming months. This was the most energetic moment of the entire day

as there was an almost universal moment of connection as we saw the reality of working-class struggle right in front of us, and we were given the choice to participate. As the ILWU members descended from the steps they were met by a round of hugs and handshakes, and they responded with the kind of love you only get when people have decided together to fight a shared battle.

This shows the perfect use of a day like May Day, where the abstract ideas the holiday was built on are brought home and given tactical equipment. This year the march became a tool in the fight with United Grain, and will hopefully drum up even more support as the ILWU continues its fight.

What was noticeably absent from the march was a focus on housing issues that marked much of the previous year's engagement. Last year, foreclosure and eviction were a chant-ready topic that were tied to everyone's economic and immigration concerns, but it was almost completely absent from this year's discourse. This is largely from a deficit of local work around housing issues, especially after the promising Service Employees International Union (SEIU) project Housing Is For Everyone dissolved. For the Portland Solidarity Network, this shows the importance of moving into tenant work, as the issue continues to be of incredible importance even as the housing

market appears to recover.

The showing of May Day was impressive from coast to coast, and we even saw a 1,500-person crowd form in Salem, Ore., focusing on immigration. Thousands took to the streets in cities like New York and Chicago, where the sentiment echoed many of the same issues that we were seeing in Portland. This can often be a temperature check for the collective mood of the country and what issues are really on people's minds, but more specifically it tends to be a reflection of exactly what issues and campaigns people are actively organizing around.

As we head back into our daily work we should use this as a time to reflect on how this global day of action can really be tied directly to our struggles. As the Portland Solidarity Network continues wage-theft campaigns with partners like the Voz Workers' Rights Education Project and tenant support issues, we want to use this momentum to get right down to the campaigns that see material results for everyone's lives. Let's make next year's May Day the culmination of the kind of fights that get traction and see working-class power developing in our workplaces and neighborhoods. Let's get something big to celebrate next year!



Photo: Bill Bliss

## Organizing

## The Chicago Teachers Union Strike: Beyond Mythology

By Earl Silbar

The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike of 2012 is widely believed to be a major success, a big win for progressive, member-driven leadership. Indeed, there were big successes won by the strike preparation and from support for the strike among members, the wider public, and especially by parents during the strike. However, there were major problems both in strike strategy and the settlement itself. I write this to bring out some of both aspects for consideration and to learn from. The 2012 CTU strike had the potential to accomplish far more than it did. By choosing not to fight over school closings, the leadership undermined its stated goal: "Defend and improve our schools! Don't close them!" What's more, major concessions greatly enhanced management's freedom to terminate teachers with satisfactory ratings.

This account discusses some features of the strike preparation and the settlement without going into the strike actions and how the contract was finally ratified. Educators, as part of the wider working-class, face unending and increasing corporatization of America and capitalist-inspired attacks. By sharing oft-hidden facts about the strike settlement, I hope to dispel rose-colored myths in order to assist in the pressing challenge of our days: help develop our capacity to effectively resist these corporate attacks.

Fifty years of left activism have taught me that facing hard facts is more useful than building on the sand of comforting myths. My hope is that this article contributes towards creating that resistance. And that growing, effective, working-class solidarity and resistance will itself lay the basis for the people-first, sustainable world that so many of us want.

## Organizing for the Strike Vote

The CTU leadership, its staff, dedicated activists (especially in the progressive Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators [CORE]) and allies conducted a classic and creative campaign to win the strike authorization vote. They expressed long-held teacher resentment and frustration, with decades of deteriorating work conditions and no union resistance. Building on the promise of an effective fight, this leadership team developed active contract committees in hundreds of schools. Through these committees and individual efforts, they did outreach to parents, held local school-based rallies, and engaged many students around the theme "Improve our schools, don't close them!" Facing a legal hurdle they had to win—75 percent of all members' votes—the CTU members shocked everyone with a spectacular 92 percent (of all members) strike authorization vote in late spring of 2012.

Even before the strike began, this unprecedented and massive strike vote shocked the city's elites and won major

concessions from corporate-backed Mayor Rahm Emanuel: the CTU won 500 art and music jobs (if for only one year), forced the mayor to drop his proposal to replace teachers' pay schedules with "merit pay," and broke the mayor's strategy of isolating the CTU as "just greedy and selfish teachers."

This internal organizing campaign deserves close study; it set the stage for all the gains, including winning strong support for younger teachers—people who often see unions as conservative obstacles to educational innovation. The focus on "improve our schools" and "our kids deserve the best" set the terms of the fight, creating public support while energizing the members. The CTU leadership essentially defined the fight, taking it to the mayor by contrasting his kids' education (in the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools) with the sorely-lacking public schools. In effect, they made the fight appear to be over class privilege and fairness—a winning PR campaign that energized members and won parents' crucial support.

## Strike Contract Settlement: Hidden Defeats and Lessons

Following four days of a spectacularly supported strike with mass marches filling sections of Chicago's downtown with striking teachers in red union t-shirts during working hours, CTU President Karen Lewis recommended that the union accept the negotiated settlement, which members eventually did. Make no mistake; there were real gains that were won before the strike, some improvements in contract language and a small raise. However, at the same time, most accounts have ignored several important concessions by the union (visit <http://www.ctunet.net> for contract provisions):

1) The CTU accepted student "achievement" as 25 percent of teachers' evaluation, effective fall 2013. The contract began implementation two years before state law required it and before any state standards were set for student achievement.

2) The CTU contract stipulates that two consecutive years of acceptable evaluations shall constitute the basis for termination should management wish to do that. This further undermines what little job security remains and further opens members to school board and management bullying, intimidation and discrimination.

3) No limits were set on the mayor's proposed closing of 50 neighborhood schools, perhaps the largest focus of the union's outreach and public support ("Improve our schools! Don't close them!"). This is legally a "permissible" subject of bargaining, meaning that management can and did refuse to bargain over that and the union could not legally strike over that issue. Being "permissible" also opens the door for other forces—such as parents, community groups, students, and religious and union organizations—to have intervened and pressured the school board to negotiate over the closings. The truth is that there was no CTU member education or mobilization to promote such pressure. Public relations rhetoric? Yes. Effective action? No.

"Save and improve local schools, don't close them!" was the CTU's theme before and during the strike. At the end of the day, there was no fight to stop the closings (49 of those schools were in fact closed in the spring of 2013 after a very weak response to the CTU-sponsored marches across the city in protest). This failure left the union and its members vulnerable to the charge that it was all about narrow self-interest despite the successful PR rhetoric. The CTU's refusal to prepare for this fight also left some teachers wondering if the CTU was serious about this fight.



CTU rally on the first day of the strike.

Photo: socialistworker.org

In actuality, the mayor publicly gloated over winning his key corporate agenda in the contract: closing 49 local schools while increasing charter schools, winning the longer school day with no proportional pay raise, and tying teachers' evaluation to student "achievement." He was so visibly exuberant that the CTU leadership had to publicly ask him to stop gloating because that made it hard to "sell [the contract] to the members."

"Yes, there is a class war, and my side is winning!" -Warren Buffett.

## Our Alternative?

Was there another road to have taken? I think so, but that would have required a different vision and strategy. Forcing the school board and mayor to negotiate over the threatened closings would have meant facing down certain court injunctions with mass action. In fact, a local judge did issue an injunction against the strike even without such mass actions. It was withheld until the Monday following CTU President Lewis's recommendation to accept the contract.

Preparing to actually force the closings issue would have meant preparing members for normal consequences facing unions and workers who refuse to obey court injunctions: leaders can get arrested and jailed; unions face huge fines; individual teachers can face charges, fines, and firings if they lose. Winning strikes erases these actions.

Forcing the fight to save the schools and turn the tide means serious consequences for which people must be

prepared with cold facts and effective organizing to gather determined allies. Making this fight would have required winning parents, students, community groups, other unions, and wider working public support for mass direct actions like marches, strikes, and occupations to back it up and make it happen. These are examples of organizing our side in the really-existing if one-sided class war.

To make such a serious challenge to the corporate agenda and power requires, in essence, an approach that understands and acts on the common interest in quality education for the masses, not just the few. And the common threat posed by corporate agenda to working people's jobs, pay, benefits, our environment, continuing racism and sexism, etc. In short, it requires organizing based on working-class solidarity around everyday, real-life issues.

This CTU leadership team had no such plan or vision. They never initiated discussion among the membership of what such a fight would take or the stakes and potential ramifications. With its choices, the CTU leadership rejected waging such a fight in the strike of 2012. Instead, it relied on deeply moving rhetoric, meticulous and even brilliant organizing, and carefully controlled militant tactics. Adopting a strategy of class-based organizing is no guarantee of success, but it does allow us to see how far we can go. Ultimately, we saw again the road-most-taken union strategy of limiting the fight while making and then masking major concessions. We must do better.

Earl Silbar can be reached at [red-1pearl@aol.com](mailto:red-1pearl@aol.com).



CTU march.

Photo: socialistworker.org

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## Review

**“Lines Of Work” Shares Workers’ Experiences, Invites Us To Share Ours**

Nappalos, Scott Nikolas, ed. *Lines of Work: Stories of Jobs and Resistance*. Edmonton: Black Cat Press, 2013. Paperback, 236 pages, \$19.95.

By Peter Moore

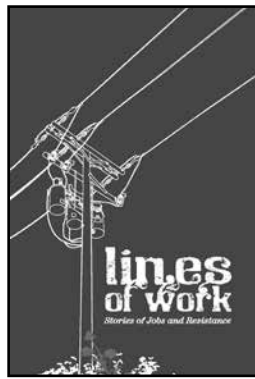
“Lines of Work” aims to have workers tell their own stories, and it succeeds remarkably well. The book packs 32 stories by 24 workers into its pages. At least 10 contributors are former or active IWW members. The material first saw light on the Recomposition Blog, a project of worker radicals.

The book’s editor, Scott Nikolas Nappalos, conceived this book as a type of oral history to share stories. As contributor Nate Hawthorne wrote in his essay on how Occupy needs to expand its scope: “In my experience, a key part of people changing and people building relationships is hearing and telling stories. Our lives and our ideas of who we are and our relationships are largely made out of the stories we tell ourselves and each other.”

For anyone who has attended an IWW Organizer Training, the most memorable

parts are usually the stories the trainers and other workers tell during the training or over beers at night. Many of these stories are like that. Some are just fragments of experience jotted down. Others are in-depth examinations of personal experiences on the job. It is oral history of a new generation of workers coming to grips with today’s capitalism and its many managers, including those culturally grafted into our heads.

The book is divided into three sections: “Resistance,” “Time,” and “Sleep and Dreams.” “Resistance” features essays by postal, warehouse, food service, non-profit, and financial services workers. Phinneas Gage recounts what a postie’s (postal worker’s) fellow workers did to protect him from a retaliation firing. Monica Kostas describes how she made contacts across her workplace by agitating for—surprisingly—the reinstatement of birthday cakes on the job. Juan Conatz,



Graphic: Black Cat Press

who has a great writing style, tells how he and his co-worker resisted speed-ups on the job until exhaustion got the better of him.

The “Time” section describes the many personal challenges facing workers, including the commonplace lack of boss support for worker safety. The essays by the Invisible Man on life as a bullet maker or a temporary agricultural worker are highlights simply for their beautiful writing.

The “Sleep and Dream” section chronicles the pervasive influence of work on the writers’ lives. The stories range from funny to tragic, from sleep-running naked thanks to work nightmares to the sleep deprivation of “clopeneing” (closing the shop at night then opening the next morning) at Starbucks.

Reading this book there is a sense of continuity and shared experience even as each story intimately reveals the individual’s own experience. The fatigue, the

abuse, the work dreams, the restlessness, the desire to change the job before it consumes one—is this not our life, too?

These perspectives are what make this book worth reading. A few of the essays would be good discussion pieces for organizing round tables or training sessions, simply because they strip bare the stereotypes and comfort of organizing theory and reveal the ugly complexities and moral dilemmas of organizing. Fear, loss, pain, betrayal are all there as well as the courage, determination, endurance, and sense of humor of our class. Jomo’s piece on life as a nursing assistant is one such piece. Grace Parker’s article on her experiences with sexual harassment is another.

I see now why the Edmonton IWW General Membership Branch gave a copy of this book to each delegate at the 2013 IWW General Convention. It is worth reading, thinking and talking about. If these authors can be as honest as they are with us about their experiences, now it is our turn to reflect on, share and learn from our own experiences—and to organize from there.

## Wobbly Arts

**Answer For The Future**

By Luz Sierra

Is change possible  
In the realm of negation  
Where feelings is nothing but a reflection  
Of the ideas floating around us  
Following through our mouths  
Swimming inside the red pool spread  
within  
Until our minds resembles the glass in  
front of us

A unknown past have become our tool  
for hope  
Unable to the break the chain of pain  
Seen in their eyes, words, and scars

Where only a few dare to use

Yet we are stuck in time  
Unable to unglue our hands from pages of  
our predecessors  
Hoarding our rooms with their voices  
Silencing the ideas in us

We are small they say  
Filled with dreams one can't build alone  
Unable to fit in this scattered world  
Blocked by the shadow of the one we hate

Warriors of freedom  
Drop your worn out shoes  
And listen

Allow your muscles of hope rebuild itself  
Embrace the eeriness around us

Sink into the whirlpool of imagination  
Search for the words  
Waiting to be molded to the answer we all  
been looking for  
The missing piece between our ideals and  
reality

Don't let them push us aside  
To pull our arms away from those we  
fight for  
And hold on tight to the ones that dare  
To crack the chambers of oppression



Graphic: unknown

## Review

**“Solidarity Unionism” Is A Beginning, Not An Ending**

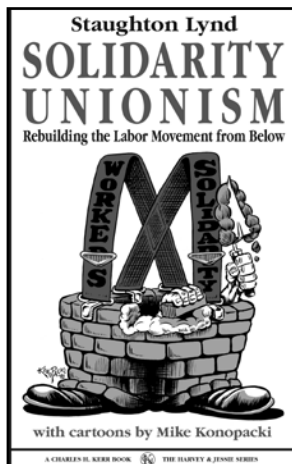
Lynd, Staughton. *Solidarity Unionism: Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1992. Paperback, 64 pages, \$15.00.

By Lou Rinaldi

Staughton Lynd’s classic “Solidarity Unionism: Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below” was inspired in part by the actions of the historical IWW and has inspired a new generation of Wobblies since it was originally published in 1992. Although the

attack on the labor movement had begun much earlier, by 1992 the situation was beginning to look hopeless, and Lynd, a veteran of many years of struggles, put together this short book to show that a different approach was needed if workers were to resist the onslaught of the bosses.

Lynd divides the book into four parts: two historical segments showing worker-led unionism (what he calls “solidarity unionism”) in action and explaining how business unionism became the norm, and another two segments which explain his program for rebuilding the labor movement. The two primary examples he uses are about workers around Youngstown, Ohio, where workers across industries stuck together to fight wage and benefit cuts and the closing of the area’s major employers. He also looks at the origins of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, now the AFL-CIO, and how it began as a genuine expression of working-class self-organization. This was complete with a desire to implement independent labor politics as part of the political goals of these new unions, which operated with



Graphic: Charles H. Kerr

only the minimum of administration, because they were strongly based on relationships on the shop floor.

**What Was Missing?**

An alternative unionism is presented by Lynd—one that is not hierarchical but instead is based on representation of workers to the bosses. Instead, solidarity unionism is the essence of workers associating together to present their needs and demands to capitalists and to create communities of support and care to achieve them. Instead of being based on internationals and executive committees, the basic unit of the solidarity unionist model is the shop floor committee. These committees “may exist in a non-union shop or...may function alongside official union structure,” writes Lynd.

There are structural issues beyond how unions are organized in shops, according to Lynd. There lacks central labor bodies where workers across industries can come together to discuss their collective grievances and show solidarity for each other. While the AFL-CIO has bodies that supposedly fulfill this function, Lynd points to examples like IWW mixed locals (the precursor to our General Membership Branch) as more effective tools for promoting class-wide solidarity.

Finally, Staughton Lynd says that solidarity unionism presupposes a society beyond capitalism, a socialist society. For Lynd “socialism is the project of making economic institutions democratic.” The best way to do this is to create combative organizations with prefigured structures,

ones that reject hierarchy and practice democracy. Furthermore, they go beyond the workplace and enter the everyday lives of workers and their kin.

**Beyond Solidarity Unionism**

“Solidarity Unionism” is an excellent place to start when thinking about what organizing workers should look like, but I believe there is a need to go beyond what Staughton Lynd has laid out. Luckily our union has a vibrant culture and some ideas on this have already come out. In particular, discussion pieces from experienced organizers like “Direct Unionism” and “Wobblyism: Revolutionary Unionism For Today” provides criticism and conversations on where we, as a union, might go with our organizing.

A strength I think that “Direct Unionism” and “Wobblyism” have in building off of the tradition of solidarity unionism is taking a position against the state and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) process completely in our workplace organizing. Whereas solidarity unionism allows for use of capitalist structures like the NLRB, as long as it is not relied upon, in practice IWW campaigns that use these processes inherently become reliant on them. Something about the state is a magnet; once you are caught in its pull it is hard to get out. The much more difficult task of staying away, at the sacrifice of slower growth, may in the end be worth the wait.

The end of the book brings up another aspect where we need to broaden the conversation around how we organize, and Staughton Lynd has given us a good place to start. Lynd calls for a labor movement that fights for the working class to control society, a labor movement that specifically fights for socialism. He writes: “Social-

ism is the only practical alternative to capitalism. We should turn our attention to defining clearly what kind of socialism we want.” Unfortunately this often falls by the wayside due to a culture that says “don’t think, organize!” The IWW would do well to clarify what sort of socialism we are looking for, because so far, we only have the vague insinuation of “abolition of the wage system.” Where Lynd fails is in thinking of socialism as a prefigurative form of organization...that content and form are synonymous. A case study of an IWW organizing drive will show that they are not; we need to conduct political education rooted in the real experiences of working people. We need to meet people where they are, but not to the preclusion of our revolutionary aims.

**By Way of Conclusion**

Staughton Lynd’s “Solidarity Unionism” is an important book for the IWW and the lessons it contains should be well remembered by today’s Wobbly organizers. We should see the book as the beginning of a broader conversation about our organization, however, not as the end-all-be-all of organizing. There is a lot of work to be done to push IWW organizing into the direction of opposing mingling with the state and to take on a revolutionary political character. This process will take a lot of trial and error and hard, explicitly political conversations within our organization. The positive results of organizing the working class for the dismantlement of this society and the implementing of a new society will be worth the trouble.

PM Press will publish a second edition of “Solidarity Unionism” in the spring of 2015, with a foreword by Manny Ness to the effect that solidarity unionism is happening all over the world.



## International Analysis

**Rwanda: The Victims Who Weren't Commemorated**By **Andy Piascik**

A solemn ceremony was held in Rwanda in April to mark the 20th anniversary of the mass killings in that country in 1994. Corporate media from the United States and the rest of the world covered the event in some depth, underscoring the horrible deaths of hundreds of thousands killed by the state and Hutu civilians. Dignitaries and politicians from around the world, including several from the United States, attended a commemorative event that included an emotional reenactment of the bloodletting.

Entirely unmentioned on was the sickening spectacle of Rwandan dictator Paul Kagame overseeing the event. Kagame, a long-time servant of U.S. business interests and a mass killer in his own right, set the conflict in motion that culminated in the terrible events of 1994 by invading Rwanda from neighboring Uganda in 1990. A Tutsi, Kagame was one of the elite class that went into exile rather than live under a government of the majority Hutus. Information published by a wide spectrum of researchers, most notably from the United Nations, has determined that Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) killed tens of thousands of people from 1990-94 and several hundred thousand more during the period that has become known as the Rwandan Genocide. Because Kagame is supported by the United States, however, those crimes have been buried with the dead and no public ceremony has been held in the last 24 years to honor those killed by the RPF.

Kagame's goal from the outset of his 1990 invasion was the overthrow of the government of Rwanda, and he continually violated ceasefire agreements to that end. In fact, it was the shooting down of a plane in April 1994 on which Rwandan dictator Juvenal Habyarimana was a passenger, with a preponderance of the evidence pointing to the RPF as the responsible party, that set in motion the 100 days of mass killings. Habyarimana was killed, as was fellow passenger Cyprien Ntaryamira, the president of Burundi, and 10 others.

Much has been made since of the Clinton administration and the international community's failure to act during the horrible 100 days in 1994. In reality, the United States was proactive in preventing the United Nations and anyone else from taking measures that might have prevented much of the killing. Former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for one, has put the entire blame for what happened in Rwanda in the 1990's on the United States. And even though Kagame continues to claim, as he did in 1994, that his Hutu ethnic group was targeted in a pre-planned act of the Rwandan government, he also successfully opposed international efforts that might

have curtailed the bloodshed. Further puncturing Kagame's claims is the fact that Rwanda and France, its primary international ally, supported international action to stop the killing. We can only surmise that the mass killing of Kagame's fellow Tutsis was acceptable to him and the United States so long as the end result was his complete victory in the fighting and ascension to power. In addition, it's been well-documented that many of the Tutsis killed were killed not by Hutus or the Rwandan government but by Kagame's forces because Kagame considered fellow Tutsis who had remained in Rwanda as untrustworthy or collaborators.

Researchers Christian Davenport and Allan Stam are among those who have investigated the events of 1994, first under the auspices of the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) and then for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Like many investigators from the West, Davenport and Stam began their project assuming that the Rwandan government and rampaging Hutu civilians were responsible for virtually all of the killing. As their investigation progressed, however, they discovered more and more evidence indicating the RPF was also responsible for a great deal of killing. When, during their investigation, they presented some of that evidence to a meeting that included high-ranking members of Kagame's government and military, some in the audience became enraged and one military man cut off their presentation and ordered Davenport and Stam removed by force. Kagame subsequently barred them from ever returning to Rwanda.

More instructive for how the ICTR, the West more generally and the United States in particular was determined to spin the story of exclusive Hutu responsibility and Kagame as the savior of the day was the ICTR's termination of Davenport and Stam's research project and refusal to publish or in any way make known their findings. United Nations investigations that produced similar results were likewise suppressed by the United States. As with the wars that ravaged Yugoslavia in the 1990s and their aftermath, to cite just one concurrent example, the West and the United States in particular were determined that no findings that reflected the responsibility of anyone but the designated bad guys would see the light of day. In both instances, mass killings and other crimes committed by U.S. clients Kagame, Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, Alija Izetbegovic and Atif Dudakovic of Bosnia, the Kosovo Liberation Army and the United States itself were whitewashed. Crucial to the Rwandan story is the lie that April 1994 marked the beginning of the terrible events, as if Kagame's 1990 invasion and the intervening deaths of many thousands



**Ceremony held in April 2014 to commemorate the mass killing in Rwanda.**

Photo: srilankaguadian.org

never happened.

For its part, the United States was looking to supplant France, its chief imperial rival in Central Africa, and increase corporate investment in the area, especially in the bordering Congo, one of the world's most resource-rich nations. To that end, Kagame twice invaded the Congo not long after taking over Rwanda, launching what University of Pennsylvania Professor Emeritus Edward Herman has described as his second act of genocide. As with the invasion of Rwanda, the invasions of the Congo came with crucial U.S. military training, armaments and diplomatic support.

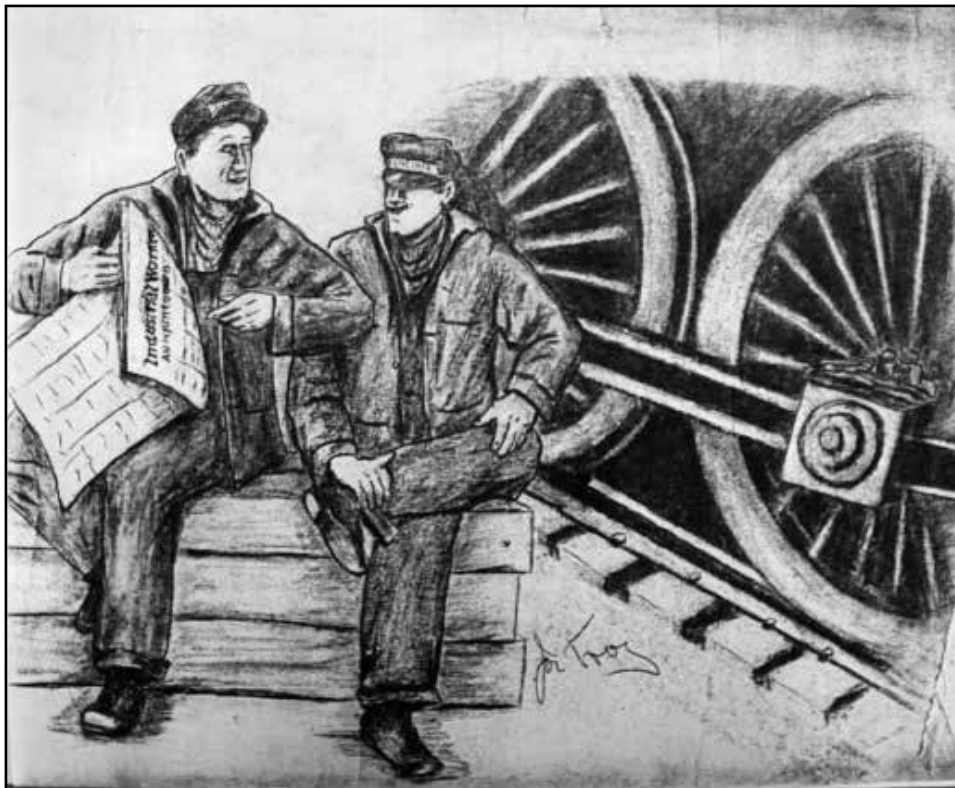
Western plunder of the Congo dates to the 19th century and the murderous rule of Belgian King Leopold II, whose insatiable lust for wealth was responsible for the deaths of up to 15 million Congolese. Revolutionary forces finally achieved independence in 1960 but it took Congolese reactionaries and their Belgian and CIA helpers all of three months to overthrow and eventually murder Patrice Lumumba, the nation's first elected Prime Minister. When U.S. puppet Mobutu Sese Soko was put in power, all semblance of independence vanished as Western investors once again took control, and they made Mobutu a multibillionaire for his efforts on their behalf. By the time Kagame invaded the Congo the first time, Mobutu had fallen out of favor. His dictatorial ways had become an international embarrassment, plus the United States didn't like that he was keeping too much of the swag for himself. In addition, they had Kagame who, in his eagerness to be the United States' new client, was as pliant as Mobutu had ever been.

U.S. support of Kagame's invasions of the Congo has proven a remarkable success, as his wars of terror paved the

way to a massive increase in American investments (and profits) in copper, cobalt, coltan and diamonds. During that time, the number of Congolese who have been killed in the fighting or died because of starvation, disease and other causes traced directly to Kagame's invasions is perhaps 10 times as many as died during the Rwandan Genocide, and the dying goes on and on right up to this moment. Yet Kagame has been hailed again and again by Bill Clinton, Madeline Albright, George Bush II, Samantha Power, Susan Rice and other flacks for U.S. imperialism as a hero and "the man who ended the Rwandan Genocide."

The ruling class and their media stenographers have brought us through the looking glass big-time: war is peace, lies are truth, and genocidists are liberators. They cannot entirely erase the truth, however, and information about what really happened in Rwanda as documented by Davenport, Stam and many others is increasingly becoming available. Kagame, meanwhile, is hard at work sending hit squads around the world to assassinate exiled opponents of his regime, his job of laying the groundwork for increased U.S. corporate plunder done, and done very well. That is why he was allowed to oversee last month's ceremony and why virtually nothing was said in the mainstream about those who died by his hand to make Central Africa safe for U.S. imperialism. It will be up to those who live in a future world free of Empire to honor them in the manner they deserve.

*Andy Piascik is a long-time activist and award-winning author who writes for Z Magazine, The Independent, Counterpunch and many other publications and websites. He can be reached at [andypiascik@yahoo.com](mailto:andypiascik@yahoo.com).*



Old IW promo graphic.

Graphic: Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University

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# World Labor Solidarity

A COLUMN BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMISSION

The IWW formed the International Solidarity Commission to help the union build the worker-to-worker solidarity that can lead to effective action against the bosses of the world. To contact the ISC, email [solidarity@iww.org](mailto:solidarity@iww.org).

## Solidarity With The Workers' Occupation Of The Greif-Sanjut Factory In Istanbul!

By the IWW International Solidarity Commission (ISC)

The International Solidarity Commission (ISC) of the IWW sends our solidarity to all workers occupying (at press time) the Greif-Sanjut sack factory, a division of the U.S. enterprise, Greif, since Feb. 10. We condemn the police and gendarmerie raid in the early daylight hours of April 10. Due to this attack many workers have been taken into custody and abused, including, Mehmet Ali Karabulut, who was reporting for the left publication *Kizil Bayrak*.



Greif-Sanjut factory protest. Photo: revolution-news.com

The Greif factory, a manufacturer of packaging products, has been occupied by 500 workers who are members of the Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, (DİSK, or Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey). Workers at the Greif factory are struggling for several issues. The most urgent problems are: low wages, which are currently below the poverty line; 44 subcontractor companies working for the Greif bosses; and excessive workplace accidents. Workers, including the core workforce and subcontracted workers, decided to occupy the factory after the managers refused to negotiate concerning their problems.

The occupation process has operated through direct democracy, with 14 workers' committees inside the factory. Every decision has been discussed and made by the workers, and committee decisions are discussed at the general assembly. Female and male workers alike have expressed in videos and interviews that they have gained confidence through the occupation and by taking matters into their own hands.

Shamefully, however, occupying workers at Greif, who are members of DİSK, have not been receiving solid support from the bureaucracy of the confederation. The confederation is dependent on the legal framework and negotiations with the bosses and thus the union bureaucracy turned its backs on the workers' militant direct action. The union bureaucracy, including the so-called professionals, is aware of the fact that workers' control and self-management are a real threat to their interests.

Since the IWW's founding in 1905, we have striven to build unions based on the direct strength of workers on the job, through strikes and occupations such as the brave workers at Greif have done. We salute the resisting workers at Greif and encourage them in their struggle.

## Police Raid Greif Plant Occupation In Turkey

By John Kalwaic

On April 10 Turkish riot police evicted workers and supporters who were occupying the Greif-Sanjut sack factory in Istanbul, Turkey. Striking workers and their supporters were occupying the Greif factory since February. Istanbul police arrested 91 workers and supporters at the occupied plant. Some protesters went to the roof of the building to demonstrate against the assault on the occupying workers. The plant occupation started in February when Greif CEO David Fischer said the plant would be slated for closure because of the strike. The Turkish government has become increasingly more repressive as it enacts its neoliberal policies



Greif factory workers. Photo: revolution-news.com

and cracks down on political opposition.

With files from *Columbus Business First*, *WN.com*, *One News Page*, and *Occuworld*.

## Students, Workers Protest Chemical Plant In China

By John Kalwaic

In Maoming, China, a city in the southern Guangdong province, a massive protest occurred against a new chemical plant known as the PX. On March 30, nearly 10,000 people took to the streets. The protesters consisted of students and workers concerned about health and safety standards. Junior high school students were "advised" by their teachers to sign a petition in support of the PX plant despite the fact that most of them opposed it. The students came out and demonstrated against the PX in defiance of their teachers. People in the area have already been known to use the internet to call for a strike that received widespread support. The protests received bad press from the local newspapers because they allegedly threat-



Riot police defend the PX plant. Photo: revolution-news.com

ened to "disrupt social order." Protesters ended up throwing rocks and eggs at the riot police after the police harassed many of the demonstrating residents. These riots and demonstrations pointed to the fact the labor, the environment and students issues do not have to work in competition with one another.

With files from *Want China Times*, *Global Times*, and *Revolution News!*

## Retail Workers Protest, Clash With Police In Greece



Protesters clash with police. Photo: infoshop.org

By John Kalwaic

Hundreds of people battled with riot police on April 13 in Athens. The protesters were mainly retail workers upset that Greek retail employers were extending the shopping week into Sunday and increasing hours the shops would be open. The groups opposing the extension of

shopping hours range from pro-worker anarchists and leftist to the Greek Orthodox Church, which opposes working on Sundays. Around 500 protesters came out and clashed with the police on several occasions. Many activists tried to hand out flyers, protesting the decision to extend the work week and tried to block customer access to the

stores in Athens. Riot police pepper sprayed the protesters and pelted them with tear gas, much of the media attributed the riots to "anarchists." This was glimpse of a new form of resistance from retail and food service workers, which are not unionized in most countries.

With files from *Yahoo News*.

## Turkish Government Blames Union For Suicide Bombings

By John Kalwaic

A suicide bomber hit the U.S. embassy in the Turkish capital of Ankara on Feb. 1, 2013. The following day a small far-left faction known as the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front claimed responsibility for the bombing of the embassy. Since then, Turkey's conservative government, led by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has launched a crackdown on all political dissent, including unions. The Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (KESK, or Confederation of Public Workers' Union), which has long been an opponent of Erdogan and his Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP, or Justice and Development Party), had more than 500 members imprisoned last year, in which 29 of them spent almost a year in prison. The Turkish government has tried to severely limit the right to strike due to the opposition that many of the unions present to Erdogan's conservative rule. The KESK grew out of Turkey's radical student movements in 1995 and is very much at odds with the conservative



Turkish unionists. Photo: labornotes.org

AKP. The Turkish government regularly accuses the KESK of supporting the Kurdish separatist Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK, or Kurdistan Workers' Party) and other groups labeled as "terrorists." The KESK and other unions were a key part of the June 2013 protests in Gezi Park and Taksim Square against the AKP government. Many unions, particularly from Europe, have supported the KESK as well as other unions in Turkey that are being persecuted by the government. Nearly 13,000 union members have sent protest letters to Turkey.

With files from *Labor Notes*.

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"Strike" agit prop, artist unknown. Graphic: Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University