

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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## Liverpool IWW Demonstrates For Precarious Workers

By the Liverpool IWW

On Feb. 25, members of the Liverpool IWW joined around a dozen activists, including people from the benefits advice group Reclaim, outside the West Derby job center on Eaton Road for a demonstration. This was part of a national day of action in solidarity with Scottish Unemployed Workers Network activist Tony Cox. Tony was arrested on Jan. 29 after Arbroath job center management called police to stop him representing a vulnerable jobseeker. We protested to drive home our message that “advocacy is not a crime” and further our aim to build towards smashing sanctions against unemployed workers.

The G4S “security guards” immediately called the cops when we showed up with our leaflets, placards and banners, which was pretty easy as the police station is right next door! A group of quite a few police went into the job center and spoke to G4S employees for some time, before coming out and telling us they had no problem with us protesting (neither could they, it’s supposed to be our right!),

but asking us to remove our banners from the job center wall. We refused, as the job center is funded by tax payers (i.e. all of us), so should be considered public property. The cops didn’t want to push it, and they went back to their station.

Perhaps one reason for their decision to leave us in peace was the fact that the demo was getting massive public support. Not only were job center users (if anyone actually “uses” a job center these days) pleased to get information on their rights, but there was an absolute racket from the number of people passing in cars beeping their horns and shouting their support. Clearly, we have now reached a stage where large numbers of working-class people are very aware of the horrific damage done by the government’s sanctions regime and are glad to see people fighting back.

We will be organizing more with our friends in Reclaim over the next few months as we aim to build resistance among the most precarious sections of the local working class.



Members of the Liverpool IWW demonstrate for precarious workers on Feb. 25 in West Derby.

Photo: Liverpool IWW

## Syndicalist Union Protests Migrant Worker Exploitation In Berlin



Members of the FAU protest the “Mall of Shame” on Nov. 26, 2014. Photo: FAU Berlin

*Romanian construction workers in Berlin fight, with support of the FAU, for their wages—unpaid by “Mall of Berlin” contractors. The bosses pretend to be innocent, while masking their business and personal relations.*

By André Eisenstein

Evidently, a construction site is nothing for wet blankets. But besides the hard physical work, exploitation and inhuman treatment of migrant workers from the European Union (EU) seems to be the current practice on many German construction sites. What is new now is that cheated workers are fighting back! In the autumn of 2014, Polish colleagues found support from the Freie Arbeiterinnen- und Arbeiter-Union (FAU) Freiburg. By the end of the year and continuing into 2015, Romanian workers—unionized with the FAU since November 2014—are fighting for unpaid wages totaling in

60,000 euros (\$67,000).

From July until mid-October 2014, the comrades worked in the center of Germany’s capital to construct the “Mall of Berlin.” For constructing this shopping and apartment complex, which opened solemnly (despite unfinished construction sites and defects in fire safety) at Potsdamer Platz in autumn 2014, hundreds of workers from Romania slaved away for 10 hours a day and received only 6 euros per hour (or approximately \$6). Due to problems with the pay and a lack of promised accommodation, workers staged protests and crossed their arms. Finally, in hope for betterment, the workers switched from one subcontractor (Openmallmaster) to another (Metatec). In the end, none of the two subcontractors even paid the agreed-upon wage completely, which—being below the industry’s minimum wage of 11.15 euros (\$11.92) per hour—is illegally low.

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## Welsh Wobbly Facing Deportation

By the Cymru IWW Wales

Fellow Worker (FW) Brandon Cipelle will be deported from Wales and separated from his wife if he can’t find a job soon. Born in Kansas, Miss., he met his wife in 2012 via social media. “We started talking, I fell in love and eventually I moved down to Wales,” said Brandon. “I filled out all the paperwork and did everything we needed to do to emigrate.”



Continued on 7 FW Brandon and his wife.

Photo: unknown





### Letters Welcome!

Send your letters to: iw@iww.org with "Letter" in the subject.

### Mailing Address:

Industrial Worker, P.O. Box 180195, Chicago, IL 60618, United States.

### May Day! May Day!

The deadline for announcements for the annual "May Day" *Industrial Worker* is **April 3, 2015**. Celebrate the real labor day with a message of solidarity! Send announcements to iw@iww.org. Much appreciated donations for the following sizes should be sent to:

IWW GHQ, P.O. Box 180195, Chicago, IL 60618, United States.

\$12 for 1" tall, 1 column wide  
\$40 for 4" by 2 columns  
\$90 for a quarter page

## Remembering Fellow Worker Penny Pixler

I'd like to add to Patrick Murfin's impressive obituary of Penny Pixler (see "Portrait Of Penny Pixler, Feminist And Wobbly," March 2015 *Industrial Worker*, page 6).

As reticent as she was, Penny would have been embarrassed by all the accolades in this obituary. She wouldn't have appreciated it being posted on social media either.

A few notes: Penny struggled in school as a child. When her hearing loss, unknown to anyone, was discovered and corrected, she became an excellent student and went on to earn three college degrees. I think it was her way of saying, "I AM

smart."

Penny was a voracious reader. When she made the decision to move to Colorado, several of us helped her pack thousands of her books. The topics included international politics, history, women's studies, world religions, poetry, and Irish literature. I asked her, "Have you read all of these books?" She replied, "All of them. And some of them twice."

I think of her whenever I look at my (much smaller) collection of books. If there is a heaven I hope it has a good library. Penny wouldn't want to be there otherwise.

**Karen Nolan**

## You're Invited To The IWW Regional Organizing Assembly In Baltimore!

**When:** April 18 - April 19 (10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.)

**Where:** Alternative Press Center (2239 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21218)

**What:** A weekend of training, networking and action for IWW organizers, hosted by IWW-Baltimore. Workshops include house visits, mass picketing, campaign strategy and industrial research, as well as presentations on recent IWW organizing initiatives across the east coast.

**Registration** is \$10. Limited housing is available.

**Contact** baltimoreiww@gmail.com for more information.

## IWW Literature Committee's Working Writers' Contest

### Fellow Workers!

You can now give recognition to the story, cartoon, or song that has inspired you this year!



Graphic: iww.org

The IWW Literature Committee is seeking nominations for the first annual Working Writers' Contest. Submissions can be in the following categories: workplace writing, contemporary labor or economic analysis, agitational cartoons, or songs.

We are **especially excited** to recognize writing published in the *Industrial Worker* or *Solidaridad* between May 2014 and April 2015, even if it was written by a non-member. Unpublished pieces can also be submitted as long as they were written by members during the same time period.

Please send nominations to workingwriterscontest@gmail.com (note the new address!) before June 1. Recognition will be given at the 2015 General Convention. Good luck!

## Industrial Worker

The Voice of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

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EDUCATION  
EMANCIPATION

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WobStats

# Unlock The Power Of Metrics To Build Effective Organization

By Daniel Gross

The conditions supporting a large coming together of working people are here. Corporate profits have surged since the economic crisis, yet the most basic elements of survival are increasingly out of reach for workers and their families.

To relieve just a bit of steam and to attract the labor they need, corporate owners are making some minor concessions. But small wage increases are far from enough to affirm the dignity and leadership voice of the U.S. working class. Durable and effective worker organization is essential. Yet, finding real traction in an organizing effort over time is incredibly difficult. Choosing the right metrics and using them at the core of your organizing can help you get there.

I think many of us in the movement associate the concept of metrics with business and therefore irrelevant to our work. Or we think that organizing work involves too many intangibles to measure and assess with numbers. If you're like me, you spent years in the movement without diving too deeply into the question of metrics at all.

In New York City's Industrial Union (IU) 460 food production organizing, I've come to see firsthand the central and incredibly powerful role that metrics, when properly used, can play in industrial union building efforts. I would argue that some of the IWW's most seemingly intractable global problems, like achieving sufficient scale, could be greatly assisted with an embrace of learning through metrics.

Metrics are quantitative or qualitative measures of progress towards your organizational goals. Good metrics help you uncover problems, generate insights around solutions, and distill learning about how your model is performing in the rough and tumble real world. Bad metrics waste the time it takes to collect them, obscure problems, and don't generate information

to act on.

How do you figure out which metric matters most for your industrial union organizing effort? I wish I could hand you a "cheat sheet" of metrics to adopt and run with. But the first step to using metrics in your work is to document your organizational model and assess where you are on your strategic road map. Start there to figure out what key measurable activities are most important for your approach at this particular moment. With that foundation, here are some fundamental concepts about metrics with an almost startling power to improve your organizing effort.

Author Eric Ries distinguishes between actionable and vanity metrics. Vanity metrics often look good but are meaningless to where you are trying to go. Actionable metrics generate insights that make you refine your approach or even make dramatic course changes. In my experience, the IWW often deals in vanity metrics when it addresses metrics at all. The ultimate one is how many members your campaign, or branch, or overall union, has. How are you doing if your branch has 100 members? How is your behavior going to change?

Now instead of your membership number, try using comparison to a year ago as your metric. If you know your branch has 100 members and it had 150 a year ago, now you know something. This is the net member gain metric which in this case is -50 over the course of 12 months.

Ratios or rates often make for good metrics. Why do so many Wobbly branches hit a membership ceiling? Try looking at retention. What percentage of members are still there after a year? How many are still members six months after joining? How many first time dues payers never even make one more payment?

Look also at retention for different groups of members. For example, is retention better or worse for the "cohort" of members who started in January 2015



IU460 Fellow Workers Eduardo Sanchez and Antonia Garcia talking shop at the union hall.

Photo: NYC GMB

compared to those who started in July 2014? What is the membership retention percentage for workers of color, women, immigrants, trans people and other highly oppressed groups?

Armed with this data, you can start having debates with meaning in your industrial union building effort rather than pitting opinion versus opinion. Let's say you're debating an initiative to focus on. One fellow worker argues for a new member organizing blitz to bolster membership ranks. Is that the right move if after your last blitz 70 percent of first time dues payers never paid again? Sounds like whatever new members you obtain will be churned out very quickly unless you figure out the problem of what happens after signup.

Not only can data inform debates, it can also determine whether or not moves you make pay off for the mission. Let's say you decide to design a revised new member orientation. Without measurement, you'll never know if the revision is worthwhile or not. With data, you form a simple hypothesis. For example, that your new

orientation will improve first-time dues payer retention from 70 percent churning out to 30 percent churning out. Now you can measure if you're on the right track or not and have debates based on objective evidence rather than force of personality. Ries calls this process the "build-measure-learn feedback loop."

This discipline of using actionable metrics and experimentation to see what efforts are paying off has huge potential for the union because they show what is working and what is just waste. But it can be hard to sort out actionable from vanity metrics. For example, who among us is not excited to hear that a branch has held several organizer trainings in the last year involving dozens if not hundreds of new workers? Actually "number of workers trained" is a classic vanity metric. It sounds great to report and any diligent branch can make that number go up by holding and marketing trainings.

Metrics to really understand trainings would look at how the trainings connect or don't connect to mission achievement. For example, what percentage of trained workers go on to take part in an industrial union building effort which achieves at least "x" number of members? What percentage of trained workers go on to successfully remedy an abusive practice on the job? With an actionable metric, you can start to learn how the training can be improved, which industries to focus trainings on, and how much time to invest in classroom training compared to other initiatives like one-on-one coaching in the field.

There's more to be said about metrics, and I hope we can talk more about them in the union. Leading versus lagging metrics, shop-level organizing metrics, and activity versus outcome metrics are some of the rich topics within the field.

But don't let the scope of the field slow you down or over complicate things. Pick the one single metric that you think matters most to your model and the current phase of your industrial union building effort. Make sure it's actionable, in that you and your co-workers will change what you're doing somehow based on what it tells you.

Set a goal for the metric in order to draw a line in the sand for learning and then track your results against the goal. Review the metric at regular meetings with your team to gain insights based on a comparison between the results and the goals you set. When you consider new initiatives or changed strategies, document how you think the metric will improve. After your experiment, take stock of what you've learned and refine or even transform your next steps. Insights and results will come much sooner than you may think.

Inequality in the economy and lack of effective worker organization is back where it was at the founding and early groundbreaking years of the IWW. Embrace metrics in your organizing and watch your work get to the next level. The time is ripe.

## 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: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 City, State, Post Code, Country: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Email: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Amount Enclosed: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Membership includes a subscription to the **Industrial Worker**.

# Nobody Said This Would Be Easy

By Norma Raymond

I work for a big, dumb corporation which has a virtual monopoly on the industry. Since escape is an unlikely dream, I have developed many coping mechanisms. I hope these techniques are not actual proof of minor league Stockholm syndrome. It's hard to justify this employment, so I do what I can to sabotage while trying to form a union.

Daily, I encourage people to slow down production. I urge them to call off when they're sick. I plea with them to speak up when there is a problem. I offer to accompany them if this would be more comfortable for them. I brainstorm with them about what would make the job more fulfilling. I point out work-related problems, and encourage open dialogue. These are not extraordinary acts. They are naturally occurring, everyday responses to corporate employers.

A sick worker is told, "Well, it's not really convenient for you to go home early," (as if we can schedule illnesses) or "You haven't earned enough paid time off to call in sick." A sexually-harassed employee is told, "Well, we like people to be able to joke around and have a good time here," or "Boys will be boys." It's difficult to have hope when some people being harassed refuse to speak up. It's frustrating when the people told such ridiculous things get fed up and quit. The bosses tell them to, "Lighten up" as if they are to blame. The boss will usually not protect you, so you need to learn how to protect yourself. The boss is unnecessary,

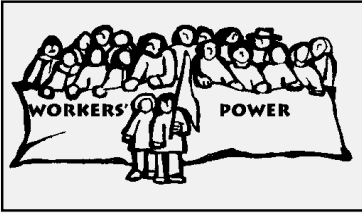
but will imply that you are the one who is expendable. That's why we need to stand up, union up and know our rights.

I was told, in the IWW's Organizer Training 101, that when trying to form a union people will disappoint us. A great friend who claims to support the union may chicken out. The guy who's 100 percent on board may quit. But I was also told that someone you may never suspect has a serious grudge and is a union member in waiting. Another, when enlightened, will be eager to join quickly.

I try to be an example of advocacy, hoping that by setting an example others will step up. I listen to people and take them seriously. I stand up for my fellow workers and stand up for myself.

I have hope that they will stand up for me, but maintain carefulness because I know they may not. I think critically about what the bosses say and what they actually mean. I have learned their games and I'm always strategizing.

It's a paradox. The fight is difficult, yet completely natural. It's slow, but encouraging. The fight can make you feel very alone but also very empowered. It can break your heart or it can make your heart soar with pride. It's not easy—and yet, it is! The one constant though, is that it is always way too important to give up hope. It's not only for yourself, but your co-workers, friends, family and generations to come. So many people before you, people you have never met, fought for you. People may argue, "Things used to be so much worse," but don't let that blind you to how much better it can be.



# Aim High, Fellow Workers!

By Colt D. Thundercat,  
a UPS worker in Minneapolis

I'm writing this to talk about an important issue that I've seen crop up in many IWW campaigns, including my own: that of "idling." This is one of the most disheartening and destructive feelings that seems to happen pretty frequently. Our campaigns seem stuck at a certain low level, where we put a lot of effort into achieving small gains on the shop floor, often successfully, but it never seems to grow the committee or build the campaign. Unsurprisingly, it leads to a massive amount of burnout and to campaigns slowly and depressingly sputtering out.

To me, it seems like one of the core issues at play here is a backwards view of how escalation works and how we get co-workers to join our campaigns and the union. When I say backwards, what I mean is that we wait to escalate until we see our committees grow to a certain level, always tackling low-level shop-floor issues and never expanding beyond a certain work area to a broader level. While we are often successful at improving the quality of our and our co-workers' lives at work, it rarely seems to build people's involvement. Unfortunately, I've seen more than a few campaigns "idle" under this conservative interpretation of escalation.

I believe one of the reasons that this happens is because Wobblies and our non-IWW co-workers tend to view these types of gains in a very different manner. We often have a tendency to view such things as political and important in a way that our co-workers—even those who participate in shop floor actions—do not. In my own campaign, where we spent a solid year in this phase, we would engage in small marches on the boss, slowdowns, and other actions around various shop-floor grievances. While we viewed these actions as vital union activity, our co-workers tended to view them as "That time we told our supervisor to turn on the fans because it was too hot" or "That time we said 'fuck

it' and worked slow for a few days." It was something they were happy to do, but not all that significant.

We need to get out of this pattern of idling if we're going to grow as a fighting workers' organization. In our campaign the way we've done this is to turn this view of escalation on its head. Instead of waiting until we are a certain size in order to escalate, we have taken a tack of using a particular goal in order to push our organizing to the next level. To me, the key component of this plan is summed up in two words: aim high.

It was aiming high that pushed us to take on the action that most of the IWW, the labor Left, and many of our co-workers, now know us for. After the Ferguson uprising started, about a dozen of us working at the United Parcel Service (UPS) sorting hub here refused to handle cargo from a company making racist shooting range targets for the police in Missouri

and elsewhere in an action called "Hands Up, Don't Ship." At the time, the action made little sense from the conventional view of escalation: we had only two committee members in the large shop, far fewer than what it would take to pull anything of any significance off. Moreover, it seemed like there was almost no hope of any reasonable success.

And that is almost precisely why it worked. What started as a random shot in the dark caught on quickly. The other organizer and I knew we needed our co-workers' participation to do it, and so we pushed ourselves to sell the idea to them. We kicked into overdrive and chatted with many of them about the idea and found massive support despite the nearly non-existent expectation of success. As

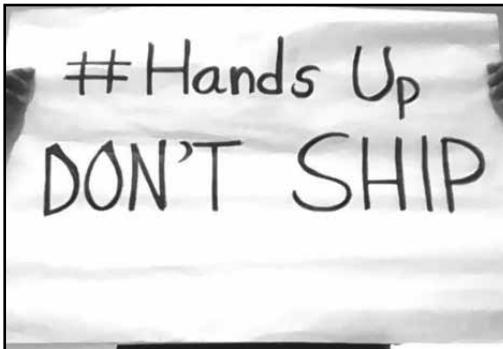


Photo: fayettevillefreezone.com

it turned out, the thing that pushed folks to be involved had little to do with whether or not they thought it would succeed, but rather that it was a fight for which they were passionate and with which they had a personal connection.

Against all odds, we succeeded and the company rerouted all of their shipments to a different facility for fear of disruptions.

Right now, we've gone one further, initiating a campaign to fight for a \$5 wage increase at all of the Twin Cities' locations of our company. It's the type of struggle everyone knows will take a lot of people to get done. I think that's exactly why the reaction to it has been so positive. We obtained nearly 100 workers' signatures on our petition in a two-day period. The petition itself allowed us to follow up with

our co-workers who signed it and see what level of engagement they are interested in having with the campaign.

Instead of waiting to take on the issues that our co-workers are more deeply passionate about until they're already on board, we need to take on fights that will excite them to the point of being active and interested in the IWW. Yes, we need to take care not to overextend ourselves and get people fired. We need to be smart about our actions and make sure our co-workers are on board with any plans we make—and, importantly, that we're open to modifying them with the help of our co-workers as they get involved. Even when we fail, we often find ourselves better off for it due to bosses making concessions that we couldn't have won before. More importantly, we end up with many more of our co-workers excited about the prospect of future fights. We shouldn't be afraid of aiming high and talking big. That big picture is what's going to get people excited, and excitement is the fuel that propels our campaigns forward.

# WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY

## Chapter 81 Cracking a Hard-Shell Employer

In the spring of 1933, the unity of women nutpickers cracked the arrogance of a wealthy company.

The R.E. Funsten Co. owned seven of 16 pecan processing factories in St. Louis; a workforce that was nearly 90 percent black and female worked in sweatshop conditions for as little as 63 cents a day. In early 1933, workers began to organize and made contact with the Food Workers Industrial Union, an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League (See Chapter 80).

Funsten workers decided on a list of demands that included better pay scales, equal pay for black and white workers, an end to discrimination and union recognition. After stalling for three weeks, Eugene Funsten rejected the demands.

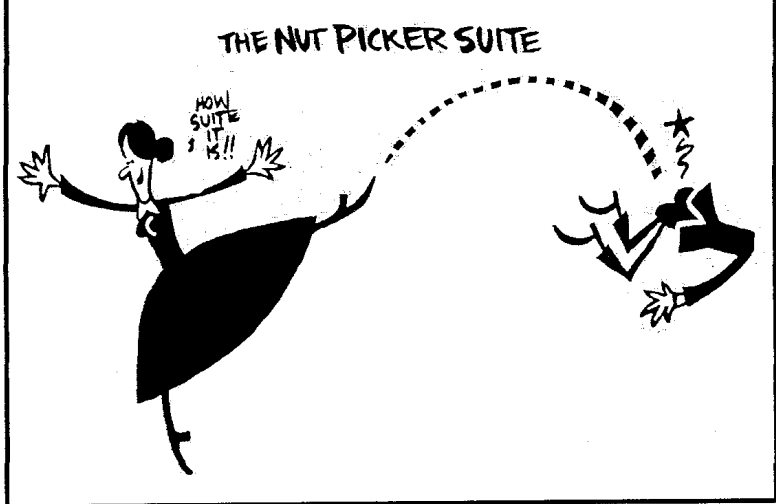
Within a few days, some 1,400 workers had walked off their jobs! "We think we are entitled to live as well as other folks live, and we should be entitled to a wage that will provide us with ample food and clothing," declared Connie Smith, a middle-aged black woman and strike leader.

Funsten made two offers; both were rejected by the strikers. He then brought in strikebreakers; two police cars and taxis carrying scabs were smashed by strikers. Fifteen women strikers and organizer William Sentner\* were arrested; 1,500 women, black and white, marched on city hall in protest. The mayor appointed a committee to seek a resolution to the strike.

\* Sentner later became a general vice president of UE!

After intense negotiations assisted by the mayor's committee, Funsten agreed to a 100 percent wage increase, abolition in rate differences between black and white nutpickers and recognition of shop committees.

In the midst of the Depression, before the passage of any labor laws, black women had taken on a powerful corporation and won!



Graphic: Mike Konopacki



Wobbly & North American News

# IWW Organizes First Unionized Bike Shop In D.C.



Capitol Hill Bikes.

Photo: District Bicycle Workers' Union

## By the District Bicycle Workers' Union

Capitol Hill Bikes (CHB) employees have organized with the Washington, D.C. IWW as the District Bicycle Workers' Union, and were recognized by the store's owners on Friday, Jan. 30.

CHB now becomes the only bicycle shop in the District that is unionized. The formation of the District Bicycles Workers' Union was inspired by the unionization of Washington, D.C. bike sharing system, Capital Bikeshare. In an industry that usually has short-term employment,

low wages, and no benefits, CHB hopes that this is only the start of others in the bike industry to organize themselves to improve conditions.

The employees at CHB have a great relationship with the shop's owners and have always been open to new ideas. Decisions have always been informally democratic but now with a union, CHB has formalized the democratic decision making for actions by the shop.

**Read an in-depth story on the Capital Hill Bikes workers in the upcoming May Industrial Worker.**

# Laid-Off Retail Workers Protest In Seattle

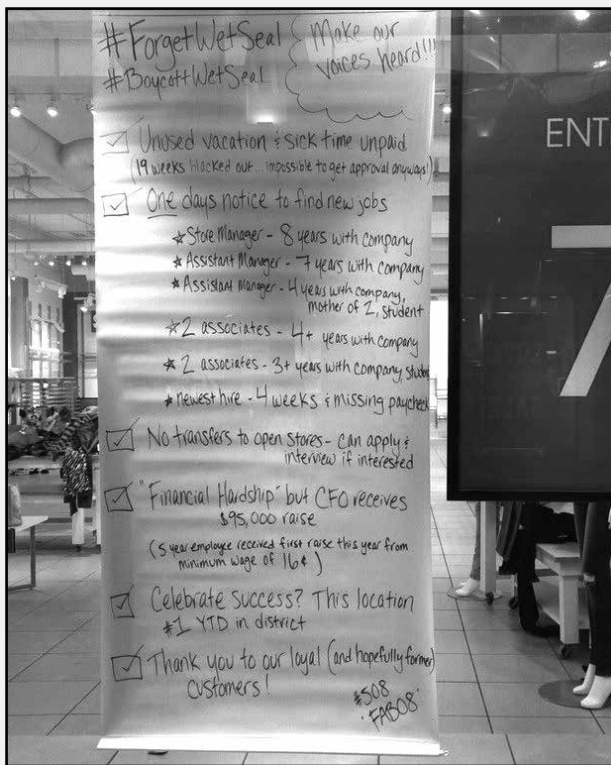
## By John Kalwaic

In early January, store workers at a young women's clothing store chain known as Wet Seal posted a sign on the front window of their store at the Northgate Mall in Seattle protesting the impending layoff of the store's employees.

At the beginning of the year, workers at the store were assured by the company that they would not be laid off. This turned out to be a lie: the staff members of the Seattle store were indeed going to be let go. In protest, the angered employees posted a sign outside the door of the store denouncing the company and telling customers not to shop there. On the sign the employees explained they were not paid for their unused sick days, many of them spent years with the company but were only given one day's notice of the layoff, and the newest hire of four weeks had a missing paycheck. The sign also stated that the CEO of Wet Seal had received a \$95,000 raise despite the financial hardship of the company.

After the employees posted the signs, they were immediately fired for "misuse of company time." Another sign was put in the storefront window of the Wet Seal at the Dayton Mall in Ohio, which read: "Took away all of our benefits including sick time and vacation which we worked for, and were told we would receive. Btw, NO SEVERENCE PAY!"

Social media protests against the company went viral on Reddit and Twitter, with #ForgetWetSeal and #BoycottWetSeal as similar storefront signs appeared in other closing Wet Seal stores. Accordnig to *Business Insider*, store manager Summer Ligon of the Chesapeake Square Wet Seal in Chesapeake, Va., said in a phone inter-



Wet Seal protest sign.

Photo: businessinsider.com

view, "We're packing up our store right now. While I was out some employees had posted those kinds of signs in the windows, but I took them down." When asked why, she said, "At first, out of anger, I wanted to leave them up. Then I realized it didn't make us look good. I wanted us to look professional. I wanted to make sure my girls all got jobs in this mall and [the signs] wouldn't help their prospects." This represents attitudes working specifically against women workers, who are often expected to internalize their oppression and just "look pretty" and "not put up a fuss."

The Wet Seal has now announced that they are filing for bankruptcy as other fashion chains such as Forever 21 become more popular. Regardless, the company repeatedly failed to warn employees across the United States about the store closures and subsequent layoffs and has often committed wage theft by not paying its employees.

**With files from Business Insider and The Christian Science Monitor.**

# FairPoint Strike Finally Comes To An End



FairPoint workers on strike in October 2014.

Photo: labornotes.org

## By John Kalwaic

From Oct. 17, 2014 to Feb. 19, 2015, workers at FairPoint Communications Inc. in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire went on strike against restructuring policies and cuts to retirement benefits. The FairPoint strike was one of the longest strikes in the United States in recent years. The workers at the telecommunications company are organized with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The strike involved the contracts of approximately 1,800 employees. The company claimed that the cuts and restructuring were necessary to make the company more competitive, while the unions said that this move would squeeze the workers and the only benefit would go to Wall Street. The company also had plans to downsize their workforce and move many of their facilities out of the New England area.

After workers walked out on Oct. 17, picket lines began to form around FairPoint workplaces in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. Many customers of the telecommunications company complained about the phone and internet service declining in quality. After the strike continued for months, the public utilities company got more than 200 calls about phone and internet services not working or being fixed because of the

strike. Things got pretty heated on the picket line on Dec. 2 in Keene, N.H. when a replacement worker named Charles Hunter tried to run over picketers with his car. The man was then arrested. The strike continued to drag on, as neither side was willing to budge.

On Dec. 5 the company urged the workers to stop the strike as it had dragged on for months, but the workers and unions refused to cave. On Dec. 30 the National Labor Relations Board ruled against the unions' claim that FairPoint was not bargaining in good faith. Despite this setback, the strike continued for another two months. The unions and the company finally came to an agreement in late February 2015; the agreement won the workers some concessions from the company. The company agreed not to lay off workers or outsource jobs to other non-union areas of the country, but at the same time forced the workers to pay more for retirement.

The strike was long and the workers braved the cold New England weather to picket, which at some points got very confrontational with scabs crossing the picket line. In the end the workers did not win a whole lot, but it could have been much worse.

**With files from the Burlington Free Press, <http://www.pressherald.com>, <http://www.Vt.digger.org>, WMUR 9 ABC, Concord Monitor and the Fierce**

# Workers Walk Out At NYC Restaurants

## By John Kalwaic

On Jan. 12 workers at Pure Food and Wine, an upscale raw food vegan restaurant in Gramercy, New York City, walked out in protest over unpaid wages. Many current and former employees—as well as sympathetic customers—picketed outside the restaurant. Some employees claimed they had not been paid in over a month. Workers at One Lucky Duck, another upscale vegan restaurant nearby with the same owner, also walked out and picketed with the workers from Pure Food and Wine.

The employees at both restaurants said the owner had not paid them for their work since December 2014. This is when the wage trouble started. The restaurants started receiving calls saying they were not paying their bills. Many workers were paid late or with petty cash. In other cases they were not paid at all. Around 100 employees of Pure Food and Wine and One Lucky Duck are owed back wages. According to an anonymous former employee at Pure Food and Wine, the back of house staff who had not received their pay checks due on Dec. 28 threatened to walk out if they were not paid by Jan. 12.

When they were not paid by that date, the staff from both the back and front of house walked out. Picketers carried signs saying "Pay our wages," "One month back pay," and "Many unlucky ducks." The picketers also taped hand written signs saying, "No pay no way," and "Raw food raw deal," over the restaurant entrance sign.

The owner of the restaurants stated on various forms of social media that the restaurants had been closed due to a flood, which was an outright lie; they were closed



Photo: gothamist.com

because the workers at both places had gone on strike.

A server named Maiquensaez Vega told the news website Gothamist, "We're all pretty much family here, everybody gets along. The restaurant is great, the product is good. But the way we were dealt with, and me being here for eight years, I feel like it's a slap in the face." Often, upscale places with a progressive image still exploit their workers.

The interesting thing about this walk-out is that, according to sources, there is no union or organization behind it. Rather, it was a spontaneous action by the workers.

**With files from Gothamist and NY1.**



Special

# The Joe Hill Centenary Takes To The Road

By Norman Stockwell and George Mann

*"From San Diego up to Maine,  
In every mine and mill -  
Where working men defend their rights  
It's there you'll find Joe Hill."*

- "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night."  
Lyrics by Alfred Hayes,  
music by Earl Robinson.

On Nov. 19, 1915 Wobbly activist Joe Hill was killed by a firing squad in Salt Lake City, Utah. After national and international appeals for clemency that included pleas from Helen Keller, Jane Addams, and Eugene V. Debs, Hill was executed for the murders of a grocer and his son who were shot in a robbery on Jan. 10, 1914. There is little doubt today that Joe Hill was framed for the crime because

he was a foreigner and a known labor activist. His death inspired several songs, and his life has inspired many fellow workers, but Joe also wrote some of our best-known labor songs, including "The Preacher and The Slave," "Casey Jones," and "There is Power in a Union," which are still sung today at union rallies and events.

This year, to mark the 100th anniversary of his death, a group of Wobblies and others are organizing the "Joe Hill Road 100 Show," a national concert tour. The tour will begin in Chicago on May Day, then head on to Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Madison, Oshkosh, Green Bay, and the Twin Cities for the Upper Midwest "leg." An east coast leg in July will include Albany, New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. In September, it will head to the south planning stops in places such as Blacksburg, Va.; Greensboro, N.C.;

Atlanta, Ga.; Asheville, N.C.; and Nashville, Tenn., and the last leg in November will hit the west coast before ending in Salt Lake City.

Each local community will produce a show with a mix of local and national touring artists. Some shows will also include spoken word pieces, and, of course, the songs of Joe Hill will be sung.

Joe Hill (Oct. 7, 1879 – Nov. 19, 1915) was born Joel Emmanuel Hägglund in Gävle, Sweden and was also known as Joseph Hillström. He came to the United States in 1902 and learned English as an itinerant laborer. Joe Hill was an organizer, songwriter, cartoonist and journalist during his 36 short years. He traveled from the east coast to the west coast, fanning the flames of discontent in mines and lumber camps. He died with literally no more than the shirt on his back.

Joe began writing songs for IWW organizing campaigns, and his first widely-known effort was "The Preacher and The Slave," written for the Free Speech Fight in Spokane, Wash. in 1910. His songs, written to the popular tunes of the day (so folks could sing 'em) have continued to inspire young agitators, and he remains the best-known songwriter among the IWW tunesmiths. With this tour, IWW members and musicians will remember Joe's life and work.

Other commemorative events this year include the Joe Hill edition of the "Solidarity Forever Labor History Calendar" and

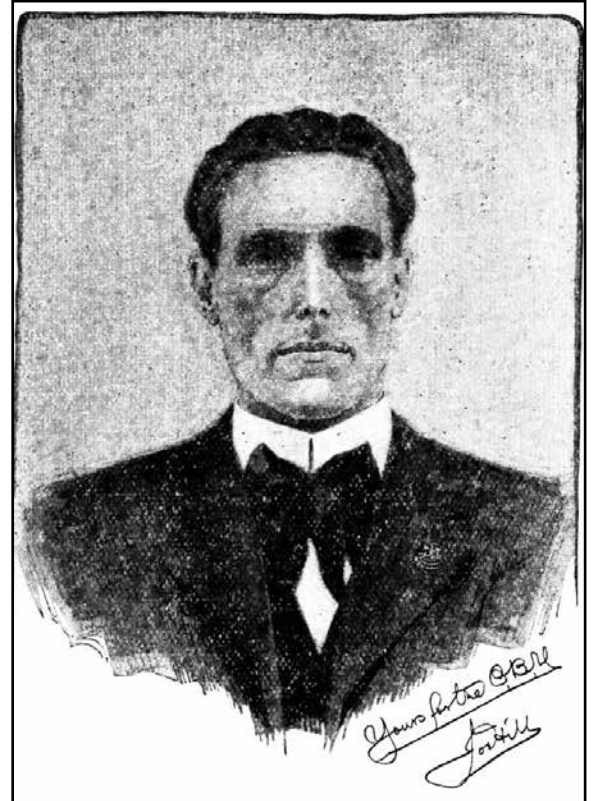


Photo: commons.wikimedia.org

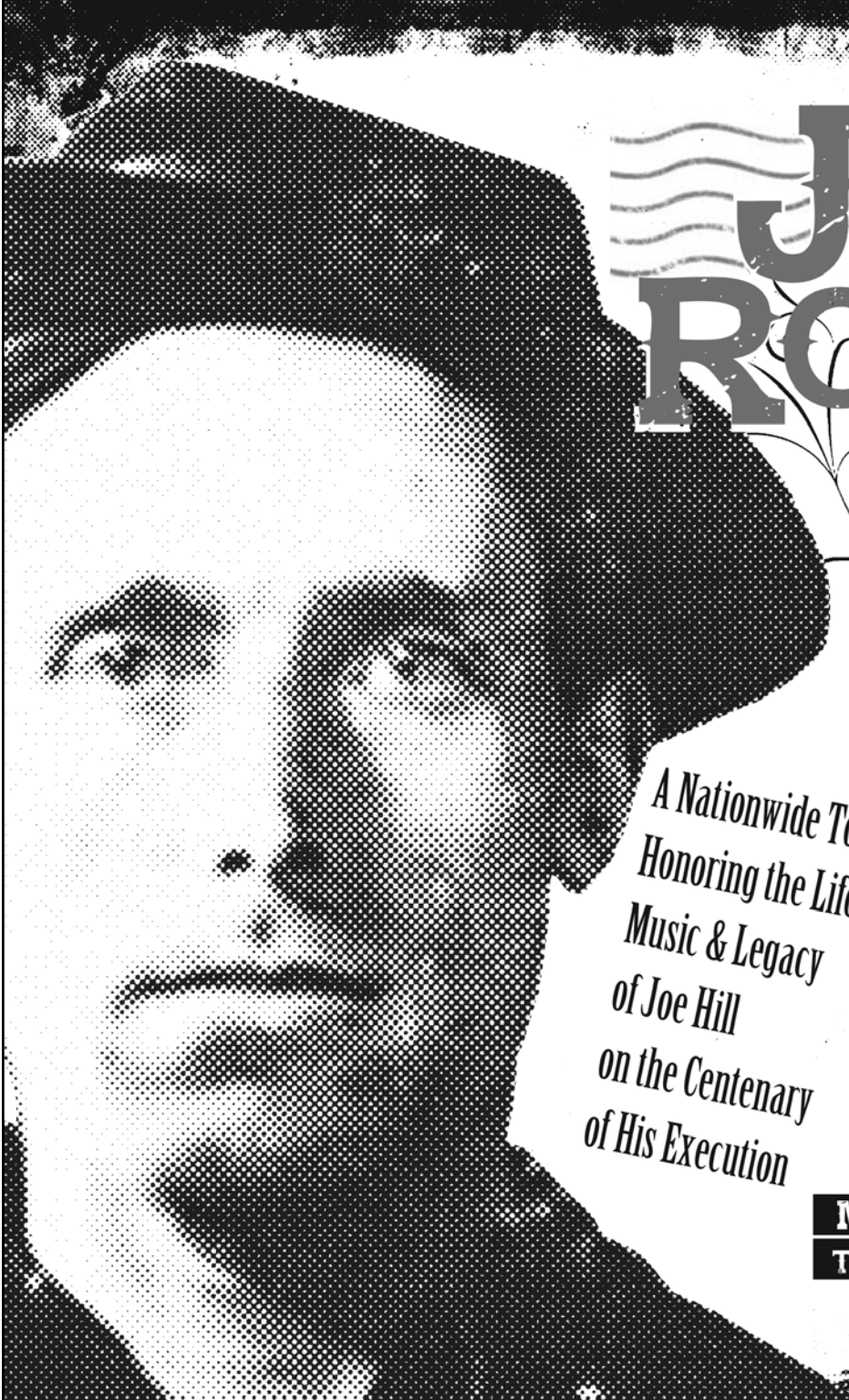
a special reproduction of the 1916 IWW "Little Red Song Book," which was issued at the time as a Joe Hill commemorative edition. In addition, folk musician John McCutcheon is releasing a new album of Joe Hill's songs titled "Joe Hill's Last Will" and performing in a one-person play on Joe Hill written by fellow musician and organizer Si Kahn.

For more information, or to make a donation to help support all of this year's events, visit: <http://joehill100.com> or <https://www.facebook.com/pages/The-Joe-Hill-100-tour/426997447452407>.



Mourners at Joe Hill's funeral in 1915.

Photo: reuther.wayne.edu





# JOE HILL <sup>100</sup> ROADSHOW

★ ★ ★

**MIDWEST  
TOUR DATES**


May 1: *Chicago, IL*  
 May 2: *Indianapolis, IN* • May 3: *Batavia, IL*  
 May 5: *Sheboygan WI* • May 6: *Madison, WI*  
 May 7: *Green Bay, WI* • May 8: *Milwaukee, WI*  
 May 9: *Oshkosh, WI* • May 10: *St. Paul, MN*

**FEATURING**

BUCKY HALKER	ANNE FEENEY	JAN HAMMARLUND
	LIL REV	JP WRIGHT 

**HEADING YOUR WAY SOON**  
 Visiting the Northeast,  
 Mid-Atlantic, South & West in  
 the Summer & Fall

**MORE ABOUT  
THE TOUR ON**  
[joehill100.com](http://joehill100.com)



A Nationwide Tour  
 Honoring the Life,  
 Music & Legacy  
 of Joe Hill  
 on the Centenary  
 of His Execution



Front Page News

# Syndicalist Union Protests Migrant Worker Exploitation In Berlin

Continued from 1

“They didn’t only not pay our wages,” a comrade explained, “several times, we were treated arbitrarily and menaced (with violence, too). They did withhold written contracts from us, and they gave us no or completely rotten accommodations.” Another comrade stated: “I had two goals when staging the protest: first, I wanted to fight for our dignity and, secondly, for the money.”

“The first goal, we already achieved,” he added.

Before joining FAU Berlin, the comrades had already gone to the publicly-funded counseling office for posted workers sent to Berlin, situated in the house of the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (German Confederation of Trade Unions, or DGB). The DGB has confirmed the mounting number of workers from Romania and Bulgaria seeking counseling, as does the intercultural association Amaro Foro. Therefore, the comrades’ cases might be considered symptomatic of the increased exploitation and cheating inflicted on workers from EU countries who are hired

for the lowest possible wages and, then, are not even fully paid. Still, legal advice and written claims’ assertions do not adequately replace union action.

The latter has been provided quickly and resolutely by FAU Berlin, particularly by its section for migrant workers called the Foreigners Section, as well as by a dedicated FAU working group. Right before Christmas 2014, by means of daily rallies

and a noisy demonstration of some 300 people, the grassroots union and its new comrades made the “Mall of Shame” (as they call it), a symbol for the exploitation of migrant workers. By the end of January 2015 a Brandenburg newspaper stated it was “a subject of reporting of all Berlin press.” They’ve been wholeheartedly supported by FAU members from all over the



Wobbly solidarity. Photo: FAU Berlin

country.

In the meantime, the bosses try to avoid their responsibility and take distance from one another. Customer-investor Harald Huth (HGHI) told the press: “We have nothing to do with these workers. This is an issue for FCL [Fettchenhauer Controlling & Logistic], which we’ve paid completely for all provided services.” But the executing FCL declared bankruptcy by mid-December, which neither hinders ex-general manager Andreas Fettchenhauer to be continually active in the construction industry with half a dozen other companies nor attempts to silence FAU Berlin by the legal means of a temporary injunction. In the meantime, the subcontractors’ representatives declared they “have never employed Romanian workers” (Metatec) and

that they had not gotten any money from FCL (Openmallmaster). The first assertion is refuted by so called “renunciations” that some individual workers signed in order to get at least part of their wages. The latter assertion is vehemently refuted by Fettchenhauer himself. And despite Huth’s claim in mid-December to have broken with Fettchenhauer, an “FCL Fettchenhauer Construction GmbH” is right now working briskly on the renovation site of a new shopping center in Berlin-Lichterfelde—a project of Huth’sian HGHI.

As for FAU Berlin, the union continues its protests in 2015, by leafleting, for example, or hold a rally at the subcontractors’ offices. Additionally, the grassroots union supported its comrades in filing lawsuits against the subcontractors. And the FAU continues to fight back against the use of “temporary injunction” and the restrictions of union liberty. So, this struggle will remain thrilling.

For more up-to-date information, visit <https://berlin.fau.org/kaempfe/mall-of-shame>. Follow the campaign on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/mallofshame>.

## Welsh Wobbly Facing Deportation

Continued from 1

“We have been really happy together although our circumstances have put a strain on our marriage,” he added.

Brandon’s wife, who is also a member of the Wales IWW, suffers from severe schizophrenia, which prevents her from working and means she cannot be named in the media.

Since getting married her disability payments have been reduced. As a couple, they now survive a meager existence on the amount intended for one person, as Brandon is not entitled to claim benefits.

In order to support his wife and meet the visa requirements so they can stay together, FW Brandon has taken various jobs and has been described as a hard and conscientious worker. However these jobs have been through agencies, and he has been laid off just prior to the six months that would qualify him for employment rights.

He applies for jobs daily but like many people in the United Kingdom, he is finding it impossible to obtain paid work. He would accept any job offered. To demonstrate his work ethic, Brandon currently contributes to the community



Graphic: facebook.com/walesiww

by volunteering in a recycling center.

“Times are really tough and there aren’t a lot of jobs out there. I apply for jobs and no one calls me back,” he said.

The fear and threat of deportation is putting immense strain on their marriage: “We fight and argue all the time about it,” he said.

“It’s a really bad situation.” He supports his wife the best he can and loves her dearly. However, the situation is making her very unwell, and she has been admitted to a psychiatric hospital on numerous occasions following attempts to take her life.

The Wales IWW is campaigning to stop Brandon from being deported. To assist with the legal and visa fees, the branch set up a crowdfunding site. The heartwarming support the couple received exceeded the initial target, but may not be enough. What is needed is the assistance of just one local employer. “Really,” Brandon said, “I just need a job.”

To support FW Brandon, donate here: <http://www.indiegogo.com/projects/1119786/fblk>.

To contact the campaign, email [wales@iww.org.uk](mailto:wales@iww.org.uk) or [helpforfw@gmail.com](mailto:helpforfw@gmail.com).

## IWW Montreal Occupies Government Buildings To Protest Austerity

By the IWW Montreal

On Monday, March 9, the Industrial Worker of the World - Montreal/Syndicat Industriel Des Travailleuses et des Travailleuse (IWW/SITT), as well as several citizens, occupied Quebec’s Minister of Family and Seniors’ office building. This action was part of the movement against austerity measures and a part of our campaign for a social strike on May 1, 2015.

Today, many workers are directly confronted with the effects of budget cuts to health services, to municipal employees, to firemen and firewomen, to postal workers, to students, to workers in the private sector...yet, resistance is organizing itself everywhere. We will not let different governments (whether conservative or liberal) and the bosses impose their anti-social measures on us. The time of a minority enriching itself on the back of an impoverished majority is finished.

Our unity allows us to wage a radical struggle in the face of the bosses’ logic. This struggle must only grow.

The various governmental funding cuts will impact the services and the qual-



Photo: L’activiste

ity of those public services. The job cuts in Centre de la Petite Enfance (CPE) and childcare will have serious consequences for the workers of these institutions since their jobs are now at stake, but the cuts also touch all users who don’t have the means to pay for individual care services. Once again it will be the poor who will end up bearing the brunt of these cuts. In our response we wanted to show our solidarity and express our anger at the deterioration of public services.

The IWW/SITT calls for mobilization towards a national general strike on May 1, 2015. We invite all workers to increase the quantity of blockades, sabotage and occupation of restricted areas.

Against the bosses’ rules: Union Struggle – General Strike!

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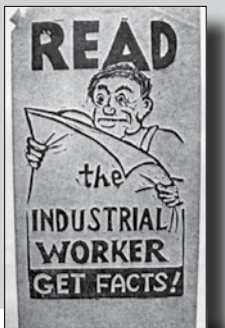
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## Wobbly Arts

## Skagit Valley, Migrant Labor Camp Fieldwork, 1960-1980

c, angelica guillen, 1990

las campesinas  
prayed in church every sunday

they wore men's pants to work  
drove buses tractors trucks  
smoked Pall Malls  
maneuvered hands forged into agile deliberate tools  
by decades of hard field work

they covered their heads with long cotton cloth  
tightly secured by wide brimmed hats

levantando la cosecha  
they leaned towards the ground  
always in dread of hearing THAT sound

airplanes!  
flying in low  
heaving pesticides over fields, us  
we covered our faces with the cotton fabric  
hoping to keep the toxic mist away from our mouths, our breaths  
the niños in our wombs

"hold your heads down, muchachas! don't look up at the  
airplanes or the sun  
keep working!" the mujeres called out to us, younger women

we continued  
cutting the soil with our hoes  
removing weeds  
poison spray was supposed to kill

campesinas  
were the weeds  
the pesticides killed

Many campesinos suffered the effects of the pesticides that were sprayed on us while we worked in the fields. Fourteen years old, I watched the most graceful and kind women and men fall ill and die. We did not know then that pesticides could kill people. Now I look back and know that the illnesses I saw were the result of people being poisoned while they work.

I remember my *tia's* (aunt's) beautiful skin, vibrant with a power that drew light to it and held it. it was always fragrant with the smell of tortillas and *guisados* (home-cooked main dishes). The bones of her body lay safe and snug beneath her firm skin. Out in the fields she wore a wide brimmed hat to shield as much of her body as she could from *el spray* (pesticides) and the sun. My *tia* was 50-years-old.

I remember Yisidra's skin, a glowing tribute upon her 38-year-old, slim frame. It held the sheen and elasticity of a young girl's skin. Its scent was not of cooking

but of Ponds hand lotion. This was the skin of a woman aware of her beauty, for beautiful she was. Working beside her in the fields, we young girls listened attentively to her advice on how to be beautiful—at night before you go to bed, brush your hair, put Ponds lotion on your face and hands. She would examine our hands every day to make sure we were taking care of them. Her stride firm, her caressing voice would tell us of our dignity as Mexicana women. I still see her standing in the fields waving to us.

He survived Vietnam and returned to the only place that would hire him: migrant labor camp. Kinky, shoulder-length, black hair stormed in all directions around his head; his skin crinkled across his cheek bones when he smiled. Morenito like the earth and young like the sun; he conquered the fields and fieldwork. Overhead airplanes sprayed. He was 22 years old.

Not much later, *tia* and Yisidra's skin bulged and heaved with a cancer that greedily devoured them raw. Each a mother of several children, each reduced in a matter of months to a small bundle. And he developed a disease that specialists could not name, much less treat. The pain unceasing. His body wept pus—hot and unhealed—then no more.

## Wobbly History

## Killers Of Fellow Worker Frank Teruggi Sentenced In Chile

By x331980

Frank Teruggi, an IWW member from Chicago and a native of Des Plaines, Ill., was kidnapped, tortured and murdered during the military coup in Chile in 1973. On Feb. 4, 2015 two Chilean military intelligence officers were convicted of the murder of Fellow Worker (FW) Teruggi and another American, Charles Horman. Brigadier General Pedro Espinoza was sentenced to seven years in the killings of both men. Rafael González, who worked for Chilean Air Force Intelligence as a "civilian counterintelligence agent," was sentenced to two years in the Horman murder only. Espinoza is currently serving multiple sentences for other human rights crimes as well. A third indicted man, U.S. Naval Captain Ray Davis, head of the U.S. Military Group at the U.S. Embassy in Santiago at the time of the coup, has since died.

Teruggi, 24, and Horman, 31, had gone to Chile to see and experience the new socialist government of President Salvador Allende. FW Teruggi participated in protest marches in Santiago following the unsuccessful June 1973 military attempt referred to as the "Tanquetazo" or "Tancazo." FBI documents show that the agency monitored him, labeling him a "subversive" due to his anti-Vietnam war activities, and participation in assisting draft evaders. FBI files also list his street address in Santiago. Chilean soldiers later dragged him out of this house when he was arrested.

Judge Jorge Zepeda's ruling stated that the murders of Horman and Teruggi were part of "a secret U.S. information gathering operation carried out by the U.S. Military Group in Chile on the political activities of American citizens in the United States and in Chile." Sergio Corvalán, a human rights lawyer working for the Horman and Teruggi families on the case, told reporter Pascale Bonnefoy of the *New York Times* that he felt the ruling confirmed what the families had long believed—that Chilean military officers would not have acted against them on their own. They must have had an "OK" from U.S. officials.

The families of Teruggi and Horman were awarded a cash settlement. Under Chilean law, a mandated appeal process must occur before final action is taken. Janis Teruggi Page, Frank Teruggi's sister, told Costa Rica's *The Tico Times*: "Joyce Horman [Charles Horman's widow] and I still have an appeals process to get through, which may last six more

months. Page said that she and Horman would like the U.S. government to look into these killings more thoroughly. "We are now asking the U.S. Navy, the State Department and the CIA to investigate on the basis of the information (in Judge Zepeda's ruling) pointing to U.S. officials, especially Captain Ray Davis."

Documentation published by Peter Kornbluh in his book "The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability" confirms that Frank and his roommate, David Hathaway, were taken from their home at 9 p.m. on Sept. 20, questioned at a nearby Carabineros station and then delivered to the national stadium, which had become a holding tank, torture chamber and execution site for thousands of activists and others simply caught up in the frenzy of coup. Hathaway survived the ordeal. Chilean journalist Pascale Bonnefoy Miralles, who has covered the Teruggi case for a number of years, in her book "Terrorismo de Estadio," quotes a Belgian named André Van Lancker, also tortured in the stadium. Van Lancker was told by other detainees that they saw Frank Teruggi during an interrogation in the stadium. He was beaten and tortured with electric shocks, then killed by a machine gun. The torturers realized they had gone "too far," she reports, and were afraid of having problems with the U.S. government, so they kept Frank's name off the lists of prisoners. His body was later left in a public street, where it was discovered the following day, Sept. 21, just after 9 p.m., and brought to the morgue.

For days, the Teruggi family did not know what had happened to their son. Steve Brown who covered the story extensively for the *Daily Herald Suburban* newspapers in Chicago, remembers interviewing FW Teruggi's father, Frank Teruggi, Sr., who was trying to get more information and help from the U.S. government: "He was disturbed. . . that there wasn't more attention being given to this thing (by the Nixon administration)." This should not have been a surprise, however, as just before the coup against the Allende government, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger declared "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its

people. The issues are much too important for the Chilean voters to be left to decide for themselves."

This month's sentencing followed a ruling last June by Judge Zepeda that found that Teruggi and Horman, in separate incidents, had been killed by Chilean

military officials based on information provided to them by U.S. intelligence operatives in Chile. Judge Zepeda's investigation, which began in 2000, asserted that the targeted killings were part of "a secret United States information-gathering operation carried out by the U.S. MILGROUP in Chile on the political activities of American citizens in the United States and in Chile."

A report published in September 2000 by the U.S. Intelligence Community report affirmed that the CIA "actively supported the military Junta after the overthrow of Allende." But, in spite of this admission, much of the specifics of the U.S. role remain obscured.

"After 14 years of investigation, the Chilean courts have provided new details on how and why Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi were targeted and executed by Pinochet's forces," said Peter Kornbluh. "But legal evidence and the verdict of history remain elusive on the furtive U.S. role in the aftermath of the military coup."

Kornbluh is a senior analyst at the National Security Archive, an independent non-governmental research institute and library located at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., that has been collecting and analyzing documents about the U.S. role in the Chilean coup since the mid-1980s. In June 2000, they released electronic documents (<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB33/index.html>) relating to the deaths of Teruggi and Horman. These documents and others were part of the evidence reviewed by Judge Zepeda.

In 2011, Zepeda, a Chilean special investigative judge, indicted and attempted to extradite former U.S. Navy Captain Ray Davis. Davis, it was later discovered, had left the United States in 2011 and was living secretly in Chile, where he died at the age of 88 in a nursing home in April 2013—before he could be located by authorities. His death leaves many questions unanswered.



Frank Teruggi. Photo: progressive.org

The 1982 film "Missing" portrays Ray Davis (called "Capt. Ray Tower" in the movie) and other U.S. Embassy officials as being much more involved in the coup and its aftermath than the U.S. public was aware. In an attempt to gain more understanding of what had happened to his son, Frank Teruggi, Sr. joined a delegation that traveled to Chile from Feb. 16-23, 1974. The group, called the Chicago Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Human Rights in Chile, stated in its report (excerpted and printed in the *New York Review of Books* on May 30, 1974): "The Embassy of the United States seems to have made no serious efforts to protect the American citizens present in Chile during and after the military takeover."

The importance of Judge Zepeda's ruling, and the fact that it clearly indicts a U.S. official for having a role in these deaths, may help to move the investigations forward, but the full extent of involvement by the U.S. government in these events may never be known. After the sentences were announced in February, Frank Teruggi's sister, Janis Teruggi Page, told journalist Pascale Bonnefoy in the *New York Times*, "Frank, a charitable and peace-loving young man, was the victim of a calculated crime by the Chilean military, but the question of U.S. complicity remains yet to be answered."

Frank Randall Teruggi was buried in a cemetery in Des Plaines, Ill.. According to newspaper reports at the time, more than 100 friends and family members attended, and the late South African exiled activist poet Dennis Brutus wrote this poem for the occasion:

**FOR FRANK TERUGGI  
(Killed in Chile, Buried in Chicago)**

**A simple rose  
a single candle  
a black coffin  
a few mourners  
weeping;  
for the unsung brave  
who sing in the dark  
who defy the colonels  
and who know  
a new world stirs.**

More about Teruggi, and Horman and the story of their murders can be found at <http://www.progressive.org/news/2014/09/187856/other-911-seeking-truth-about-frank-teruggi> and [http://www.hormantruth.org/ht/bio\\_teruggi](http://www.hormantruth.org/ht/bio_teruggi).

With excerpts from the *Associated Press* and internet files.







## Wobbly History

# Did Commies Kill Wobblies During The Spanish Civil War?

By Raymond S. Solomon

In September 1938, Wobbly Ivan Silverman and “two unidentified Wobblies” were “forced by commies onto a bare field to face fascist machine guns [in] Spain.” This history was cited by Fellow Worker DJ Alperovitz in a Nov. 2013 article in the *Industrial Worker* that lists murdered Wobblies from 1907 until the present time. The article was titled “In November Who Do We Remember?” (page 6-7). In the right hand column, or sidebar, of this massive listing were small reproductions of parts of newspaper stories involving a large number of these Wobbly deaths. These terrible incidents include Wobblies being shot by thugs, killed by the Ku Klux Klan, dying in Soviet Russia’s Gulag Archipelago, and beaten to death by various company guards. In the bottom right-hand corner is a clipping from the Sept. 10, 1938 edition of the *Industrial Worker* with the headline “IVAN SILVERMAN, TWO OTHERS KILLED IN SPAIN.”

This is typical of a lesser-known aspect of the Spanish Civil War (1936 to 1939)—that is the struggle within the Loyalist side between the communists on one side and the left-wing parties and the anarchists on the other. It was a civil war within a civil war. The communists wanted the Spanish Revolution of workers and peasants stopped or slowed down. It did not want the Spanish Loyalist cause to be seen as a radical cause.

Some of the most consistent reporting on this was in the periodical *Spanish Revolution*. It was put out by the Vanguard Group, an anarchist youth group, but it had guidance and support from Wobblies, some of whom were integral to the Vanguard Group. These people included Herbert Mahler, Carlo Tresca, Sam Dolgoff (who often wrote under the pen name Sam Weiner) Roman Weinrebe, and Clara Freedman (my mother), who was both an anarchist and a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. My father Sidney Solomon (who wrote under the name S. Morrison) was very involved in both the publication of *Vanguard* and of *Spanish Revolution*. He was very sympathetic with the Wobblies. I am therefore going to summarize the reports in *Spanish Revolution* that cover this conflict within the Loyalist side of The Spanish Civil War. I appreciate the fact that the website <http://www.libcom.org> has made back issues of *Spanish Revolution* available on the internet. I am going to interperse this with other sources including the *Industrial Worker*, George Orwell, Spartacus Educational, and Wikipedia. I have cited *Spanish Revolution* in “History of Workers’ Revolution In Catalonia” (May 2014 *Industrial Worker*, page 14). Please keep in mind that *Spanish Revolution* was monthly and twice monthly, and that communication technology at the time was not what it is now, so there will be some time-lags between the dates of events and their reporting in *Spanish Revolution*:

The Feb. 8, 1936 issue of *Spanish Revolution* reported that French communist Andre Marty (1886 - 1956) was a commander in the International Brigade. During the Russian Civil War he led a mutiny on a ship bringing men and arms to fight against the Russian revolution. This was part of an article about the International Brigades, noting their multinational make-up (*Spanish Revolution*, Vol. 1. No. 11). Wikipedia reported that Marty was quite autocratic and “saw fifth columnists everywhere.” In contrast to this, George Orwell, in “Homage to Catalonia,” reported that while serving in the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM) militia, dissent was greatly tolerated. At that time he expressed agreement with the communist view that the war came before the revolution, which was in contrast to the POUM and anarchist view that the war and the revolution were the

same. He changed his views after the May Day conflict of 1937 (see below).

In two items on the front page of *Spanish Revolution* of March 12, 1937, (Vol. 1, No. 13), the New York Vanguard group joined in and reported on the anarchist defense of the Spanish POUM. The articles were titled “ANARCHISTS AGAINST P.O.U.M. PERSECUTIONS” and “STOP PARTY STRIFE ANARCHISTS DEMAND.” The Spanish POUM was a Leninist but anti-Stalinist organization. In part, the POUM was an offshoot from the Trotskyites, and was therefore hated by the communists. The above mentioned articles called for an end to the persecution of the POUM and for disseminating lies about it—such as the POUM being agents of Hitler and Mussolini. It also vehemently denied that the anarchists shared the communist view about the POUM, as was claimed by the Communist Party of Spain. The editors of *Spanish Revolution* pointed out that since the anarchists had sacrificed their ideological purity to form a coalition with other parties in the cause of fighting against fascism, there should not be internal party strife, as manifested by the communist campaign against the POUM.

The essence of the communist demands was that the revolution should be postponed, that collectivization of factories and agricultural land not proceed, and that the defense of Loyalist Spain be changed from the militia system and replaced by a centralized “disciplined” military. One revolutionary response to that appeared in the Feb. 16, 1937 issue of the anarchist publication, *Solidaridad Obrera*:

“Unified command? Yes; but under the control of the proletarian organization.” The communists wanted, in contrast, a government-controlled military. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union directed that the arms it supplied should not go to the Aragon Front, which had many anarchists and POUM troops.

But the plot thickens, and the threat to the revolution increases, as shown in the April 9, 1937 dated edition of *Spanish Revolution* (Vol.1, No. 15). One headline was titled “TOWARDS A POLITICAL CRISIS IN CATALONIA” (Ibid p. 2). It seems that there was a Stalinist-bourgeois block against the advancement of revolution. In “Homage to Catalonia,” George Orwell summarized the new internal alignment on the Loyalist side as:

1. The anarchists: the POUM and Prime Minister Largo Caballero’s left-wing segment of the socialists within the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) were for the revolution; versus

2. The communists: President Manuel Azana’s Republican Party and conservative elements of the socialists (typified by Juan Negrin) against going full speed ahead with the economic and social revolution.

Two popular jokes of that period were, “If you’re too conservative to join the Republican Party, you can always join the Communist Party.” Also, “Save Spain from Marxism! Vote Communist!”

The publishers of *Spanish Revolution* wanted to explain, among other things, what was happening on the Loyalist side and why it was so important. There was a meeting held on April 4, 1937. The main speakers included Wobblies Carlo Tresca and Sam Weiner (a.k.a. Sam Dolgoff).

In late April, George Orwell was on temporary leave from the POUM militia, where he was fighting on the Aragon Front. As Orwell recorded in “Homage to Catalonia,” he wanted to transfer to the International Column (i.e. the International Brigade) where he felt there was more significant fighting. He needed a recommendation from a communist, and had sought out a communist friend. He sensed the tension. May Day 1937 was approaching. There was talk of the Con-



In a mass demonstration in Barcelona, workers hold a banner reading, “Solidaridad Obrera, the daily newspaper of the Revolution.”

Photo: theanarchistlibrary.org

federación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) and UGT marching together. In Catalonia, the past relationships between those two unions had not been good, in contrast to other areas in Spain. Orwell reported that due to this tension, the May Day parade was canceled in Barcelona. Orwell saw an irony in that Red Barcelona was the only major city in non-fascist Europe not to have a May Day parade.

Then, the Barcelona police and the communists demanded that the anarchists surrender the telephone exchange, which the anarchists had been running since the beginning of the Spanish Revolution. This led to a week of fighting with the police, with communists on one side and the anarchists and the POUM on the other side. Orwell was on the side of the anarchists. The fighting, which lasted from May 3-8 1937, was known as “The May Days.” One of the worst atrocities during the 1937 May Days was the murder of Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri by communists in Barcelona. Shortly after the May Days, Largo Caballero (“the Spanish Lenin”) was replaced by the more conservative Juan Negrin. As a result of the May Days, Orwell could not in good faith enlist in the International Brigade.

Orwell did go back to fight again in the POUM militia. During that time, Orwell was shot through his neck in battle. After recovery, he returned to Barcelona about five weeks after the May Days. The police and the communists were arresting POUM members, both Spaniards and foreign volunteers associated with the POUM. Orwell and his wife Eileen Blair escaped to France. Research by Michael Shelden, cited in his book “Orwell: The Authorized Biography,” shows that George Orwell (a.k.a. Eric Blair) and Eileen Blair were going to be arrested and publicly tried by the new communist-dominated government of Barcelona.

The Oct. 22, 1937, issue of *Spanish Revolution* (Vol. II, No.3, page 2) reported on the murder in Spain of Bob Smillie, a friend of George Orwell. Smillie had been arrested in the crackdown on the POUM and their Independent Labour Party allies. Although it was claimed that Smillie died of complications of an appendicitis operation, he had, in fact, had his appendix out in Britain. According to Spartacus Educational, Smillie had fought against Mosley’s British Union of Fascists.

The same issue of *Spanish Revolution* reported that General Enrique Lister, a Spanish communist who had received military training in the Soviet Union, despite being popular outside of Spain, was breaking up Spanish peasant collectives

in Aragon and Catalonia.

Despite the fact that George Orwell bore witness to the Communist Party’s betrayal of the Spanish Revolution, including the murder and arrests of fellow POUM fighters, he asserted to the great merit of the communists who fought for Loyalist Spain. As Orwell wrote in “Homage to Catalonia,” “Please note that I am saying nothing against the rank-and-file communists, least of all against the thousands of communists who died heroically around Madrid.”

Ernest Hemingway said, “No men ever entered the earth more honorably than those who died in Spain.” These included, as Alperovitz cited, in the November 2013 *Industrial Worker*, an “Unknown numbers of IWWs...[who] died while fighting fascists while serving with the Republican forces in Spain” and specifically Lou Walsh, who “Died while fighting with the Catalanian Militia, Aragon front, Spain [on] June 16th, 1937.” And, as reported by Matt White in “IWW Members Who Fought in the Spanish Civil War” (*Industrial Worker*, November, 2013), at least five other Wobblies died in the conflict:

Heinrich Bortz, German anti-Nazi, whose battlefield death was recorded on the Oct. 23, 1937 issue of the *Industrial Worker*; Ted Dickinson, Wobbly from Australia, who was executed as a prisoner of war after being captured by Franco’s forces; Harry Owens, who fought in the forces of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, and was killed in the middle of 1937; Louis Rosenberg, who, “According to his death notice from the CNT...was killed in action with the Durruti International Battalion.” He was killed together with an unknown anarchist from Pennsylvania; Harry Schlesinger was killed in the latter part of 1938, when the war was almost lost, while serving in the Lincoln Battalion.

To learn more about the above five heroes, and other Wobblies killed in the Spanish Civil War read Matt White’s most excellent article in the November 2013 *Industrial Worker*.

Many of the veterans of the Lincoln Battalion and the George Washington Battalion were treated very poorly when they returned to America. Many were accused of disloyalty. Some were called before Congressional Committees during the McCarthy era. A large number were blacklisted. Many could not get adequate medical care for serious wounds acquired during the Spanish Civil War. Leading Wobbly organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said they were discriminated against for “being prematurely antifascist.”



# 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).

## Building Ties With Comrades In Mexico

By x379809

The Frente Auténtico del Trabajo (Authentic Labor Front or FAT) of Mexico can indeed lay claim to this title, with 50-plus years of history to back up this claim. Since 1960, FAT has won many struggles for working people in factories, helping to establish several cooperatives, and fighting to establish the first secret ballot in a union election in Mexico's history. Not only have they initiated campaigns to bring gender equality in workplaces, but also many women have occupied leadership positions within the union.

I first became aware of FAT at Pittsburgh's May Day celebration through the United Electrical, Radio and Ma-

chine Workers of America (UE), who I marched with. Speaking with the director of international relations about my recent visit to Mexico, I was encouraged to support FAT via my friends, family and contacts in Mexico. UE has been a strong supporter

of FAT during the past 30 years, starting with the beginnings of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and continuing to this day. The UE/FAT relationship has resulted in many victories on both sides of the borders. During my next visit to Mexico, I made a point to visit the FAT office in Mexico City. As a gesture of support I brought a statement of solidarity from my General Membership Branch (GMB), a translated copy of our Preamble, general strike posters and a few t-shirts. I was given a tour of their offices, which had many framed letters, photos and posters from other unions worldwide.

I was instantly struck by the mural on the front wall of their union hall. In the center of this mural was Emiliano Zapata, the southern insurgent leader of Mexico's 1910 revolution. Flanked on both sides were Albert and Lucy Parsons. Directly below Zapata stood four of Mexico's organizers who were either killed or disappeared standing on farmland while ripping apart barbed-wire fencing. One of the men holds a copy of "Capital" with a picture of Karl Marx. Throughout the mural, various "angels," or the spirits of the fallen workers, hold banners inscribed with the words "Unionism without Borders." Some of them are taking aim at capitalists and politicians, with faces

of pigs and skeletons, cowering from the workers while holding bags of money. The words of August Spies, "Here you will tread upon a spark, but there, and there, and behind you and in front of you, and everywhere, flames will blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You cannot put it out. The ground is on fire upon which you stand," also appear paraphrased within the mural.

Not only do we share ideological heroes, but also in our composition FAT is remarkably similar to the IWW. While our Preamble states our goal is the abolition of wages and a world without capitalism, theirs states the purpose is "building a self-managed society with the direct participation of the work-

ers and civil society." Our Preamble inspires workers to be "organized, not just in everyday struggles with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism is overthrown." FAT declares "Self-management at work, is understood as a formula of struggle from

which the working class takes over, builds their organizations, defines their programs of control and advances in their control of production." and the goal of "becoming socially owned and managed by those who do work." In many ways FAT is the IWW's Mexican counterpart and we as a union should build connections with them. As one of the few independent labor unions in Mexico, FAT truly has lived up to its bold name.

Globally, working people are facing similar conditions such as privatization and austerity measures with increasing state violence against activists and suppression of labor rights. The parasitic capitalist class has always viewed Mexico as a source of cheap labor. A study of international capital in Mexico provides proof as to the ruthless nature of the private ownership of the means to merely survive. The cause of the 1910 revolt was back then Porfirian/American hegemony. Unions like the Casa Obrero Mundial and FAT have been fighting a continual battle from the early 20th century, survived fascistic political programs and still on their feet fighting corporate greed. With Mexico on the front lines, we should take the time and consider the struggle of our Mexican sisters and brothers, and actively support them, because workers' struggles have no borders.



Graphic: FAT

## Labor/Union Challenges In Taiwan: A Delegate's Perspective



August 2001 IWW workshop at Wisteria Tea House in Taipei.

Photo: David Temple

By David Temple of the Taiwan IWW

The Taiwan initiative of the IWW has been coming to terms with the political situation in Taiwan. There is a tug-of-war here between Chinese and American influences captivating the youth of the island and distracting them from the basic problem: a paucity of good jobs, all at low pay, all without union protection.

Organizing for the One Big Union (OBU) in Taiwan has been an education since I was made a delegate in September 2013 and entrusted with the goal of starting a Regional Organizing Committee (ROC) in Asia, based in Taiwan.

With referrals from former General Secretary-Treasurer (GST) Sam, I sought out and met two young college students who were signed up by the Perth, Australia branch. In addition, I was referred to an interested education worker in northern Taiwan who referred me to another interested worker in southern Taiwan. I traveled from my central location to meet both men and issue Red Cards. In addition, I contacted an activist friend I had met 10 years earlier who introduced me to student activists that worked in his café. They were not interested in starting a union and the two activists from Perth didn't show their Red Cards. The education workers paid one month's dues and ceased contact. The organizing campaign reached a dead end.

In Taiwan, despite low wages stuck at a 16-year-old rate, overwork, and unsafe working conditions, both older and younger workers are reluctant to organize into unions. The older workers lived through a brutal 37 years of martial law from the U.S.-supported dictatorship. The younger workers grew up with neo-liberal two-party market capitalism where independent unions were restricted. The ruling class embedded sweetheart unions with special privileges as a way of controlling the work force, stifling labor unrest, and ensuring voter sympathy.

Student activism falls into two basic camps: pro-China or laissez-faire U.S. influence. There is a small group of student activists leaning towards Taiwan independence. Unionism equals radical communism because of fear-mongering from propaganda against a China takeover or U.S. anti-worker capitalism. Pro-China student activists condemn the World Trade Organization (WTO) and sweatshops but generally do not see union solidarity as a remedy.

Where does that leave the pro-union anarcho-syndicalism of the IWW in Taiwan? For many bad reasons, old and young oppressed workers in Taiwan cannot or will not make the connection that organizing themselves in their workplace is the only way to start addressing the dilemma of top-down management.

The following issues act as obstructions to union organizing in Taiwan:

1. Minimum wage is too low; there is no living wage.
2. Tipping is prohibited or collected and kept by the boss.
3. Overtime work is not compensated in family businesses; rules are not enforced.
4. Year-end bonuses are used to entrap workers into compliance with unfair

workplace conditions.

5. Only government-approved unions may be organized.

6. A workplace must have at least 30 employees to file to unionize.

7. Hooligans harass workers attempting to unionize.

8. The ex-pat worker community is transient; foreigners may not unionize or participate in public demonstrations or face deportation.

A delegate for the IWW should organize with their fellow workers in their own workplace. As a teacher of English as a Foreign Language, I am faced with the handicap of organizing a transient workforce of ex-pats who rarely stay on the job long enough to organize. Another problem I have as a delegate of the IWW in Taiwan is that I am a 60-year-old immigrant of European descent; there is prejudice and suspicion about me. Even though I speak Mandarin Chinese, I am still seen as an outsider by most Taiwanese. An organizer who is indigenous to Taiwan stands a better chance of being successful here. There are many handicaps we must overcome before a ROC can take hold in Taiwan and Asia.

It will be very difficult to succeed in promoting organizing workers in Taiwan and Asia without indigenous delegates. To address the issues inhibiting union solidarity and organizing in Taiwan, this delegate proposes to do the following:

1. Find a Taiwanese group or political party to bore into that will appreciate the goals of the IWW union organizing effort.
2. Continue promoting the OBU on the internet at <http://www.taIWWan.blogspot.tw>, a digest of worker actions in Taiwan. The site has received over 8,000 hits worldwide.
3. Continue the community Facebook page of taIWWan. We have over 800 friends supporting our efforts worldwide.
4. Post articles to local Facebook pages that will raise the consciousness of English-speaking workers here in hopes of building a support group to form a ROC.
5. Continue offering our free "How to Start Your Own Union" workshops.
6. Continue offering a free progressive lending library to the community.
7. Promote my website <http://www.readingsandridings.jimdo.com> where readers can access my proletarian creative writing and blogs, including <http://www.iww.org>.

8. Keep General Headquarters (GHQ) informed of developments in Taiwan IWW organizing and continue following up on referrals from GHQ of fellow workers in the Asian/Taiwan region.

Most importantly to our organizing campaign here is finding indigenous fellow workers willing to organize themselves and fellow workers into a union with the IWW. As it is illegal to organize a union without 30 workers in a shop and approval from the Ministry of Labor, clandestine union organizing campaigns must be stressed. Your delegate must be able to meet indigenous workers with fire and guts to improve their working conditions and compensation at the grassroots level and to grieve unfair labor practices. I believe this can be done.

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