

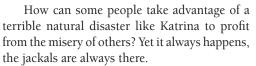
OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

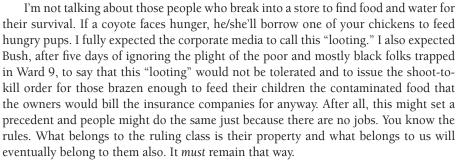
November 2005

#1679 Vol. 102 No. 10

\$1.00 / 75 p

### **Bosses looting New Orleans**





No, I'm talking about ruling class looting; the first-class, state-of-the-art looting that always follows a natural disaster; using the excuse of Katrina/Rita to "loot" the entire United States at the gas pumps, from your heating bills, for the fat contracts to rebuild New Orleans, to repair the docks, the casinos, the convention center, the fancy hotels, the Super Dome and the oil rigs. I'm not talking about the peanuts taken from the flooded 7-11s, but the trillions that will wind up in the pockets of U.S. corporations.

Think Bush might give the "shoot to kill" order for this theft? The poor may get a few free meals and old sweaters from all the monies pouring into the Gulf coast, but the majority of the huge donations of the working class will wind up in corporate pockets. Halliburton isn't skimming enough in Iraq, it's already in New Orleans getting no-bid contracts there as well.

Why don't the media label this as "looting"? A rhetorical question, isn't it? The ruling class makes the laws and also owns the media that interpret those laws for us. Already Bush is saying we must give the oil companies more tax breaks to build more refineries and must also remove troublesome environmental standards from the refineries. Haven't two major hurricanes, back to back, caused any new thoughts about pollution and global warming? As I write this, thousands of Mayan Indians lie buried under mud slides and floods from yet another hurricane in Central America. Are capitalists so blinded by greed that they don't understand they will go down with us if they continue to abuse our environment for their profit?

FEMA and the Red Cross were both organized to guarantee the flow of all donations towards ruling class pockets. I remember working in the foundry at Caterpillar Tractor Company in Peoria, Illinois, as a young man. Deductions were taken from our checks each week for the United Way, a charity more popular than the Red Cross at that time due to rumors spread by WW2 vets about profiteering A Class Act, continued page 5

Chicago Couriers Beat Blacklist 3 Northwest Strike 4 Zapatista Boot Co-op 5 Mr. Block, Piecard 8 Review: Neoliberalism 10 French General Strike 12

Industrial Worker PO Box 13476 Philadelphia, PA 19101

ISSN 0019-8870 ® @CCU 490M ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED Periodicals Postage PAID Philadelphia, PA and additional mailing offices

### **Stop union** scabbing!

Northwest Air workers need our solidarity **4** 

### In November **We Remember**

Remembering our history, honoring those who died building our union

### Stolen time on the killing floors

Tyson workers robbed of time spent donning protective gear

# 145 workers killed for union efforts

The International Confederation of most of whom are women, also continue to Free Trade Unions reports that 145 workers were killed around the world due to union activities in 2004, 16 more than in 2003. The report documents over 700 violent attacks and hundreds of death threats. Unionists continue to face imprisonment, dismissal and discrimination as legal obstacles to organizing deny millions of workers their rights.

The Americas stand out as the region with the highest number of murders and death threats, while the Asia-Pacific region has the highest number of imprisoned unionists. In the Middle East, where unions are totally banned in some countries, 11 workers were killed - seven of these in one incident in Lebanon when the army fired on a union protest march. In Europe, authorities in several former Soviet states are actively trying to take control of trade unions.

Once again Colombia was the deadliest country, with 99 murders and 456 death threats against a background of systematic efforts by the government to undermine unions. Fifteen killings were documented in other Latin American countries, including eight Dominicans killed when police fired on strikers. Torture and firings for union activity are also common throughout the Americas.

Fourteen people were killed in the Philippines Nov. 16 when a bulldozer and armored personnel carriers were used to break through a picket line, and in Cambodia the government is accused of a high-level cover-up following the murders of labor leaders Chea Vichea and Ros Sovannareth. The killings appear to have been motivated by fear that global apparel firms would avoid the country if unions are allowed to function freely.

Workers in export processing zones,

face fierce anti-union repression. In Namibia attack dogs were used against workers at a Malaysian-owned textile factory with a history of violating basic workers' rights. In Bangladesh women garment workers who attempted to form a union received death threats from the managing director, who subsequently hired criminals to beat up many of the women - badly injuring 25. Thugs were also used to bar 186 unionized workers from entering the factory.

In the Americas, EPZ workers in Haiti, Nicaragua and several other countries also faced anti-union repression. In the Ouanaminthe zone on the Haiti/Dominican border employers banned workers who were elected as union representatives from using the toilets at work, sacked 34 members of a newly formed union, marched them out of the factory at gunpoint, and violently beat and then dismissed union leader Ariel Jérôme.

On the African continent, the Cameroon government continued efforts to divide the union movement by favoring workers' organizations which it saw as easier to control whilst refusing to register unions that it saw as too independent. The Zimbabwean government continues its fierce repression of the ZCTU federation, and the president of the Progressive Teachers' Union was the victim of an assassination attempt.

Three people were killed during police attacks on union demonstrations in Nigeria, and over a hundred arrested for their activities in the Nigerian Labour Congress, which the government is attempting to outlaw. Thousands of workers have been fired for union activity in Benin, Botswana, Kenya,

continued on page 6

# **British Columbia unions** defy no-strike order

More than 15,000 workers took to the streets of Victoria Oct. 17 to support 42,000 teachers who struck across the province in defiance of special anti-strike legislation. Protests are continuing on a daily basis across the province as we go to press.

B.C. provincial officials are refusing to negotiate so long as workers remain on what they claim is an illegal strike. The government refuses to discuss limits on class sizes or any wage hike for teachers.

But the teachers refuse to give in. On Oct. 11 B.C. Teachers Federation President Jinny Sims told thousands of striking teachers, "There is a big difference between breaking the law and having a law created to break you, and the teachers of this province are not going to be broken!"

Teachers voted 88.4 percent in favor of a strike in September; in response the government introduced legislation to extend their contract until June 2006 just as the strike was beginning. B.C. teachers have been subjected to imposed contracts four times since 1993.

The Teachers' Federation held meetings across the province to decide their next step. By the time the legislation passed Oct. 6, they had already taken another vote on whether to abide by the legislation. BCTF members voted 90.5 percent in favour of an illegal strike, showing that far from being broken by the anti-labor legislation, it had enraged them.

"Our teachers know what the legislation means," Sims said. "They're saying that there are some laws that are so bad, so flawed you have to take a stand."

While a Canadian court turned down a government request for massive fines against the teachers, apparently fearing this would spark a general strike, it did seize the union's assets Oct. 13, prohibiting the union from continuing strike pay or using its offices. A government monitor has been appointed to take charge of the union, and is being paid out of seized union funds.

Although the British Columbia Federation of Labour did everything in its power to discourage the strike, the court ruling threatened the very right of unions to exist. B.C. Fed president Jim Sinclair responded to growing rank-and-file calls for a general strike with the call for a mass rally at the provincial parliament buildings in Victoria, B.C. on Monday, Oct. 17.

Provincial authorities were clearly frightened by the prospect of a provincial general strike, deciding not to seek an injunction against the Oct. 17 citywide walkout despite declaring that it too was illegal.

Thousands of unionized workers in Greater Victoria joined the strike, stopping city buses and closing most workplaces. Unions exempted hospitals and other essential services from the strike.

The provincial Attorney General's office has appointed a special prosecutor, and is threatening to pursue criminal contempt proceedings against union members.

### **New Mexico workers need** general strike vs. poverty

Recently a statewide labor leader said that "New Mexico should increase its state minimum wage to \$7.15 an hour to help reduce poverty and benefit working families struggling in low-wage jobs."

But while New Mexico's mis-organized labor unions insult the working class with a fantasy campaign to legislate a \$2/hr increase to the minimum wage, real-life economics dictate that today's minimum wage should

While the "left" in New Mexico whip up another superficial political fix to the deepseated socio-economic, cultural and racial issues of poverty, there is little evidence that much will be done to address and overcome the structural reasons for New Mexico's embarrassing poverty rate.

In a state and nation of great wealth, the existence of poverty is a crime against humanity. It reflects our material and moral priorities, not to mention the inability of our so-called "progressive" social institutions to wage a real "war on poverty."

As long as capitalism and its supporting religion of material greed go unchallenged by our schools, churches, charities, environmental groups and especially our labor unions, our moral and material response to poverty will remain insufficient.

New Mexico's union leaders are a joke if they can't even acknowledge the hard economic realities in which we live. But what else can we expect from the neo-liberal, procorporate labor unions who would rather keep the labor peace and make common cause with the corporate class and politicians than defend workers from class exploitation?

Labor would rather entertain their duespaying members and political benefactors with fantasies of progressive change than do

the hard work of educating and organizing all workers for a real working class revolution. Why would any worker trust the union bosses to lead them anywhere but into the hands of

Industrial Worker

The Voice of Revolutionary

Industrial Unionism

**★** ORGANIZATION

**★** EMANCIPATION

Official newspaper of the

**Industrial Workers** 

of the World

Post Office Box 13476

Philadelphia PA 19101 USA

215.222.1905 • ghq@iww.org

www.iww.org

**General Secretary-Treasurer:** 

Alexis Buss

**General Executive Board:** 

Mark Damron (chair), Jim

Crutchfield, Joshua Freeze,

Heather Hall, Samara Paysee,

Adam Welch, E. Wolfson

Editor: Jon Bekken iw@iww.org

**Intern:** Keith King

ISSN 0019-8870 Periodicals

postage paid Philadelphia PA.

**Postmaster:** Send address

changes to: Industrial Worker,

POB 13476, Phila. PA 19101 USA

**Individual Subscriptions: \$15** 

**Library Subs:** \$20/year

(Member sub included in dues)

Published eleven times per year

Articles not so designated do not

reflect the official position of the

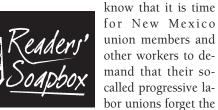
IWW. Contributions welcome.

Press Date: October 18, 2005

**★** EDUCATION

the capitalist classes?

As a former organizer with AFT-NM, I



political groveling for minimum wages and start fighting the wealthy corporate bosses on the job for living wages.

Instead of wasting time on "lobby days" and petitions, New Mexico labor needs a general strike against poverty.

Committee, IWW

**Peltier solidarity** 

Organizing for the

13th Annual Northwest

Regional International Day

of Solidarity with Leonard

Peltier in Tacoma Feb. 4 has

begun, and we need your

support. The IWW officially

supports Leonard Peltier by

means of resolutions passed

at IWW General Assemblies,

and many IWW members

have done a lot of support

work for Leonard over the

years. The day will begin

with a noon march from

the IWW Radical Economics

conference got the names of

the performers who regaled

attendees with a program

of IWW songs wrong. They

were Bob and Diana Sukiel.

Sorry for the error.

Our article last month on

Correction

Kevin Farkas, Pittsburgh Education Workers Organizing

Portland Ave. Park to the federal courthouse in Tacoma where there will be a rally with drummers, dancers and speakers including one of Leonard's lawyers.

We need your help publicizing the event, sharing information on Peltier's case with coworkers and friends, organizing video showings and other events in your community (we can help with finding speakers and have a number of videos), funds, etc.

This is an event of unity for supporters who refuse to let Leonard Peltier carry on his struggle alone, and it will continue for however long it takes to free Leonard.

The annual Day of Solidarity is more than just about Leonard Peltier because Leonard Peltier is more than just about his own case. This struggle is a part of a long struggle for freedom, peace, justice and the well-being of the people. And thus we organize this annual event not just for Leonard, but also as a part of a global movement to create a better world for all to live in.

In the Spirit of Unity and Solidarity Steve Hapy and Arthur J. Miller Tacoma Leonard Peltier Support Group P.O. Box 5464, Tacoma WA 98415-0464 Tacoma-lpsg@ojibwe.us or bayou@blarg.net

### **Farewell, Fellow Workers**

### Sean Blackburn

Fellow Worker Sean Blackburn, a musician and activist who held membership in the IWW several years ago, died of a heart attack in late September. A tribute concert/get-together is being held Oct. 27 at 7 p.m. at the Cedar Cultural Center in Minneapolis.

#### **Sid Brown**

Musician and printer Sid Brown (best known for his work with The Spike Drivers) joined the IWW member in the 1960s, and remained a member for several years, rejoining in 2002. He died June 27 in Vancouver, Washington, at age 62.

In an article about his decision to rejoin the union and continue Wobblin' into his twilight years, published in Fifth Estate after his death, FW Brown spoke of his commitment to "struggles against the writhing tide of lockstep dogmatisms and its concomitant obeisance unto Leaders. ... When the workers of the world unite - and they will - it will birth not only peace with justice for all working people, but it will save the planet from the profiteers, plunderers and polluters..."

#### **Statement of Ownership, Management & Circulation** Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685

Title of Publication: Industrial Worker. Publication Number: 0019-8870. Date of Filing: Oct. 1, 2005. Frequency of Issue: Monthly. Number of Issues Annually: 11. Annual Subscription Price: \$15.00. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office and Headquarters of Publisher:

Industrial Workers of the World, PO Box 13476, Philadelphia PA 19101. Editor: Jon Bekken, PO Box 13476, Philadelphia PA 19101 Owner: Industrial Workers of the World, PO Box 13476, Philadelphia PA 19101.

Known Bondholders, Mortgagees or Other Security Holders: None The purpose, function & nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.

			-
	Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest
	Total Number Copies Printed	5,090	5,500
	Paid and/or Requested Circulation		
	Outside-County Mail Subscriptions	3,490	3,502
	In-County Subscriptions on Form 3541	53	43
	Sales through dealers, street vendors, etc.	404	372
	Other classes mailed through USPS	678	514
	Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation	4,625	4,431
	Free Distribution by Mail		
	Outside County on Form 3541	3	3
	In-County on Form 3541	0	0
	Other classes mailed through USPS	113	128
	Free Distribution Outside the Mail	238	600
	Total Free Distribution	354	731
	Total Distribution	4,979	5,162
	Copies Not Distributed	111	338
	Total:	5,090	5,500
	Percent Paid and/or Requested Circ.	92.9%	85.8%
This Statement of Ownership will be printed in the November 2005 issu		2005 issue of this	
	publication. I certify that all information on this form is true and complete.		nd complete.

Jon Bekken, Editor, Oct. 1, 2005

### **IWW directo** Australia

**IWW Regional Organising Committee** PO Box 241, Surry Hills NSW 2010. phone: 0408 219663. email: roc@iww.org.au www.iww.org.au

### **British Isles**

**IWW Regional Organising Committee:** 

PO Box 74, Brighton, E. Sussex, BN1 4ZQ, U.K., www.iww.org.uk, www.brightoniww.org.uk, email: brightoniww@yahoo.co.uk

Scotland: Clydeside GMB, iwwclydeside@ mahost.org; web: iwwclydeside.mahost.org. Edinburgh: Eddie Murray, c/o ACE, 17 W. Montgomery Place, EH7 SHA, edinburghiww@yahoo.co.uk

### Canada

### **Alberta**

Edmonton GMB: PO Box 75175, T6E 6K1. email: edmonton@lists.iww.org http://edmonton.iww.ca

### **British Columbia**

Vancouver IWW: PO Box 4755, Stn. Terminal, V6B 4A4. 604-682-3269 x8493. email: gmbvan@iww.ca http://vancouver.iww.ca

Winnipeg GMB: IWW. c/o WORC. PO Box 1. R3C 2G1. winnipegiww@hotmail.com. Garth Hardy, del., garth.hardy@union.org.za.

### Ontario

Ottawa-Outaouais GMB: PO Box 52015, Ottawa K1N 7E7, (613) 241-0382. ott-out@iww. org French-language del: Mathieu Brúle parti\_hardcore@yahoo.com

### Germany

IWW Kontakts: Daniel Zimmermann, Kreuzstraße 17, D-47 226 Duisburg, wobbly@gmx. de; Norbert, iww-germany@gmx.net, http:// de.groups.yahoo.com/group/IWW-Germany

### Japan

Hokkaido: Braden Cannon, delegate, emak\_bakia@hotmail.com

### **United States**

### **Arizona**

Phoenix GMB: 1205 E. Hubbell St., 85006-1758. 602-254-4057. Aaron Rothenburger, del., 480-303-9580

### **Arkansas**

Fayetteville: PO Box 283, 72702. 479-200-

1859, nwar\_iww@hotmail.com.

### **California**

Los Angeles GMB: P.O. Box 65822, 90065. San Francisco Bay Area GMB: (Curbside and Buyback IU 670 Recycling Shops; Stonemountain IU 660 Job Shop) PO Box 11412, Berkeley 94712. 415-863-WOBS. Meetings 1st & 3rd Thursdays at 7 p.m. (2022 Blake St., Berkeley) San Jose: Adam Welch, del. 408-795-9672. email: adam\_freedom@yahoo.com

Santa Barbara GMB: PO Box 23008, 93121. 805-689-3086, sbgmb@iww.org

Stockton Rail Truckers IU 530: c/o San Francisco Bay GMB.

### Colorado

Denver GMB: c/o P&L Printing Job Shop: 2298 Clay, Denver 80211. 303-433-1852.

Four Corners (AZ, CO, NM, UT): delegate: 970-903-8721. 4corners@iww.org

### Florida

Pensacola GMB: PO Box 12311, 32591-2311. Delegates: Steve Winfrey or Scott Satterwhite. www.angelfire.com/fl5/iww. iwwpensacola@yahoo.com

Hobe Sound: Peter Shultz, 8274 SE Pine Circle, 33455-6608, 772-545-9591, okiedogg2002@yahoo.com

### Hawai'i

Honolulu: Tony Donnes, del., 808-547-2042. donnes@hawaii.edu

### Illinois

Chicago GMB & General Defense Committee **Local 3**: PO Box 18387, 3750 N. Kedzie, 60618. phone/fax: 815-550-2018.

Carbondale: Jason Leonard, Southern Illinois delegate. chachieldiablo@hotmail.com. Champaign: David Johnson, 217-356-8247.

Norumbega: Barry Rodrigue, del., 75 Russell St., Bath 04530.

### Maryland

Baltimore GMB: c/o Red Emma's, 800 St. Paul St., 21202, 410-230-0450, iww@redemmas.org.

### Massachusetts

Boston Area GMB: PO Box 391724, Cambridge 02139. 617-469-5162.

Western Mass. Public Service Workers IU

**650 Branch**: IWW, PO Box 1581, Northampton

Western Massachusetts GMB: 43 Taylor Hill Rd., Montague 01351. 413-367-9356.

Detroit GMB: 8916 Royce Drive, Sterling Heights 48313. eljoyce@hotmail.com Grand Rapids GMB: PO Box 6629, 49516. Jackie Wood, Secretary.; Cole Dorsey (del.) 616-881-5263. griww@iww.org

Sabo's Info-shop, 1317 E. Fulton, M-F 5-10 p.m. Central Michigan: David Finet, 5007 W. Columbia Rd., Mason 48854. 517-676-9446, happyhippie66@hotmail.com

### Minnesota

Duluth GMB: c/o Laverne Capan, 1522 N 8th Ave E, 55805-1115. 218-724-2647.

Kansas City GMB: c/o 5506 Holmes St., 64110. leefs@umkc.edu. 816-523-3995.

Construction Workers IU 330: Dennis Georg, del. 406-490-3869. trampiu330@aol.com

#### **New Jersey** Central New Jersey GMB: PO Box: 3107,

New Brunswick 08903. 732-979-9973 newbrunsnj@iww.org **New Mexico** 

Albuquerque: PO Box 4352, 87196.

505-268-1571 abq@iww.org **New York** 

#### NYC GMB: PO Box 7430, JAF Station, New York City 10116, iww-nyc@bari.iww.org. Jim Crutchfield, I.U. 650, G.E.B. member,

classify@iww.org. Upstate NY GMB: PO Box 74, Altamont 12009. 518-861-5627, therev@capital.net. Rochelle Semel, del, PO Box 172, Fly Creek 13337,

### 607-293-6489, rochelle7@usadatanet.net.

Ohio Valley GMB: Mark Damron, del., PO Box 42233, Cincinnati 45242.

Ohio River Valley IU 660: PO Box 317741, Cincinnati 45231, iu660cincy@hotmail.com. Steve Succop, del., ssuccop@netscape.net.

### Oklahoma

Tulsa: Karl Howeth, 4510 W. Archer, 74127. 918-282-7348. vaneigem25@hotmail.com

### Oregon

Portland Industrial District Council: (Restaurant Workers IU640, Public Service Workers 1U650) Union Hall: 616 E. Burnside St., 97214, 503-231-5488. IU 650 Secretary: Lupin, 503-209-4679, lupin@inkemail.com.

### Pennsylvania

Lancaster GMB: PO Box 796, 17608 Philadelphia GMB: PO Box 42777, 19101. 215-222-1905. phillyiww@iww.org Union Hall: 4530 Baltimore Ave., 19143. South Street Workers Union / Workers Rights Hotline 215-990-8250. southstreet@iww.org

Paper Crane Press IU 450 Job Shop: papercranepress@verizon.net, 610-358-9496. Pittsburgh GMB / Education Workers Organizing Committee: PO Box 90315, 15224. pittsburghiww@yahoo.com

### **Texas**

Austin GMB: PO Box 650011, 78765. 512-468-5927 waterloowob@monkeywrenchbooks.org

### 0835. slcgmb@iww.org 801-485-1969.

Washington Bellingham: P.O. Box 1793, 98227. BellinghamlWW@gmail.com 360-920-6240.

Industrial Transportation Project: Arthur J

Salt Lake City GMB: PO Box 520835, 84152-

Miller, PO Box 5464, Tacoma 98415-0464. Olympia GMB: PO Box 2775, 98507. 360-956-9256. olywobs@riseup.net

Seattle GMB: 1122 E. Pike #1142, 98122-3934. 877-815-5684, seattle@iww.org, www.seattleiww.org. John Persak, General Distribution IU660: bp172@scn.org.

Spokane: Tim Hill, 509-218-9622.

### Wisconsin

Madison GMB: PO Box 2442, 53703-2442. Lakeside Press IU 450 Job Shop: 1334 Williamson, Madison 53703. 608-255-1800. Madison Infoshop Job Shop: 1019 Williamson St. #B, 53703. 608-262-9036. Two Degrees Coffeeshop Job Shop: 307 W. Johnson St., 53703. 608-257-7888. General Defense Committee Local #4: P.O. Box 811, 53701. 608-262-9036.

Railroad Workers IU 520: Ron Kaminkow, PO Box 3010, Madison 53704, 608-358-5771. eugene\_v\_debs\_aru@yahoo.com.

Milwaukee GMB: PO Box 070632, 53207.

### Florida State U. to join Workers' Rights Consortium

BY CLARK CLAGETT, PITTSBURGH In 1999, Florida State University students Tony Williams and Shahar Sapir began organizing a chapter of United Students Against Sweatshops. Initially, they worked to promote a boycott of FSU's food service monopoly run by Sodexho-Marriott, a corporation with a stake in the private prison industry. Ultimately, the focus turned to another struggle – forcing Florida State to affiliate with the Workers' Rights Consortium.

The Consortium is an international watchdog organization that monitors working conditions in factories that produce university-licensed apparel. Armed with information collected by the WRC, USAS groups can use the economic clout of their universities to affect working conditions. FSU administrators instead favored the Fair Labor Association, a group controlled by the garment industry, fearing that affiliation with the more effective WRC would threaten a lucrative endorsement contract with Nike.

For over two years, Williams, Sapir and many others gathered research and lobbied the student and faculty senates. However, even with resolutions of endorsement by both senates, FSU President Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte repeatedly refused to affiliate FSU with the WRC. On March 25, 2002, USAS members staged a camp-in in front of the Westcott building, a campus landmark and home to D'Alemberte's office. In response, the president had 12 students, later called the Westcott 12, arrested and charged with trespassing on their own campus.

Once the Westcott 12 were out on bail, USAS reconstructed its campsite on one of the campus' designated "free-speech zones," Landis Green. "Tent City" grew to a shantytown of over 50 tents and stood for 114 days. The administration eventually cut off access to water, electricity and restrooms. But it wasn't until the administration rewrote the administrative code to ban tents that USAS agreed to vacate. Even then, they cooperated only in exchange for amnesty from suspension or expulsion for the Westcott 12 and the understanding that the university would meet with a representative from the WRC.

The Westcott 12 went to trial in September 2002, represented pro-bono by Kathleen Kirwin of the American Civil Liberties Union. Though they were acquitted by the state of Florida, D'Alemberte still felt it necessary to try them in student court where again the students were found not guilty.

The quagmire of the Tent City and the trials caused USAS to lose steam, but the fight was renewed in 2004 by a coalition called FSU4WRC. It consisted of USAS, Students United for Peace & Justice, and other progressive student groups. With a new university president in office, T.K. Wetherell, FSU4WRC found a new sense of hope. In April 2004, just as in 2002, the student senate resolved to support affiliation with the WRC. After years of wrestling with the administration, FSU is now set to affiliate in January 2006.

USAS continues campaigns on 183 campuses in the U.S., Canada and Jamaica. Just days ago, students from the University of Pittsburgh presented their chancellor with a demand to affiliate. On other campuses, there are campaigns for a living wage and a boycott of Coca-Cola for anti-union activity. Most importantly, USAS engages students in a discussion of the human consequences of globalization and exposes a generation to the labor movement at a time when organized labor seems invisible in the daily life of many North Americans.

For more info, see www.studentsagainst-sweatshops.org or call (202) NO SWEAT.

### **Australian officers elected**

Sam Russell has been elected secretary-treasurer of the Australian IWW Regional Organising Committee. Meela Davis was elected communications secretary, and Lew Elbourne international secretary. The Australian IWW conference will be held in Melbourne.

### **Chicago Couriers Union overturns unfair banning**

In Chicago, on July 20th, The Hyatt Corporate building at 71 South Wacker Drive banned courier Damien Singleton from the building – for life, they said. At the messenger center, they had searched his bag, and found a smoking pipe which they said could not be brought into the building. He was subsequently told by security that he could never enter the building again. This cut Damien off from a major source of income, as one of his company's largest clients was headquartered in that building, and he was being paid solely on commission.

Damien brought his case to the Chicago Couriers Union, and the union's fledgling Grievance Committee immediately took up the case. The committee decided to begin circulating a petition among messengers expressing their anger over security's heavy-handed decision. After a week, we had gathered signatures of over 80 Chicago messengers in support of the aggrieved worker. We tracked down the man in charge of building management operations and informed him of the petition. He claimed to be aware of the incident, but not aware of the banning. He told us that he would look into the matter.

We were prepared to escalate if necessary but believed that it might be possible to

Mimi Yahn, Pete Spynda
of the Andy Warhol
Museum, Kenneth
Miller, Clark Clagett
and E.W. Wolfson stand
in the museum's studio
with the traveling
Wobbly Art Show. The
stencil of the Oct. 22
Police Brutality symbol
was created after a
workshop with Josh
McFee, a contributor
to "The Wobblies"
graphic history, Oct. 8.



achieve a simple resolution to the grievance before we had to step it up. This turned out to be true. After several unreturned phone calls, we were finally told that Damien would be allowed back into the building unconditionally. Thanks to the diligent work of the union, we were able to defend this worker and prevent the building from cutting him off from such a major source of wages.

The Grievance Committee is a team of messengers working with the Chicago Couriers Union, an affiliate of the IWW. It has been working with individuals to resolve grievances in the industry. We will be con-

tinuing our work and working to build on this solid victory.

### **Swampy fired from Arrow**

After eight years of trusty service to Arrow, the company decided to fire Steve "Swampy" Waters, allegedly for bad attendance. Quite a convenient time to punish him for attendance! As most Chicago messengers know, Swampy was a representative of the Arrow bikers during our wage negotiations over the past year.

Now that much of the work force has turned over, the company seems to be trying to "clean house." But as always, Arrow messengers don't take company aggression lying down. Over 30 Arrow employees submitted a petition to management asking for Steve's reinstatement. Messengers are reaching out to Arrow's clients for support, and talk of legal action is in the air if Arrow does not make the right decision soon.

### Golden Monkeywrench

Noelle Hanrahan presented IWW headquarters with a "Golden Monkeywrench" award from the Redwood Justice Fund in September. The Redwood Justice Fund was established in the aftermath of the bombing and attempted assassination of IWW organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in order to continue their work.

### IWW ballots in field, due Nov. 23

Ballots for 2006 IWW officers have been mailed to all members recorded as being in good standing, and must be returned by Nov. 23 in order to be counted. Members who have not received ballots by Nov. 1 should contact their branch or GHQ in Philadelphia. (Members in Australia and the British Isles receive ballots directly from their Regional Organising Committees.)

The only declared candidate for General Secretary-Treasurer has indicated his intention to relocate headquarters to Ohio, so we expect the office to be moved in early January. All other offices are contested, and so it is especially important that all members cast

their ballots.

In order to ensure as smooth a transition as possible, branch secretaries and delegates are urged to send November and December reports promptly so they are not caught up in the move. Members paying directly to headquarters may wish to pay their dues a bit ahead of schedule and delegates needing new supplies are advised to submit their requests as soon as possible.

A proposal to keep the IWW Literature Department in Philadelphia after Jan. 1 is currently being reviewed by the General Executive Board. The *Industrial Worker* will be published from Philadelphia through 2006.

### **Preamble to the IWW Constitution**

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

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

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

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

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

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

### **Join the IWW Today**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Northwest strikers undercut by union scabbing

As Northwest Airlines seeks \$1.4 billion in labor savings in bankruptcy court and demands that the judge void its contracts with scabbing unions if they refuse to capitulate to demands for ever-deeper concessions, the strike by mechanics and cleaning staff is deepening the company's financial crisis but not grounding the airline's flights.

Unable to fill seats, Northwest is cutting back flights and switching to smaller planes. However, Northwest bosses are doing just fine. Chairman Gary Wilson sold 85 percent of his stock in the last year as he steered Northwest into bankruptcy and the current strike, raking in some \$19.7 million. Now Northwest is dumping \$5.7 billion in unfunded pension liabilities on the tax-funded Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., leaving workers to pick up the costs for years of management looting. In the end, the bosses will continue to own Northwest and reap the profits should it survive their rapacious greed.

As its strike entered its third month, AMFA's bargaining team decided to send management's latest offer to members for a vote. However, the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association stressed that it was not recommending acceptance of the proposal, under which only about 500 of the 4,430 striking workers would return to their jobs at much lower wages. Other workers would be given four weeks' severance pay, and be eligible for recall if positions open. Another 580 mechanics' jobs would continue to be filled by scabs (all but a handful replacements hired during the strike). The airline has eliminated all cleaning jobs, so those workers would not be on a recall list.

AMFA had previously refused to consider that offer unless management offered better severance packages. In a letter to members, the union insisted that its decision to put the offer to a vote was not a "sell-out." "We feel it is imperative at this point in time for the company's management, and the financial community, to hear what your decision is."

### Just the two of us

BY ERIC LEE

Last month, I attended the founding convention in St. Louis of the Change to Win federation – the alliance of unions which have broken away from the AFL-CIO. I wrote at length about the convention for a number of union papers, and also covered it live by blogging from the convention floor. (My blog is still accessible at www.ericlee.me.uk.)

I thought it was pretty amazing to be able to write about such an important development as it was happening, and to get instant feedback from readers. (One old friend in Seattle emailed me, having read something I posted, to ask who of our friends I could see in the hall – and I could tell her that Frank was by my side and Harold sitting behind me.) I had readers emailing me or posting comments directly to the blog offering a critical view of what was happening in St. Louis. Some readers answered these comments on their own.

Behind me sat Jonathan Tasini, whose daily coverage of news from the AFL-CIO and the new coalition has turned his blog into a "must-read" for many union officials. (His blog is at http://workinglife.org/.)

And that was it. From what I could tell, out of the 1,000 or so people in the hall, we were the only two taking advantage of the new technologies to provide live coverage of the event.

The technical requirements for doing live blogging from an event like this one are pretty simple and clear. You need access to the net, ideally wireless, high-speed access. The Change to Win convention organizers were providing this free of charge.

You need a place to put your content on the web, and there are plenty of completely free places to do so. Blogger.com is a good Northwest has kept flying with the help of scabbing unions, replacement workers, and third-party vendors to whom it has outsourced all of its cleaning and much of its maintenance work.

Although dozens of workers have individually honored AMFA picket lines, every other union representing Northwest workers has

ordered its members to cross picket lines. Members of the independent Professional Flight Attendants union narrowly voted to honor the lines, but that union – while formally supporting the strike and joining solidarity rallies – decided the vote was too close to justify strike action.

Members of unions representing air traffic controllers, baggage handlers, ground crews, pilots and other workers are also crossing picket lines. Neither the AFL-CIO nor the Change to Win Coalition have offered any support to the strikers.

Wobblies and other rank-and-file union members in many cities – notably Boston, Minneapolis, Detroit and San Francisco – are rallying behind AMFA. Teamster truckers are generally honoring picket lines. Massachusetts Jobs With Justice has appealed for strike funds and support on the picket lines.

Some national unions have discouraged members and staffers from flying on the scabby airline and the UAW has made an \$800,000 strike fund contribution. But, for the most part, organized labor is repeating its terrible mistake of 1981, when air traffic controllers walked out and were left to fight alone – touching off a round of attacks against workers throughout the entire economy.

Reports filed by federal aviation inspectors suggest that Northwest has badly compromised safety to keep its planes flying.

In the first month of the strike, a report by the Minneapolis Star-Tribune found,



understaffing, poorly trained workers and maintenance blunders were rampant. In one incident, mechanics failed to find a dead bird in the engine of a jet about to leave Memphis, averting disaster when a co-pilot spotted it before takeoff. In another case, inspectors watched replacement workers in Philadelphia work through the night to replace a brake. That job normally takes experienced mechanics less than three hours.

Although Northwest insists its replacement workers are fully licensed and trained, the airline has had to conduct "refresher training" for scabs since the strike began in order to remedy chronic record-keeping problems and placate safety inspectors.

It is increasingly clear that most strikers will never return to work at Northwest, unless other airline workers suddenly discover the advantages of solidarity and stop scabbing. However, AMFA says it had no choice but to strike, given the depth of the concessions Northwest was demanding, and says it will launch a campaign seeking support from travelers and European unions.

### Frisco Carpenters seek reinstatement of wildcatter

San Francisco Carpenters Local 713 has unanimously passed a motion to reinstate John Reinmann into the Carpenters union, five years after his expulsion for his involvement in leading the 1999 wildcat strike. The issue now goes to the UBC International.

place online.

In St. Louis last month, trade unions were making history. A new federation was being born. Delegates came from all over the United States and could have been providing their members – and indeed, the wider public – with impressions of what was going on, and what it all means.

But that didn't happen. Instead, those who were interested in learning what happened relied on largely non-union sources of information. And even those were barely there. Though the convention was front page news in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *The New York Times* put its coverage of the federation launch on page 16. You had to be looking for it to find it. Most papers and TV and radio stations had little or no coverage.

Another golden opportunity missed as trade unionists once again fail to grasp that the new technologies make a new kind of union movement possible. A movement where rank-and-file members can communicate with their elected delegates and officials in real time. Where you don't have to travel halfway across the country to follow an event in real time, to ask questions and to make comments. Where alternatives exist to hostile or non-existent mass media coverage of labor news.

Eventually, wi-fi blogging using portable devices at union events will be common. Delegates from far-flung parts of the country (or world) will type in their impressions of what's going on (or record them as audio files) and their colleagues back home will read and comment on these in real time. Many more people will be involved in discussion and debate – and maybe the labor movement will come alive again.

But not yet. Not in 2005, not in St. Louis. For the moment, it's just Jonathan and me.

# **Gate Gourmet** workers sold out

The Transport & General Workers Union has reached a settlement with Gate Gourmet in a dispute which began when the airline caterer sacked almost 800 workers at Heathrow Airport August 10, sparking solidarity action by British Air ground crews that halted flights around the world.

With more than 600 fired workers and supporters staging daily protests outside Heathrow Airport, the T&G has been working to prevent a recurrence of solidarity action while negotiating a settlement for the workers fired when they refused to work with temporary staff brought in to replace their laid-off coworkers.

Under the deal accepted Sept. 29, most workers will take severance payments while a handful will return to their jobs. Several workers – who the company says instigated the strike action – will receive nothing, but will have the right to file grievances.

As a result, British Air has agreed to extend its contract with Gate Gourmet for another five years, and to pay higher rates. Instead of those gains being passed on to workers, union workers will be replaced with lower-paid temporary staff.

### Health care take-backs ravage auto workers

Some 33,000 workers at auto parts maker Delphi Corp. face massive pay cuts and layoffs as a bankruptcy court judge tears up their union contract. Delphi says U.S. workers earn an average of \$27 an hour plus "generous" medical and retirement benefits; too much to compete with workers at its profitable China operations which pay about \$3 an hour.

Two-thirds of Delphi's 185,000 workers already work outside the United States, as the company used profits from operations here to finance an international buying spree. "As a world-class employer," the company website proclaims, "Delphi offers its full-time employees world-class benefits." Many find that a frightening prospect.

The United Auto Workers has already agreed to billions of dollars of health care concessions at General Motors, which spun Delphi off in 1999. Delphi workers covered by job guarantees as part of that deal are likely to be laid-off, as their work has already been transferred to new plants overseas.

### Canadian Tyson bosses arrested in attack on unionist

Alberta police have arrested two managers at Tyson-owned Lakeside Packers, charging them with dangerous driving after their vehicle slammed into a car driven by Doug O'Halloran, president of the union local on strike at the meat-packing plant, Oct. 14. Two other Lakeside staff were also charged in the attack.

O'Halloran's vehicle was heavily damaged on the front and side, where two vehicles slammed into him, running his car off the road. Several strikers had been injured in previous attacks.

O'Halloran was hospitalized for his injuries, and was unable to move his neck or arm at press time; union members had demanded that attempted murder charges be brought against the executives.

Demonstrating whose side they are really on, the RCMP simultaneously filed charges against O'Halloran, charging him with three counts stemming from an earlier incident when buses carrying scabs across the picket line had some windows smashed.

In the aftermath of the attack, a Calgary judge issued an injunction limiting pickets to no more than 50 workers and prohibiting them from stopping vehicles as they enter or leave the plant. Hundreds of workers have been picketing the plant in an effort to win a first contract. Picketers are allowing scabs in, but only after a brief pause to discuss the situation. Management complains that this prevents them from resuming production.



place to get a free blog and there are many others.

And finally, you need an input device to allow you to write your content – Jonathan and I were both using laptop computers, but one could just as easily have used much smaller devices, such as Blackberries, personal digital assistants or even mobile phones.

With laptop computer prices in the USA having fallen to below \$500, wireless access now available in many hotels, coffee shops, airports and so on, and blogging being essentially free, I wonder why there were only two of us doing this.

It is true that many of the people in the hall were rank-and-file union members, people who have very low-paying jobs. For them, even a \$500 laptop is prohibitively expensive. But many – probably most – were union officials, often with quite decent salaries, and many of them probably even own computers. Maybe some had their laptops with them, in carrying cases under their seats, or safely stowed away in their hotel rooms.

I don't think the problem is a lack of equipment or money. I think the problem is cultural

To me, the idea of elected officials reporting back to those who elected them, engaging their constituents in discussion, is the ABCs of democracy. Union officials are no different from any other elected officials – they too should be communicating regularly with those who they represent. These days, much of that communication will be taking

### The 1st of January Boot Factory A CASE STUDY IN COOPERATION

BY CHRIS ARSENAULT, HALIFAX

It's been more than eleven years since the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico said 'ya basta' or 'enough' to neo-liberalism and initiated a struggle for self-determination.

Today, the Zapatistas are creating a variety of participatory economic institutions to meet community needs: women's artisan co-ops, communal corn farming organizations, fair-trade coffee cooperatives and a non-sweatshop boot cooperative.

On a sunny day last year, myself and a delegation of foreign solidarity activists tramped the muddy hills around Oventic Caracole, in the Los Altos region, to visit the 1st of January boot co-op. Rafael Hedez, a leading activist with the co-op, and several other compañeros welcomed us with Cokes and bowls of snow-tire tough beef soup stewed on an open fire.

Inside the workshop, basically a barn with corrugated iron roof, one of the higherend buildings in a region of thatched farm cuts, a dozen or so men busily cut leather, stick patterns and heat branding irons, large blue flames erupt as glue is melted to stick

on the soles.

After showing us around, Hedez begins speaking proudly about ownership structure at the workshop, "We have no owner. Here

when problems arise, all jobs have problems, then we have a meeting or a discussion in general. If we want to make something without consulting the rest, we can't do that. We must present that job on behalf of everyone,"

The co-op started Jan. 1, 1998, when two activists traveled from Chiapas to Mexico City spending six months learning the trade. The independent workshop that trained Hedez and others has since shut down, due to a huge influx of low-cost footwear from China.

Its first priority is to provide high-quality, low-cost footwear for the surrounding communities. "We sell to the indigenous for 150-220 pesos (approx. US\$25), just enough to recuperate the cost of the materials. Here in San Andres there are shoes for 100 pesos, but they will only last for a season," said another

gave a record one billion dollars to the hurricane victims and did not ask about color. It is at these times, when capitalism does not influence our solidarity, that I'm proud to be

posed themselves as never before. In earlier disasters, wealthy liberal politicians were smart enough to disguise their true indifference for the suffering of the poor. It took the Bush crowd five days to catch on, to finally discover that the working class was up in arms and wanted action. Even the news anchors were dismayed at the lack of political showmanship being displayed by the Bush crowd. The anchors' own racism and political attitudes came through loudly when blacks

dared break windows for food and water but the talking heads became desperate for the politicians to begin their act in order to give cover to real ruling class attitudes. Displays of their frus-

Bush expressed the real ruling class attitudes when he nominated old numb nuts Brown as the head of FEMA. For the ruling class, government is

for the public. FEMA, Social Security, health care, unemployment, etc., must be disassembled and privatized. If the ruling class has its way, government's only function will be to coordinate the interests of corporations and to fight its wars of empire building with our bodies. Bush has always been blunt about what he believes and where he is going. The ruling class finally has a government it can

Orleans and you will see more ruling class priorities. Halliburton's bald, bloody head is already circling the dead bodies. The money you gave and the taxes you pay will wind up in these vultures' pockets. New Orleans will be rebuilt just as Bush promised, "bigger and better." Massive "urban renewal" plans are under way. The poor may never be able to return to Ward 9, displaced by \$2,000 -\$4,000 per month apartments. The poor will be the first to be invited back, of course. Who else would clean up this toxic mess? But the poor had better be looking for new digs and good health insurance after they have the city cleaned for rebuilding. After they have cleaned up the mess, they will not be able to afford the new rent or their medical bills.

A \$250 billion Hurricane Katrina Disaster Relief and Recovery Act has been introduced. How much of that will improve the lives of the poor? Jobs? Like cleaning hotel

With significant national and international interest in Zapatismo, the cooperative decided they could use sales to non-indigenous to help finance the development of the workshop. "We sell high boots to foreigners for 350 pesos and medium for 300. This is the price for those who are in solidarity with us, who are also Zapatistas," said Hedez.

Before ending his presentation, Hedez stressed the praxis of the organization, "This is the factory for everyone. We are all the owners. We are the coordinators who coordinate the workshop.'

"We try to organize ourselves along the same principals as the 1st of January Co-op," said Amanda Smith, a member of the Black Star Boot Cooperative, a Canadian organization helping to find markets for the boots and solidarity grants to improve the factory.

"Organizing cooperatively is certainly trying," said Smith, an anthropology student from Halifax. "None of us have experience working with boots. It's a little disorganized, frustrating and often inefficient, but the project came directly from the Zapatistas, and at this point, it seems like the most useful thing

rooms and washing dishes? Capitalism is sooo clever. Halliburton makes millions in no-bid contracts helping to destroy Iraq and Afghanistan. Then they make billions from your tax dollars on no-bid contracts rebuilding Afghanistan and Iraq. There are millions to be "looted" from the Katrina disaster. Halliburton, Brown and Root, Bechtel, Baker and Hughes will probably all be there again. Why not? They own your government. How long, fellow workers?

The differences between the priorities of the two classes are transparent. The power of the solidarity in our class, despite color or religious or political differences, is clear. The positive effect of working class action versus the absolute indifference of the rul-

Are capitalists so

blinded by greed that

they don't under-

stand they will go

down with us if they

continue to abuse

our environment for

their profit?

ing class is obvious. How long will it take for us to wise up and practice solidarity all the time? How many more must die and suffer before we join hands and respond as a class to protect this world from the greed of

Believe me, the disasters that we are going to face in the near future will make Katrina look like a Sunday School picnic. Global warming, the

depletion of our oil reserves, and off-shoring hundreds of thousands of jobs per year are all happening; but the media isn't warning you that these lost jobs no longer pay income or social security taxes, or feed your children. Think about it. The rich are running off with your country and you have nothing to say about it. Is this a disaster you should respond to as quickly and magnificently as you just did for the victims of Katrina? I'm waiting, fellow workers, but I'm 70. A hard rain is going to have to fall.

A friend of working people, John Mc-Cutcheon, sings a song, "Step by Step," that should be our standard. Step by step the longest march can be won and that march always begins with one step. When there are enough of us, we will decide how to rid ourselves of this capitalist cancer that humiliates us, degrades us, robs us, and threatens to destroy the very planet that sustains us. Industrial democracy can only be as perfect as the decisions we make, but at least we will be able to democratically decide our own fate.

"Step by step the longest march can be won, can be won,

"Many stones can form an arch, singly none, singly none,

"And by Union what we will, can be accomplished still,

"Drops of water turn a mill, singly none, singly none, singly none, singly none."

we can be doing," she said.

"It's less about selling boots than it is about the example we are trying to set; economic interaction based on international solidarity and workers producing quality goods without bosses," she said.

Since the uproar against sweatshop abuses in the early '90s, major textile corporations have spent millions on public relations to showcase "good corporate citizenry" - as if such a concept were possible.

Some positive examples of non-sweat apparel production have sprung up in the last couple years: Sweat X was paying "living" wages to U.S. workers (until it shut down) and American Apparel, which recently opened a store in Toronto, pays workers in Los Angeles decent wages to produce unbranded high quality t-shirts and other clothing.

Commendable as these examples are, their praxis is fundamentally flawed. They seek a return to the post-war settlement, naively hoping decent-paying 9-5 factory jobs can thrive again in the era of neo-liberalism. And although workers have more say over their lives at the American Apparel factory than in a Nike or Adidas outsourcing operation, the non-sweat factories still operate on a centrally planned hierarchy.

In a sense, the Zapatistas, basically an agrarian movement, have leap-frogged the entire wage system with their forays into 'industry.' Co-op members receive no salary for their labor; all profits are invested back into entire community, mostly for public services, specifically health promotion.

'We have a difficult situation," admits Hedez, who is married with several children. "We sustain ourselves through what little we can grow in our milpas (corn fields). We have two days a week for working in the fields. We also buy various things, but very little."

On the outset, working roughly a 40hour week as a volunteer seems over-zealous, if not downright exploitative. But factory activists have realized they can't individually pull themselves out of poverty. Key pillars of Zapatismo like health, education, work and dignity demand collective action, cooperation and mutual aid.

While boot co-op activists work in their little factory, other community members cut grass and do repairs on public spaces, provide health care, grow shared food, administer justice and take on other tasks in the public interest. Like most political movements, some Zapatistas end up doing more work than others but all people involved in the movement are expected to contribute as best they can.

The 1st of January Boot Workshop is not a perfect model of economic democracy. The component parts for the boots - soles, laces etc. – are bought from coyotes (middlemen) in San Cristobal de las Casas and are presumably imported from China.

And, in the Chiapas highlands, the 'glory' of worker-self-management exists beside deplorable poverty the Mexican government characterizes as 'acute marginalization'; many of the workshop activists can't afford shoes for their own children

Poverty is ubiquitous in Chiapas (and most of the world), stifling possibilities for participatory economics; you can't make something from nothing. The workshop wants to expand production but it's unlikely they'll get a bank loan for new capital; a 1994 memo from the Chase Manhattan Bank urging the Mexican army to "eliminate the Zapatistas" elucidates how global capital evaluates those who seek alternatives.

Still, the workshop's production is based on a key principle of Zapatismo, 'Everything for everyone, nothing for ourselves.'

"Those of us with the privilege of a Canadian passport, who are 'also Zapatistas' by Rafeal's definition, have a responsibility to help build participatory structures in redeveloping areas," said Black Star organizer Dennis Hale. "Not just for because we're nice guilty liberals, but because we need them more than they need us."

For more information: www.stacmexico. com/blackbootcooperative



by the Red Cross in Europe. Unions tried to create a new charity that would direct funds to recipients that workers chose.

It seemed to many in the labor movement of the '50s that the distributions from charities like the United Way or the Red Cross always found their way into corporate pockets and never really advanced the conditions of the poor. Caterpillar's reaction to this union idea was immediate and threatening. The local papers called the idea an inspiration from Russia. The rest is history. The ruling class keeps very tight control of charities to make sure that working class generosity is channeled in the proper directions. It is generally the duty of ruling class wives to sit on the boards of local charities to guarantee that flow of money and power, and to smile nicely for photo ops.

Racism is an ugly, destructive force. It was no accident that most of those living below sea level were poor and black. Here in semi-desert Colorado we have a saying that water flows toward money. In New Orleans, it seems, it flows in the opposite direction.

Racism in our class is a fear that the corporations encourage. They know that as long as racism exists in our ranks, workers will never be strong enough to challenge corporate power. I'm not a psychologist. I don't know all the reasons for the fear called "racism," but I know that capitalism aggravates economic fears in the working class. We are forced to compete against one another in a capitalist society for jobs that in turn feed our babies. Throw six bones to ten hungry dogs and you don't have to be a psychiatrist to predict the results. But, when there is a disaster, a sub-class-consciousness (my invention) seems to kick in. Whether it is a tsunami in Indonesia, an earthquake in Mexico, or a hurricane in New Orleans, the U.S. workers' generosity is legend. It is always workers who line up for miles to drop off food and clothing after a disaster; always workers who volunteer to risk their lives and health to save other workers and to rebuild their homes. How many three piece suits did you see at ground zero in New York digging through rubble, and how many up to their waists in toxic water in New Orleans? Working people

we are all equals," he said.

"When there is something necessary, or

a worker - proud of my class. On the other hand, the ruling class ex-

tration went out on live T.V.

not about entitlement programs

Watch, friends, as things unfold in New

### The IWW in the history books

BY JON BEKKEN & KEITH KING

Every year we offer an overview of new work on the history of the IWW.

Bonnie Christensen's "Nothing Up Here but Foreigners and Coal Slack': World War I and the Transformation of Red Lodge" (*Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Autumn 2002, pp. 16-29) tells the story of Red Lodge, Montana, an immigrant coal-mining town. Prior to World War I, American-born residents used the concept of "Americanism" to complain about local East European merchants forming cooperative businesses and sending earnings home instead of spending money at native businesses.

As the economy improved, the power of "Americanism" subsided. But with the advent of the war, being "100% American" came to signify unquestioning support of the war effort. Red Lodge IWW members, mostly Finns, handed out brochures, spoke against the war, and protested the arrest of national IWW leaders. Finns were eventually targeted for harassment by the town's Liberty Committee. Harassment progressed to torture; Jalmar Winturri and other men were strung up and made to confess to Wobbly membership and to name other members.

This reign of terror gravely affected the Finnish community. Under the guise of "war work," the Northwest Improvement Company that ran the mines froze or reduced wages. They also instituted a program to close the local brothels and limit saloon hours, limiting the pleasures available to the miners, ostensibly to make them more reliable workers.

Resentment against this treatment grew, and led to several strikes immediately after the war. Northern Pacific decided to move part of its coal mining operations to Colstrip in southeastern Montana, relying on mechanized strip-mining techniques requiring fewer workers, beginning the demise of Red Lodge as a mining town.

Francis Shor's "Left labor agitators in the Pacific Rim of the early twentieth century"

(International Labor & Working-Class History 67, Spring 2005, pp. 148-163) re-examines the lives of labor agitators Patrick Hickey and J.B. King, both of whom organized across the Pacific Rim (primarily Australia, Canada and New Zealand) and were for a time IWW members. Hickey's membership was brief; he was in the Western Federation of Miners when it helped form the IWW in 1905 but his membership lapsed in 1907 when he returned to New Zealand, where he played a key role in the Federation of Labor. King joined the IWW in 1910 in Vancouver, leaving for New Zealand when a building workers' strike he had played an active role in was broken. King organized for the IWW in Auckland and several mining towns before leaving for Australia in the face of a parliamentary inquiry into his activities. He remained active in the IWW there, and was one of the Sydney 12.

Both men called for international unionism, fought union scabbing, and remained committed labor activists. But while Hickey campaigned for the release of IWW prisoners, by 1915 he was ensconced in the respectable world of mainstream unionism and the Labour Party. When King was released from prison in 1920, the Australian IWW had been crushed. He remained a radical for the rest of his life, including an uneasy period with the Communist Party. Shor examines their journeys as examples of a "proletarian counterpublic" that transcended political boundaries and had significant influence during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

The same issue includes Verity Burgmann's "From Syndicalism to Seattle: Class and the Politics of Identity" (pp. 1-21, responses run through page 78), in which this historian of the Australian IWW laments the passing of an era in which labor activists "spoke a language that encouraged emancipatory or social-movement politics premised upon working-class identity." Groups like the IWW offered a vocabulary and culture rooted in workers' lives and insisting upon

the possibility of social transformation. Burgmann sees a revival of working-class ideas in the anti-WTO protests, and a rhetoric that encourages participants to think in terms of global economic power and class. Six respondents challenge her emphasis on what one calls "an antiquated class politics"; Burgmann responds by critiquing the limitations of a politics of identity and championing the role of "extremists" in opening social space that make reforms possible. It is frankly rather sad to see prominent labor historians so determined in their rejection of the possibility of transformative working-class struggle, and Burgmann justifying radicalism as an essential lubricator for the reforms that can never remedy the fundamental problems of a social order based on exploitation and oppression.

Nicholas Thoburn's "The Hobo Anomalous: Class, Minorities and Political Invention in the Industrial Workers of the World" (*Social Movement Studies* 2, April 2003, pp. 61-84) raises similar issues, arguing that IWW songs, cartoons and newspapers challenged the division between class and minority status that has recently captivated social theorists, instead inventing an expansive working-class politics within the "simultaneously diffuse and cramped plane of work."

A special issue of WorkingUSA (September 2005, vol. 8[5]) is devoted to the IWW centenary. Particularly recommended is Salvatore Salerno's "Paterson's Italian Anarchist Silk Workers and the Politics of Race" (pp. 611-625), which explores Italian immigrant radicals' view of race and their involvement in ethnic and labor struggles. Italian-American anarchist silk workers based in Paterson, New Jersey, joined the IWW in 1906, pioneering multi-ethnic forms of organizing that laid the groundwork for the famous strike so many historians imagine erupted out of nowhere. (Salerno's thorough notes point to his "No God, No Masters: Italian Anarchists and the IWW" which we overlooked when it appeared in The Lost World of Italian-American Radicalism in 2003.) Also discussing Paterson is Steve Golin's "The IWW and Bohemians:

The Case of the Paterson Pageant" (pp. 565-572), which proves that outsourcing is a sorry substitute for in-house expertise - somehow, even though both author and editor know better, someone has changed the union he discusses to the International Workers of the World. Golin reprises the argument of his book, The Fragile Bridge, celebrating the alliance between bohemians and labor radicals that most clearly manifested itself in the Paterson Pageant and stressing the key role the immigrant silk workers played in creating the Pageant. Golin concludes that the Pageant "was a bridge between a hopeful and vital labor movement and a hopeful and vital bohemian movement. That bridge, that collaboration are part of the legacy of the IWW, still available to those who hope."

Peter Rachleff's "The Living Legacy of the IWW: Austin, Minnesota" (pp. 555-563) reprises the IWW's role in organizing meat packers in the 1930s, and the way that legacy continued to resonate 50 years later during the historic P-9 strike.

Howard Kimeldorf's "Joe Hill Ain't Never Died': The Legacy of the Wobblies' Practical Syndicalism" (pp. 545-554) asserts that today's IWW is little more than a web site, but recognizes that we pioneered a model of "practical syndicalism" – built on mass mobilization, the ability to disrupt production at critical moments, and unrestricted direct action – that other unions draw upon when they found themselves in crisis. Today, Kimeldorf concludes, "the same developments that have left unions so utterly disempowered ... have of necessity placed the practice of industrial syndicalism on labor's strategic agenda."

Former Wobbly Franklin Rosemont looks to the role of migratory workers in "The Legacy of the Hoboes: What Rebel Workers Today can Learn from the Footloose Wobblies of Yesteryear" (pp. 593-610), drawing on conversations with Wobblies from the 1910s through the 1930s to offer eclectic, far-ranging reflections on our union's history.

There are also short pieces by Staughton Lynd and Paul Buhle, who reflects on IWW cartoons and other artwork in what is probably the most useful of his many pieces on the IWW in this centenary year. And the issue



The Lucy Parsons GMB of Austin, Texas remembers

### Fellow Worker Al Grierson

Wage slave, father, songwriter, musician, philosopher, historian, walking folk music archive, Poet Laureate of Luckenbach, member of the Society of the Rose Tattoo, longtime Wob, soapboxer, and class warrior.

b. New Westminster, British Columbia, 1948.d. in the Hill Country Floods of Nov. 2nd, 2000.We never sleep, we never forget

"Out upon the open highway with the city far behind visions of another generation swept across my mind of the whiskey drinkin' rounders and the other ramblin' men

Rollin' out from California to New York Town and halfway back again.

Don Quixote in your car, with your French harp and guitar have you traveled very far? Does your soul still show

the scars?
All the outlaws and the Okies that you keep on lookin' for

say, "This train ain't bound for Glory anymore."

I went lookin' for the places where they'd slept out in the rain

saw the oceans and the orchards and the fields of golden grain. When I asked the stationmaster where the hobos all

had gone, he just pointed down the railroad track

he just pointed down the railroad track and said, "they've gone to roll the Union on."

In the Big Rock Candy Mountain where the river runs with rye

I spied a train of empty boxcars lookin' at the sky and there beside the fire, looking serious and still, stood Jesse James and Coleman Younger, the Cisco Kid and Woody and Joe Hill.

With cigarettes and politics and whiskey jugs and wars Pals in penitentiaries and pallets on the floor They said there was a time to fight, and another time

 $\boldsymbol{a}$  time to use a picket sign,  $\boldsymbol{a}$  time to use a bullet and a gun.

Don Quixote in your car, with your French harp and guitar

have you traveled very far? Does your soul still show the scars?

All the outlaws and the Okies that you keep on lookin' for

All the outlaws and the Okies that you keep on lookin' for say, "This train ain't bound for Glory anymore."

So the train ain't bound for Glory, and the highway's not the same

It's what you do when you arrive, it's not the way you came. Let the windmill be a windmill, and the heretic be wrong. Put your visions in the future and your heroes in the past, where they belong.

—Dust Bowl Don Quixote by Al Grierson, 1995.

### 145 workers killed

continued from page 1

Mozambique, Senegal and South Africa.

In China, freedom of association is still denied to workers by a government that only recognizes an official "union" that last year proved less effective than ever in protecting workers' rights in a rapidly privatizing economy. Two workers received long prison terms for advocating independent unions, and hundreds of protests were dealt with violently by police. The health of two prominent union leaders imprisoned since March 2002, Yao Fuxin and Xiao Yungliang, badly deteriorated after they were denied medical treatment. In North Korea, industrial action is punishable by death under the penal code.

While no workers were killed in countries in which the IWW is presently active, governments were nonetheless criticized for systematic violations of workers' rights. The United States – which has yet to ratify core international treaties on freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining – was once again cited for widespread violations.

Employers routinely engage unionbusting firms to deter workers from voting for union representation, and use "captive audience" meetings to threaten to close workplaces if workers join unions. Some employers took matters even further, with Wal-Mart interfering in an election by engaging in surveillance of employees' union activities, interrogating them about union support, moving workers in and out of departments to dilute union support, and bribing workers to vote against unionization. Millions of workers have been legally barred from union protection and it takes the National Labor Relations Board on average more than 500 days to resolve cases in which employers commit unfair

labor practices. Most employers who violate workers' rights are never punished, and when punishments are imposed the penalties are too weak to deter offenses.

The study also notes the continuing erosion of union rights for public sector workers in Canada, who are province by province losing the right to strike, to be represented by unions of their choice, to defend their jobs against contracting-out, etc. Private sector employers are increasingly emulating the anti-union tactics of their U.S. counterparts, and workers have few effective protections against such intimidation and threats.

In England, workers are barred from taking industrial action in solidarity with other workers and a small but growing number of firms are turning to U.S.-style union-busting tactics and in some cases even importing antiunion consultants from the United States.

In Australia, the government is pressing legislation to restrict union representatives' access to workplaces and to encourage individual, rather than collective, bargaining. Migrant workers have been threatened with deportation for joining unions, and workers are increasingly told they will be fired if they insist upon union conditions.

Detailed country by country information can be found at www.icftu.org/survey/



90 YEARS AFTER HIS EXECUTION AT
THE HANDS OF THE BOSSES AND
THE STATE OF UTAH
FELLOW WORKER HILL SANG HIS
NEW SONG "PREACHER AND THE
SLAVE" IN PITTSBURGH IN 1912 TO A
HALL OF WOBBLIES. IT WAS A HIT,
AND THE REST IS HISTORY.

PITTSBURGH GENERAL MEMBERSHIP BRANCH (CHARTERED MAY DAY 2002)

opens with a cantankerous commentary by Melvyn Dubofsky (pp. 535-543), whose "The IWW At One Hundred: The Return Of The Haunted Hall?" shows that he understands the contemporary IWW no better than he understands its history, and badly wants us in the historical dust bin he tried to relegate us to 40 years ago. Dubosky has read little of the recent scholarship on the IWW, and understood even less, despite his welcome suggestion that historians might do well to pay more attention to the lives of organizers like A.E. Embree, E.F. Doree and Ben Fletcher.

Paul Buhle's "The Legacy of the IWW" (Monthly Review, June, pp. 13-27) compares the parochial AFL-CIO to the unyieldingly inclusive IWW. Buhle notes that the AFL-CIO functions as an adjunct of big business and has largely abandoned reaching out to new members. Despite some minor triumphs, the labor movement is in need of a revitalizing agenda. Buhle points to the IWW's commitment to social justice as a key component of such a revival. But while he sees the IWW less as an actual union than as a moral example which he commends to the attention of the business unions and makes a number of factual errors (including the claim that the IWW won an NLRB election at a Manhattan Starbucks, which he has not repeated in several places), Buhle does recognize that the IWW "h[e]ld up an alternative vision of labor and social solidarity against capital, the alternative we need now more than ever. Lacking this, we confront a continuing collapse of organized labor."

Buhle also contributed articles to Against the Current (March 2005, pp. 33-34; the magazine has run several pieces on the IWW over the year), and the June 10 Chronicle of Higher Education, in which he offers the astonishing news that the IWW has taken the Little Red Songbook out of circulation and is celebrating its centenary with punk shows and poetry readings.

The Fifth Estate joins the fray with a special issue (Fall 2005) on Wobblies & Work, built around a short history by Labadie Archives curator Julie Herrada, but also including idiosyncratic reflections on work, IWW songs, the IWW's connection to Native American struggles, and what purports to be a review of the Buhle/Schulman graphic history but is in actuality a venue for former GST Jeff Ditz to recall the highlights of his controversial administration. And a special centenary issue of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Review is set to come out in November, featuring articles on the IWW in South Africa, the Wheatland Hops riot and the rise of criminal syndicalism legislation, Wobblies in the Spanish Revolution, IWW internationalism, and more.

The major book published on the IWW in 2005 is Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman's Wobblies! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Verso), which we reviewed in our May issue. Wobblies! is largely composed of original work by 35 artists, woven together with short texts by Buhle. Our review was quite critical, noting that the book's historical narrative focuses on flashy personalities and events rather than the hard work of organizing that built the IWW. Several reviewers have joined us in criticizing the book's mythic approach and its many errors of fact. The idea of a graphic history of our union was a good one, and some of the artwork is stunning; it is unfortunate that the concept fell into the hands of a historian whose slapdash approach has been drawing increased criticism in recent years.

Michael Miller Topp's Those Without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists (University of Minnesota Press, 2001) was briefly reviewed in our May issue, which also included material drawn from Slaughter in Serene: the Columbine Coal Strike Reader (Bread & Roses Workers' Cultural Center, 2005), a collection of writings on the strike and its aftermath by Eric Margolis, Joanna Sampson, Phil Goodstein and Richard Myers. We are promised a full review in the near future.

Ellen Doree Rosen's A Wobbly Life: IWW Organizer E.F. Doree (Wayne State University Press, 2004) draws on Doree's letters to offer an intimate portrait of a man who devoted his life to the cause, dying shortly after his release from prison as one of the Chicago 101. His daughter reminds us of the terrible toll inflicted upon thousands of our fellow workers in the repression of the World War I era and the years that followed. FW Doree is but one of hundreds who, while not murdered outright by the boss class, had their lives cut short.

Graduate students also continue to produce doctoral dissertations touching on the IWW. Kristine Stilwell's "'If you don't slip': The hobo life, 1911-1916" (University of Missouri, 2004) takes Robert S. Saunders' unpublished memoir as the starting point to study the vibrant and sometimes dark world of the hobo life. While on the road, Saunders became a member of the IWW, working the wheat harvests, railroads and construction.

Michael Mark Cohen's "The conspiracy of capital': American popular radicalism and the politics of conspiracy from Haymarket to the Red Scare" (Yale University, 2004) reexamines the generation who formed the Socialist Party and the IWW, and who marched in opposition to the political conspiracy trials of Big Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, and Sacco and Vanzetti. Cohen reframes the history of American conspiracy thinking to reconstruct the radical tradition of conspiracy thinking while reasserting the central importance of conspiracy in the ideology and political practices of both the rulers and the ruled. (We have not been able to read these dissertations, and so rely on the authors' abstracts.)



### The IWW: 1905 - 2005

A child injured during a raid on the IWW hall in San Pedro, California, in 1924. San Pedro was the site of one of the IWW's greatest free speech fights. Several children were seriously burned when vigilantes raiding the IWW hall thrust them in a cauldron of boiling coffee.

The Industrial Workers of the World collection at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University has many IWW photos and other illustrations. Anyone interested in the collection, or in adding to it, should contact William LeFevre at 313-577-2789 or by email at William.LeFevre@Wayne.Edu.

### In November, We Remember

Every November we remember the rebel workers murdered by the employing class; a long list which grows longer every year. Fred Thompson used to speak of an IWW soapboxer whose rap went something like this: 'Workers are being fired for joining the IWW. Workers are being killed... Join the IWW.' It demonstrated, Fred used to say, a fine sense of solidarity but was not necessarily the best way to sign up new members.

The IWW has contributed more than its fair share of labor's martyr, because we have always been in the forefront of the struggle for workers' rights. By some accident of the calendar, many of our fellow workers have fallen in November, from the Haymarket Martyrs murdered Nov. 11, 1887, to the Nov. 4, 1936, death of FW Dalton Gentry, shot on an IWW picket line in Pierce, Idaho.

Some, like Joe Hill (killed Nov. 19, 1915) are famous; others, like R.J. Horton, largely forgotten. Fellow Worker Horton was shot down by a Salt Lake City cop Oct. 30, 1915, while giving a speech protesting the impending execution of Joe Hill.

Some died in prison, like Samuel Chin (March 1910) in Spokane, or Thomas Martinez (March 3, 1921) in Guadalajara, Mexico. Some were murdered by vigilantes, including Joe Marko (April 8, 1911) in the San Diego free speech fight and Wesley Everest (Nov. 11, 1919) in Centralia. Others were killed by police, such as Steve Hovath (August 2, 1908) in the McKees Rocks strike or Martynas Petkus (Feb. 21, 1917) in Philadelphia.

It is a long list, even if too many are unknown, including the Stettin, Germany, dockworkers murdered by the Nazi regime, or the fellow workers who fell to military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina and Peru. A researcher is uncovering the names of Wobblies who died in Spain, fighting the fascists in the 1930s, but who will recover the names of the Wobblies murdered as they rode the rails, organizing the harvest stiffs?

In 1973, Frank Terrugi was killed by the Chilean junta; the next year the Philippines army killed FW Frank Gould. We can not

forgot those who while grievously injured were not killed, through no fault of the bosses, such as Judi Bari who survived a 1990 assassination attempt but spent the rest of her life in pain, or the 15 Tulsa oil workers who survived a lynching party Nov. 7-8, 1917.

The November 1996 Industrial Worker printed a long list of IWWs killed on picket lines. The list includes Roy Martin, Decatur Hall, Ed Brown and J. Tooley murdered by gun thugs in May 1912 in Grabow, Louisiana; Anna LaPizza and Joe Ramey killed the same month during the Lawrence strike; John Smolsky (Lawrence), FW Donovan (Missoula) and Nels Nelson (Marysville CA), strikers killed Oct. 19, 1912; Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot, Gus Johnson, John Looney and Abraham Rabinowitz killed Feb. 2, 1915, in the Everett Massacre (several more disappeared overboard that day); James Brew, murdered July 12, 1917, during the Bisbee Deportation; John Eastenes, Nick Stanudakis, Mike Vidovitch, J.R. Davies, E.R. Jacques and G. Kosvich, all killed Nov. 21, 1927, in the Columbine Massacre...

However long we make the list, it falls short by the thousands. But the victims we honor for asserting themselves are but a handful compared to the millions victimized by the meekness of the working class: miners killed in unsafe mines, seamen lost in ships they knew were overloaded, construction workers killed because safe practices cost too much, textile workers who succumbed to brown lung, the millions who have died in the bosses' wars, and the millions more who have died of hunger in a world of potential abundance. Consider these numbers next time someone tells you it doesn't pay to stick your neck out.

Every right we possess today we possess because our fellow workers fought and died for it. We owe it to them not simply to defend the rights and conditions they won, not just to preserve their memory, but to carry the struggle they began forward - to bring an end to this brutal system built on murder and exploitation.

### In November We Remember

The IWWs persecuted by the bosses and the state, the escalating violence against union organizers in our communities around the world.

### Join the General Defense Committee Today!



What we Remember in November will make us stronger and give us the knowledge and sense of purpose to stand up quickly and effectively in the next century. The lessons of IWW history, the stories we are learning to tell each other, could not be more relevant to the world labor movement than they are today.

The 2005 General Defense Committee is proud to serve the IWW during the Centenary and we urge IWWs show courage and count on the defense work your committee.

The General Defense Committee of the IWW Steering Committee: John Baranski, Kenneth Miller, Harry Siitonen PO Box 390920, Cambridge MA 02139 email: gdc@iww.org

### IN NOVEMBER WE REMEMBER

Much missed members of the Philadelphia General Membership Branch





& George Dolph

Teacher, Artist, Green Activist Fierce Diva, Rock Opera Star, and Wobbly Bombshell and Gentle Soul



# New labor coalition has lots of money, no plan

BY HARRY KELBER, LABORTALK

The Change to Win Coalition is prepared to spend hundreds of millions of dollars in major campaigns to "empower" the nation's working people and achieve the "American Dream," but it has given no indication of how it is going to do it.

Organizing many hundreds of thousands of workers employed by large corporations is a formidable undertaking that will require tremendous support from a vast majority of union members. Yet there is no indication that the Coalition is taking steps to involve members of its seven unions, much less other sections of the labor movement. And without the participation of battalions of union volunteers, no massive organizing campaign can succeed.

Let's remember that there are only seven unions in the Coalition. (Why couldn't it recruit more?) They represent hospital workers and janitors, teamsters, food and commercial workers, carpenters and laborers, apparel and hotel workers, and farm workers. Almost all of them are in industries that pay low wages. Organizing these workers and improving their wages and working conditions is a praiseworthy, difficult task that the Coalition has pledged to undertake.

But they represent a small part of the national economy.

The Coalition has little influence and organizing prospects in manufacturing, education, financial services, real estate, communications, electronics and high-tech industries. For better or worse, these industries are in the jurisdiction of many of the AFL-CIO' 50

UNION MATHEMATICS"

ERNEST RIBBE in 1912)

(MR BLOCK CREATED by

by RiFras

international union affiliates.

To be sure, the Coalition has three of its affiliates – Carpenters, Laborers and Teamsters – in the relatively high-wage construction industry, but the AFL-CIO contains a dozen craft unions, including Electricians, Pipefitters and Operating Engineers.

Despite its grandiose rhetoric, the Coalition has inspired little enthusiasm, even from members of some of its own unions. It desperately needs a major organizing victory at a large, well-known corporation to build public confidence that the breakaway from the AFL-CIO was a necessary action.

Aside from the SEIU, the other six unions within the Coalition have a lackluster organizing record. The United Food and Commercial Workers could not organize a single Wal-Mart store after trying for years and spending millions. Now, it will head the Coalition's new Wal-Mart campaign. The Teamsters lost a three-year battle to organize the 13,000 employees of Overnite Transportation Co.

Unite has spent more than two years still trying to organize the 17,000 employees of Cintas, the uniform rental company. Neither the Carpenters nor the Laborers has scored any remarkable gains in construction, and don't count on the Farm Workers to advance much beyond their 16,000 members.

Coalition leaders have to come to grips with reality. Will their organizing efforts be restricted to a relatively few low-wage industries? Will that be enough (even if they are successful) to transform the labor movement into a powerful economic and

political force?

The crucial test is: Will they be able to make enough progress toward their goals to prove that their breakaway from the AFL-CIO was justified. Time will tell.

### AFL-CIO's new plan for industry-wide coordination

There is no reason for union members to cheer at the announcement by the new 46-member Executive Council that it has formed the first 10-union Industry Coordinating Committee covering the arts, entertainment, media and telecommunications industries. An accompanying press release proclaimed: "Top AFL-CIO Leaders Forge New Ground in Organizing and Fighting for Working Families' Top Priorities." It called the new initiative "one of the most sweeping reforms included in the AFL-CIO's Winning for Workers plan."

Is this the answer to labor's organizing problems? How will the ICC relieve the plight of America's working families? Despite its glowing advance billing, ICC has not yet been born. The Council statement says that "the creation of the new ICC is subject to the approval of the leadership groups of each of the ten individual unions. (The unions represent actors, musicians, television and radio staffers, communication workers, theatrical and stage employees, electricians, broadcast employees, screen actors, newspaper workers and writers.)

It may take weeks, probably months before each of the ten unions discusses whether or not there are any advantages in joining the ten-union consortium If there is no consensus on how the new committee is to operate, it may never see the light of day.

It's unrealistic to think that a 10-union committee (with each union having its own agenda and self-interest) could establish a consensus on all aspects of an organizing campaign. These unions have little more than tenuous connections with each other (examples: actors and electricians; musicians and newspaper staffers). Who is going to make them all march to the same tune?

What the AFL-CIO Council has done is to create another bureaucratic structure without solving the basic organizing problems. The ICC will spend valuable time at considerable expense, not in organizing,, but attending to its internal needs. It will have to get agreement on a set of by-laws or some rules. It will have to select staff to run the committee. It will have to agree on financial contributions from each of the ten unions and draw up a budget. It will have to assemble a mass of volunteer organizers from members of the ten unions who don't know each other. There will be countless meetings at which reports will have to be analyzed and new strategies formulated.

The ICC will develop a life of its own. And all of these activities can take a year or two – even before any worker is approached to join a union.

In the meantime, workers keep on losing thousands of jobs through outsourcing; their health care costs are rising out of reach; their pensions are being slashed or eliminated and their working conditions are worsening.

Employers are aggressively demanding outrageous concessions. Delphi, the giant auto parts corporation, wants to cut the base wage of its 35,000 American workers from its current \$26 an hour to \$10 to \$12 an hour.

The ICC can't respond to the fierce assault on worker rights and living standards. Do President Sweeney and the Executive Council have any better ideas to fight back in behalf of unions and working families?

Kelber's weekly "LaborTalk" and "Labor and the War" columns can be viewed at www. laboreducator.org

### United Transport Union, Calif. Nurses to join AFL-CIO

The United Transportation Union has voted to rejoin the AFL-CIO, four years after quitting the federation over jurisdictional disputes. The 60,000-member union is embroiled in a bitter fight with the Teamsters-affiliated Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers over representation rights for train crews. (The Teamsters are now part of the Change to Win coalition.) As railroads slash crews, both unions have been offering sweetheart deals in an effort to hold on to the survivors.

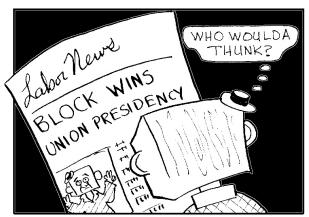
The independent California Nurses Association have also decided to ask the AFL-CIO for a charter. The addition of the two unions would boost AFL membership to 54 unions and about 8.5 million workers.

### CBC ends 50-day lock-out

The public service Canadian Broad-casting Corp. has ended a 50-day lock-out of 5,500 union workers that disrupted its national program service, agreeing to a 9.5 percent cap on the portion of its workforce that can be made up of temporary staff and independent contractors.

During the lock-out the CBC replaced its television newscasts with BBC programming, while re-runs filled much of the prime-time schedule. Managers and satellite feeds filled in for radio programming. Union members expressed the hope that CBC board members and managers chosen on the basis of political connections might be replaced with people with broadcasting experience.

Under the settlement, which models a proposal developed by mediators, contract employees will have improved rights, but wages will lose ground to inflation.











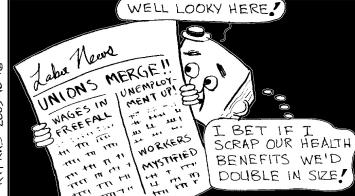
HELLO BOSS? HOW MUCH











## **Donning and doffing to** the chicken killing floor

Coal miners traveling to their underground workplace, surgical nurses washing up, airline attendants traveling to jet planes, and workers in factories each are spending their time preparing for the tasks required by the employer. For workers in meat processing factories, the question of whether workers must be compensated, according to labor law, for the time spent putting on and removing, or donning and doffing, protective gear, and the waiting and walking associated with getting it has been taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court.

According to court decisions interpreting the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947, donning and doffing is an integral and indispensable part of employees' principle work activities. The Ninth and the First Circuit Court of Appeals disagree on whether walking and waiting time related to putting on and taking off essential protective equipment should also be compensated.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 requires employers to pay the minimum wage and compensate workers for over 40 hours in a week, and defined activities in relation to the employer's workplace as "work." In 1945, the Court held that time spent in underground travel to mines, a place of work, is compensable. In 1946, the Court held that walking from the time clock to the location of work and back was compensable, and that pre-shift activities for pottery workers, such as putting on garments and preparing equipment was to be paid for.

Upon hearing the decision in Anderson v. Mt. Clemens Pottery, the U.S. Congress declared an emergency - the decision "creat[ed] wholly unexpected liabilities." Legislators rallied to pass the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947, hoping to free employers from liability for paying the minimum wage and overtime. Compensation owed as a result of Court decisions before May 14, 1947, was voided unless already compensable by contract. After that date, no one would be liable for failure to pay for the time used to go to the actual place of the principal work or any activities before or after the principal work. In 1949, Congress added a provision to allow the compensability of time spent changing clothes at the beginning and end of the workday subject to collective bargaining agreements.

By 1956, the Court further distinguished non-work and work activities described in the Portal-to-Portal Act. In Steiner v. Mitchell, the Court held that the "principal activity or activities" in the Portal Act include all those that are an "integral and indispensable part of the principal activities" one is hired to perform. Pre- and post-shift activities of changing clothes and showering are often compensable, accordingly, and not excluded preted the Portal Act to mean that workers in a battery manufacturer should be paid for

the time they needed to change clothes and wash after working with toxic chemicals, such as battery acid.

Workers at the Pasco, Washington, meat processing plant owned by the Tyson conglomerate are required to wear protective gear - hardhats, hair nets, ear plugs, gloves, boots and, when using knives, metal aprons, leggings, vests and plexiglass arm guards - in order to work in the meat packing and processing facility. Employees must don that equipment before entering the slaughtering floors. After the shift they must clean the equipment, including the knives, and store each type of gear in special areas located in factory.

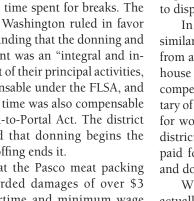
No doubt the protective equipment is essential. Meat processing in the slaughterhouse is one of the most dangerous industries. And the Tyson Pasco facility holds a record for injuries two and one half times that of any other plant, according to OSHA. In 2003, for example, a worker lost his arm as a result of a badly maintained cutter used to break apart limbs of animals. Workers must endure a work environment with loud noise, odors, blood and feces from recently killed animals whose carcasses must be lifted and cut with mechanized knives.

A recent report by Human Rights Watch lists Tyson factories among the top three in violating immigrants' rights, shorting workers' compensation and union busting.

Over 1,500 Latinos, Vietnamese and other immigrants from around the globe struggle to survive in the crowded working conditions that became increasingly dangerous when Tyson bought the plant from Iowa Beef Products, reduced the workforce, and sped up the production lines. After the buyout, Tyson went to a lot of trouble to interfere with union organizing and got charged with 22 violations of labor law by the NLRB.

Workers at the Pasco plant sued Tyson in 1999 (IBT v Alvarez) for failure to compensate them for the waiting time necessary to begin putting on the equipment, the time spent donning and doffing the protective equipment, walking time to and from work stations, and the time spent for breaks. The district court in Washington ruled in favor of the workers, finding that the donning and doffing time spent was an "integral and indispensable" part of their principal activities, therefore compensable under the FLSA, and that the walking time was also compensable under the Portal-to-Portal Act. The district court concluded that donning begins the work day and doffing ends it.

Employees at the Pasco meat packing plant were awarded damages of over \$3 million for overtime and minimum wage by the district court. When Tyson challenged the decision on appeal, the Ninth by the Portal-to-Portal Act. The Court inter- Appellate Court broadened the definition of compensable time to include "any activity occurring thereafter in the scope and course



### 40 is enough!

That's the theme for this year's Take Back Your Time Day activities Oct. 24.

This year marks the 65th anniversary of the day when the 40-hour workweek became

U.S. law. Trouble is, 65 years later, with productivity quadruple what it was then, most Americans now work much more than 40 hours a week. If 40 hours was enough to support a family then, it certainly should be now.

Take Back Your Time Day is encouraging local events and discussions about how to take back the 40-hour week, as a first step toward bringing U.S. working hours into line with world standards. Among their suggestions: a ban on mandatory overtime, comp time for salaried workers



currently excluded from hours laws, and wages set at levels such that no worker needs to work more than 40 hours a week to support their family above the poverty line. If the minimum wage had expanded as much as the salaries of corporate CEOS, they note, it would now be \$25 an hour! Even if it had kept pace with the cost of living, it would now be more than \$8 an hour. Yet the U.S. minimum wage is still only \$5.15 per hour.

Posters, a press release and other material is available at www.timeday.org.



of employment" - walking time to and from locker rooms, even during breaks. Damages were recalculated to include meal breaks that workers rightly claimed should be included in compensable time. In their decision, the justices commented that the workday could not possibly end at the lunchtime break, and then start again once the break ends.

In Tum v. Barber Foods in 2004, however, the First Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Portal Act excludes walking time associated with donning and doffing of safety equipment. Both the Ninth and First Circuit Court distinguished between "non-unique," or special to the job protective gear, clothing and minimal walking to the work activity, and the "indispensable" activities "essential" to tasks for the employer. The jury concluded in Tum that the chicken meat processing workers' waiting in line to don equipment and clothes and their walking to work stations was de minimis, that is took a minimal amount of time, and not worthy of compensation.

At the Portland, Maine, Barber Foods plant, workers take poultry that has already been processed at poultry slaughter houses, such as boned chicken breast in bulk, and make frozen TV dinners, chicken fingers, and nuggets. The plant has two shifts where workers rotate positions on each of six assembly and packing lines. All workers must be at the work stations when the shift begins, but are paid from the time they clock into the computerized system on the production floor. Waiting in line to put on protective gloves, face masks, hair nets and other throw away equipment is done on their own time that accumulates along with walking time to the floor. Leaving the shift, workers must walk to a special area and then wait in line in order to dispose of protective attire.

In Reich v IBP, the Tenth Circuit held, similar to Tum, that the walking time to and from another knife room in a beef slaughter house to work stations was not worthy of compensation. In response, the former Secretary of Labor filed suit seeking compensation for workers, and also filed amicus briefs to district courts in support of workers being paid for the time associated with donning and doffing.

Whether the Secretary of Labor could actually prosecute Tyson for not paying for break time and other violations of FLSA is a matter of jurisdiction – state law that enforces compensation payment and federal regulations that must be interpreted through the Portal-to-Portal Act before they can be utilized by the Courts to assess damages. The Dept. of Labor has asked the Supreme Court to review these cases to resolve the matters in conflict between determinations of the Ninth

### No justice in Louisiana

Human Rights Watch reports that weeks after they should have been set free, hundreds of detainees arrested for minor offenses before Hurricane Katrina remain behind bars. They were arrested in or around New Orleans for such offenses as sleeping in public, tarot card reading, begging and public intoxication and were awaiting initial hearings.

Even if found guilty, they would have spent 10 days at most in jail. Instead they have been held for six weeks or more, and are only beginning to be released. Prosecutors have fought attorneys seeking release orders, on the grounds that the prisoners have no homes to return to.

and First Circuit specifically over the walking and waiting time issue. The Supreme Court decision will affect the amount of damages lower courts can assess regarding findings of unpaid compensable time.

The Supreme Court's decision would most likely affect those workers in the meat and chicken processing industries who have suffered some of the worst exploitation and abuse of any industry. Poultry companies such as Tyson and Purdue are notorious for cheating them out of wages and overtime.

African-Americans and Latinos comprise most of the poultry workers, half of whom are women. Less than a third are in unions. The turnover rate is near 100 percent, according to the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

The temporary contingent immigrant workforce is hired by employment agencies for these jobs or work under contract at a very low wage, without benefits. When there is a shortage of workers willing to do the work, poultry companies such as Tyson will hire recruiters to entice migrant laborers across the border with deals for housing and transportation, then force them into crowded housing conditions and not compensate them properly. Temporary part-time workers are often relegated to the riskier high turnover jobs, and lack the same legal protections as full timers under the National Labor Relations Act and OSHA. Migrant workers risk harassment and deportation from the INS.

The high turnover rate is indicative of the difficult workplace environment and the dangers. In the poultry slaughterhouses, where products are processed for use by Barber Foods, low-skilled workers either have the job of catching the chickens, or must hang them alive, cut them, gut them and remove the bones. Working in darkened warehouses, workers must endure blood, feces and fat as they struggle to keep up with fast conveyor operations as they cut and slice the hanging birds. Tasks are repeated continuously throughout the workday.

Enduring the cold temperatures and the dark, and the odors of dying and shitting animals, workers risk slipping and falling on the floors covered with fat, blood, feces and feathers. Due to the intense production pace, workers must struggle to get bathroom breaks, and must spend time cleaning themselves when leaving work stations.

OSHA has cited Tyson facilities for lacking adequate toilet facilities, restricting their use of the restrooms, and for the high probability of injury and death in the factories. Indeed, workers have suffered back injuries, repetitive stress injuries, and even death from electrocution and toxic chemicals at these plants.

Subscribe to the Industrial Worker today Subscriptions are \$15 per year.	
Enclosed: ☐ \$15 for 1 year ☐ \$ donation to IW Sustaining Fund ☐ \$15, bundle of 5 for 6 issues (ask about special IWW member rates)	
Name:	
Address:	
City/State:	
Postal Code:	
send to: Industrial Worker Distribution PO Box 13476, Philadelphia PA 19101 USA	

### Review: The neoliberal attack

BY JOHN GORMAN

David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, 2005. 256 pp. \$25.

Like many historians, David Harvey is good at telling us what happened and how. Unlike the best of the breed, however, he is not too good at explaining why. While he points out the apparent failure of Keynesian economics in the stagflation of the '70s, which brought steadily rising prices with no substantial increase in employment or prosperity, he offers no analysis of the reasons for this debacle, which enabled neoliberals to move their doctrine from the fringes of economic thought to the center of discourse. Also omitted is any real attention to the ineptitude, if not cowardice, of those who should have opposed them. For Harvey, the rise of neoliberalism is treated almost as though it were willed by God.

As the author correctly points out, the role of government in the economy changed radically, almost overnight by historical standards. While the mission of the government under Keynesian economics had been to ensure full employment, economic growth and the welfare of the citizenry, those goals became controlling inflation and creating a "favorable business climate" characterized by strong property rights, free markets and free trade. Accomplish these aims, neoliberals insisted, and a rising economic tide would lift all boats. "Individual freedom," "free choice" and "personal liberty" in the economic sphere would lead to everlasting prosperity.

Of course, some transitional austerity, generally imposed by the World Bank or the International Monetary fund, would be necessary to bring about this millennium. Those who might resist would need to be convinced, if not by marginalization, as in England, then by outright force, as in Chile. In the meantime, society was to be profoundly altered. In fact, society was, as Margaret Thatcher proposed, to be obliterated altogether - replaced by innumerable individuals, each seeking only private gain. Unions, political and even social organizations, which might give their members some collective consciousness, were to be rendered powerless and irrelevant. Marx's "commodification of relations" was to become public policy. That, under such a Hobbesian agglomeration, life for many would be "miserable, nasty, brutish and short" seems not to have occurred to the supporters of this New Order.

To give credit where it is due, Harvey admits the transitory success of these policies in Chile, Argentina and elsewhere. But each of these triumphs was followed by an economic collapse that brought enormous suffering to all but the most wealthy who were able to flee with their ill-gotten gains before the storm struck. Even China, which has seemingly prospered on this neoliberal road, is threatened by steadily rising tensions between its proclaimed ideology and its practical economic practices. How long these

contradictions can go unresolved remains uncertain at best.

Harvey's most useful insight, however, comes not in the field of economics but in the area of political philosophy. Stepping back from individual countries and companies, he sees clearly that what is really going on is a coherent, constant drive to restore class power, to recreate the economic relationships that existed before the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, which produced what the author describes as "Embedded Liberalism" - a capitalist economy with the moneyed powers left intact but confined within restraints that limited their further accumulation of wealth and protected the working class from their worst depredations. As Roosevelt proclaimed, the main role of the government was to provide the famous Four Freedoms, especially Freedom from Want. Social justice was infinitely more important than a "good business climate." Neoliberals seek to remove those restraints and return America and the world to the Gilded Age - not the time before Franklin Roosevelt, but the era before even Theodore Roosevelt thought he should "bust the trusts."

Harvey, of course, is not proclaiming some new conspiracy. He is merely observing the fact that persons with common interests tend to act in ways that support those interests. They are quite naturally enamored of ideas and theories that justify their social and economic position and support their power as the "natural" order of things, and will do their best to disseminate them far and wide.

While Harvey is quite perceptive in his evaluation of the chances for social and political disaster involved in this scheme, noting that previous ruling classes have chosen to destroy whole economies sooner than give up a shred of their power, he falls short in offering any but theoretical alternatives to the current neoliberal orthodoxy - beyond reminding us that "an injury to one is an injury to all," a truth Wobblies have known for a century. For those choices, there are, of course, other books like Cavanaugh and Mander's Alternatives to Economic Globalization. Yet their book, like Harvey's falls short of offering much useful advice to the individual citizen. Given that Harvey is right, we may ask, what are we as individuals to do or refrain from doing? Perhaps that book has already been written. We may state with certainty, however, that Harvey's volume is not it.

### **SF Solidarity Labor Chorus**

The Solidarity Labor Chorus of the San Francisco Bay Area offered a free concert/program celebrating the IWW's Centennial Oct. 20 at San Francisco City College. The chorus sang Wobbly songs, IWW singer Faith Petric did a solo set, and Harry Siitonen of the Bay Area IWW added some historical commentary. Wobbly organizer Manish Vaidya was also slated to discuss recent IWW Solidarity Unionism organizing projects.

# CONGRATULATIONS TO THE IWW: ON 100 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

**ASR #42 (November):** Wayne Thorpe: The IWW & Syndicalist Internationalism, Lucien van der Walt: The IWW in South Africa, Eric Chester: The Wheatland Hops "Riot" & the California Criminal Syndicalism Law, Matt White: Wobblies in the Spanish Revolution, Jon Bekken: Are You Furious? Taking on Borders, Reviews, International News & more...

**ASR #41 (Summer 2005):** The History of the Revolutionary Labor Movement, On the Ascendancy of the State, Self-Management in Argentina, Marx & Makhno vs. McDonald's in Paris, Lessons from a Social Service Workers' Strike, Priceless: The Folly of Capitalist Economics, and more...

Sample \$4, Subscription \$15

Anarcho-Syndicalist Review
Post Office Box 42531, Philadelphia PA 19101 U.S.A.

Post Office Box 42531, Philadelphia PA 19101 U.S.A. www.syndicalist.org email: syndicalist@iww.org



IN NOVEMBER WE REMEMBER SAM DOLGOFF WOBBLY & FOUNDING MEMBER OF ASR



Why in tarnation did that woman pitch her tent at Bush's ranch? Another witless publicity stunt, that's what! Cindy Sheehan must know that the president couldn't interrupt his busy vacation to talk to her. — But wait! Cindy's single tent didn't long stand alone. The media, always athirst for a good story, quickly spread the news, enticing throngs of peace activists to camp beside her. Bush's absence from Camp Casey was irrelevant. Cynthia erupted into a one-woman peace movement, a mighty heartbeat throbbing across the country and around the world.

Another bright star in the zenith is Kathy Kelly. Over the years, she has defied orders to cease and desist from sending medical supplies to the Iraqis. Now the ax has fallen. Another benevolent deed snuffed out. Bank account seized. End of Voices in the Wilderness. This must come as no surprise. But she and her colleagues steadfastly refused to fork over the \$20,000 fine. The alternative? A possible 10-year prison sentence. We're going to miss you, Kathy.

2005 is going down the drain, another no-good year. Now Hurricane Katrina has virtually destroyed New Orleans – that gulf city of glittering pageantry, that sinkhole of blight where 80 percent of the population is

black and poor. Jabbing a vindictive fist at the oppressed, the big wind seemed to strike most forcibly at the city's slums. Worse was yet to come. Levees, allowed to go unrepaired, burst and water gushed over the low-lying areas.

Washington, prompt to defend democracy in alien lands, dragged its feet in rescue efforts at home base. Of course, most of the National Guard were serving their country over in Iraq. Soldiers and police, coached in domination and violence, finally brought some semblance of order to the beleaguered city. Guns there were aplenty. Empty business establishments were well fortified, but such incidentals as food and water were largely neglected.

Bodies floating in the bloated, polluted waters increased the stench of human waste and oil spill. Hundreds of homeless folks, huddled in inadequate shelters without food or water in 90+ degree weather, agonized over lost loved ones.

Concerned about his tarnished image, Bush was nudged into ordering more aid. Flying over the stricken area, he waved encouragement to the folks below. Said a reporter stationed in the area, "Ready help has come not from the government, but from the heart of the American people."

### Sweden's "free year" program under attack

The "free year scheme" in Sweden is something unusual – these days – as a welfare reform. It was a result of negotiations between the Green Party, the Left (ex-communist) Party and the Social Democrats as a demand from the Greens to support the Social Democratic minority-government.

The "free year" started as a test project in some communities in 2002-2003 and now covers the whole country. It gives workers the possibility of taking a one-year "break" from their job. During that year you can do whatever you want and the state pays 85 percent of the amount you would have if you were unemployed. In order to get your "free year," your job during that year must be occupied by an unemployed person. And the number

of "free year" places are limited, so you have no guarantee that you will have a free year when you ask for it.

However this is a remarkable reform. To defend it the government has masked the reform as a labour market project, to give unemployed a foot-step in to the work places.

However, the employers are against the "free year" and will end the project if they win the elections next year. The "free year" has also been attacked by some Social Democrats and activists in their reformist trade union LO; a report recently published in the LO paper shows that 83 percent of LO members like the "free year" scheme but only 57 percent feel they can afford to ask for it because the amount you get in benefit is too low.



**Switzerland**: General Secretary-Treasurer Alexis Buss is speaking on the IWW in several cities throughout Switzerland Nov. 2-19. details at www.rebellion.ch/indexact.html

**Ann Arbor, Mich.**: "Soapboxers and Saboteurs: 100 Years of Wobbly Solidarity." University of Michigan Special Collections Library exhibit commemorating 100 years of the IWW, through Nov. 23.

**Detroit Mich.**: An exhibit commemorating the IWW centenary and exhibiting artifacts from our archives runs through November at the Reuther Archives, Wayne State University. **Lakewood, N.J.**: "Workers/Draftees of the World Unite!" a multi-media presentation on IWW artist, columnist and draft resister Carlos Cortez (1923-2004) by historian Scott Bennett. Tuesday, Nov. 8, 7 p.m., Little Theater, Georgian Court University.

A new edition of our official history, The IWW: Its First 100 Years, and the 2006 IWW Calendar are scheduled for release in November. A timeline of IWW history and other centenary materials, can be found at www.iww.org/projects/centenary.



# This November we remember Our good friend and mentor **CARLOS CORTEZ**

His life was a gift to the workers of the world. Carlos came to Lafayette, Colorado in 1989 to spread a few of Joe Hill's ashes on the graves of five Wobblies who were murdered by Colorado State Police during an IWW strike at the Columbine Mine on November 21, 1927.

Gary and Carol Cox

### NLRB rules Indian casino workers can unionize

In a decision that will affect thousands of casino workers across the country, the National Labor Relations Board has ruled against Indian gaming organizations and corporations doing business on Indian lands.

The NLRB ruled that its rules cover workers employed on federally administered Indian reservations where casino employees work in a case against the San Manuel Bingo and Casino in Highland, Calif. The Board also ruled that the casino violated labor law in "rendering aid, assistance, and support" to the Communications Workers of America by permitting CWA to organize out of a trailer on casino property. CWA agents were permitted to talk to employees of the casino inside the facility during work and non-work time. Security guards restricted access by organizers from other unions.

The NLRB ruled that San Manuel Indian Bingo and Casino engaged in unfair labor practices and ordered it to desist from allowing CWA access without allowing the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees and other unions access to its property and employees on an equivalent basis, and to post a notice at the casino stating the rights of workers to organize stating guarantees of non-interference, and specifically, that HERE representatives will not be denied access.

This means that the NLRB has affirmed that federal labor laws apply to all employees at tribal casinos. Connecticut Atty. General Richard Blumenthal, who filed a friend of the court brief in the case, noted the ruling means some 20,000 casino workers in Connecticut can now choose to join a union. The ruling ended over 30 years of legal precedent that restricted the NLRB's jurisdiction.

### **Rat bosses win at NLRB**

The Laborers' Eastern Region Organizing Fund in New York is appealing a NLRB administrative judge's ruling that its display of a giant inflatable rat outside nonunion construction sites amounts to unlawful picketing. The union says the rats are meant to educate the public, not to encourage job action.

An Ohio state judge had earlier ruled that the rat was protected free speech. Rats and other inflatable puppets are widely used by unions in the construction trades. "The court cases reflect that the rat has made its claw marks felt," said University of California professor Harley Shaiken.

First Amendment experts agree that in any other context the rats would be protected as long as they didn't create safety or traffic hazards. But management lawyers claim they are a signal, appealing to workers much like a picket sign. Were workers to refuse to deliver goods or to work alongside nonunion operators, that might violate U.S. anti-labor law.

### Argentine workers take over and run bankrupt hotel

BY HARRY KELBER

In 2001, the Hotel Bauer went bankrupt, firing all of its workers, many of whom remained without work for a full year. Today, the former lowest-ranking staff – maids, dishwashers and receptionists – run the enterprise democratically, without a management hierarchy and with a nearly flat wage scale.

The cooperative owners took a vacated hotel with no rooms ready for guests, and transformed it, investing over a quarter of a million pesos in new beds, televisions and a new restaurant. Today, the hotel employs 50 more people than when the workers opened it, and will need more workers as they finish renovating the remaining 20 percent of unopened rooms over the next three months.

Hotel Bauer is one of more than 170 enterprises, ranging from bakeries to auto parts factories, that were once abandoned and have now become thriving worker-run "recuperated companies." In a nation where about 1 in 5 are out of work, and many remain frustrated and distrustful toward the government, this kind of do-it-yourself movement has gained considerable support.

### One million strike, march in France

More than 1 million public and private sector workers took to the streets Oct. 4 in 150 protests against French Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin's decree making it easier for companies with fewer than 20 staff to fire workers in their first two years of employment, and to protest plans for privatization of several public companies.

The one-day general strike, backed by eight union federations, brought public transport to a standstill and closed schools across the country. Nearly three-fourths of the population told pollsters they supported the strike.

Workers are particularly angry about planned reforms of the French labour code, which for the first time will allow employers to sack employees within two years of their start-date for no particular reason. Workers are also angry about high unemployment and stagnant wages.

Similar protests forced the resignation of the last two conservative prime ministers. The financial newspaper *Les Echos* said the prime minister faced a "Black Tuesday ... a social baptism of fire."

#### **General strike in Belgium**

An Oct. 6 general strike called by the socialist union ABVV shut down much of the country in a protest against plans to slash



British Air strikers joined marchers in Paris social security and pension benefits. It was Belgium's first general strike in 12 years.

Although Christian and Liberal unions did not join the strike, roadblocks and picket lines brought train and bus service to a halt, and closed Charleroi Airport and Europe's largest seaport in Antwerp. Schools, universities and the post office were also closed, as were many factories.

The Socialist Party backs the "reforms," prompting an angry retort from Jean-Claude Vandermeeren, general secretary of the Walloon branch of the General Federation of Belgian Labour: "If the political world, the Socialist Party in particular, does not understand that people are protesting in the streets, that people have stopped working... If the Socialist Party can see this for itself ... and think that there is no problem, then I no longer understand anything in politics."

### **Strike at Australian Envelope over**

BY DARYL CROKE, MELBOURNE

The dispute at Australian Envelope in Notting Hill is over. Workers voted to return to work after two weeks without winning their key demand for reinstatement of a sacked union delegate. The dispute serves as a reminder that we need to build a progressive alternative to the existing union bureaucracy. If our so-called leaders are unable or unwilling to carry the struggle forward we have ideas and structures that can lead to victory rather than stand by and watch yet another strike go down in defeat.

During the strike managers used hired security guards to intimidate picketers, obtained a legal injunction against the union

### Two killed in police attack on Chinese steel workers

BY CHINA LABOUR BULLETIN

Police attacked protesting workers from the Chongqing steel plant Oct. 7, killing two women and injuring 24. Three activists were arrested. The attack ended two months of protests by several thousand workers who were laid off without compensation in August.

The protests began August 12 when more than 2,000 workers occupied a major road, paralyzing traffic in the city. Workers had planned to continue their protest outside the Asia-Pacific Mayors' Summit, held in Chongqing October 11-14, but the police crackdown prevented this.

The steel workers' main demand was extremely modest: that the factory should pay them 2,000 Yuan each in severance.

### Third of UK Labour Party delegates back solidarity ban

A motion to allow unions to take "industrial action" in solidarity with other workers was approved with 69 percent of the vote at the British Labour Party conference Sept. 27. Strikes in support of fellow workers have been illegal in Britain since 1980.

### **Koreans picket Wal-Mart**

Hundreds of heavily armed police protected a Wal-Mart Supercenter in Seoul, South Korea, Oct. 12 against union demonstrators demanding that the retail giant respect workers' right to organize. Workers held a giant banner, "Working Poor Maker = Wal-Mart," and demanded that the company enter into discussions with unions around the world.

Wal-Mart established itself in Korea by taking over an existing retail chain, and quickly crushed the union there.

and key activists in an attempt to halt picketing, and ran trucks through the line in reckless disregard of the picketers' safety.

Media reports suggest the company backed down from its threat to terminate the strikers, and agreed to a cash settlement to the sacked delegate, after the AMWU threatened mass picketing. However, those mass pickets were nowhere to be seen when workers were facing company thugs Sept. 24-25, when the dispute could have been won.

The "resolution" to these disputes is nearly always the same. The company agrees to withdraw legal action and reinstate the sacked workers; all except the poor militant who was sacked in the first place. The union promises, "we'll make sure he's looked after" and after a hard fight the militant is usually happy to be accommodated with a new job. I'm not casting any judgment on the individual worker. I might do the same if the situation looked helpless. The point is that the balance of power shifts considerably in the favour of management after the return to work.

### **UK building workers organise**

A new construction workers rank and file coalition has been formed to oppose new contracts imposed by the bosses with the connivance of full-time union officials. They want help distributing leaflets around building sites.

Major construction firm, Laing O'Rourke imposed a new Contract of Employment on all its site workers. This means large pay cuts for many and an employers 'discretionary bonus.' These attacks were fully supported by the full-time officials of the three major building industry unions – UCATT, TGWU and GMB. This ensured that where resistance did occur it was fragmented and unsuccessful.

Hot on their heels, other employers are now following suit. It's not too late for workers to begin real, organised resistance to these attacks, as long as it occurs at a grassroots level independent of the management stooges who run the builders' unions. A meeting took place June 14 in London to coordinate the fightback. This led to considerable interest from individual workers as well as the national Rank and File Building Worker Group and union branches such as the GMB SOLO branch and Northampton UCATT.

This new coalition aims to spread resistance to the new contracts nationally whilst also fighting for improvements in wages, working hours, sick pay, pensions and the constant deaths and injuries caused by so-called 'site accidents.'

### Pakistani hotel workers defend union

Hundreds of supporters of the struggle for union rights at the Pearl Continental Karachi hotel took to the streets Sept. 30, in the most visible union mobilization in Karachi in recent years.

Threats and intimidation began in 2001 when the hotel fired 300 casual workers and then dismissed union members and leaders when they sought to negotiate. In 2002, managers arranged for union leaders to be falsely accused of crimes. Three union leaders spent more than two months in prison without a single piece of evidence being produced.

In 2003 the United Nations' International Labour Organization ruled these actions were

clear breaches of international law and labour rights and called on the government of Pakistan to investigate the matter and reinstate the dismissed workers.

After four years of struggle, the Pearl Continental Hotel Workers' Solidarity Committee has formed to highlight the role of state institutions in repressing basic union rights in Pakistan. The Sept. 30 Justice Walk was the Committee's first public action. Now the Committee is calling on the English cricket team to cancel plans to stay in the luxury Pearl Continental hotel, saying that it's "just not cricket" to patronize institutions which violate workers' rights.

### **Labor for Palestine meets with workers**

BY M. WOLFF

Labor for Palestine had its first convention in July. Representatives from U.S. unions met with Palestinian workers and Labor for Palestine delegations witnessed working conditions, worker's rights and organizing efforts in the West Bank and Jerusalem where they interviewed Palestinian workers and reported to delegates. Through the Palestinian General Confederation of Trade Unions, U.S. workers learned of the organizing dilemmas facing Palestinian unions in occupied territories.

AFL-CIO affiliates, as well as, other unions, have invested millions of dollars in Israel bonds through the Development Corporation to Israel. State of Israel bonds were sold in excess of \$25 billion. DCI sold more than \$1.25 billion in bonds a year over the last three years to union pension and retirement plans. Israel's Finance Ministry relies on the funds for commercial and residential development and infrastructure.

The main Israeli union, Histradrut, only admits Israelis to membership, although it

collects 50 percent of the dues from Palestinians working in Israel. The other half of the estimated \$2.3 million a year goes to the PGTFU. Some 20,000 Palestinians work in Israel with permits and another 20 to 25,000 without them. Palestinians can be jailed for not having permits and so must sleep near worksites in order to not risk arrest traveling back and forth to the occupied areas.

Convention keynote speaker Atef Saad, director of the PGFTU media and information department, was forced to cancel his speech a day before the event due to pressure from the Israeli government. However, Hakim Hasien of the Palestinian Aid Society gave a talk in his place. He said that Palestinian workers have helped build the very settlements that occupy their land for menial wages. They have been excluded from the Israeli unions, and have nevertheless organized for workers' rights and social justice despite violent conditions of imprisonment, demolition of their homes, and the imposition of economic apartheid through the separation wall.



### Unofficial strike closes Stockholm subway

The Stockholm subway closed for five hours in an unofficial strike by train drivers Oct. 6, causing rush-hour traffic chaos when 100,000 people could not use the subway to get to their work places. Some hundred drivers protested the sacking of their union chairman, Per Johansson, in a massive manifestation of anger and solidarity.

Johansson has been an active representative for members of SEKO (the LO-affiliated union for service and communication) which organizes most drivers in the Stockholm subway. For a couple of years the subway has been run by the multinational company Connex. Connex sacked Per Johansson Sept. 29, claiming he has been "disloyal" to the company. One situation that Connex mentioned was an episode from the Syndicalist train-drivers strike in March, when he told a scab not to work.

Members of SEKO union and members of the syndicalist job branch in the subway reacted strongly against the sacking. It has been seen as an attack on the right of free speech as well as an attack on union rights. SAC General Secretary Lars Hammarberg demanded changes in the labor laws in an article in the biggest Swedish daily paper, Aftonbladet, October 7, with the sacking and the unofficial strike as background. It is possible for Connex to run a juridicial process for months in the Labor Court, and then "buy out" Per Johansson, giving him high severance pay and paying damages to the union. By these labor laws Connex can get rid of union activists. And, legally, workers are not allowed to go on strike as a countermeasure.

The SEKO union has launched a campaign for free speech and there will be a

rally in Stockholm Oct. 29, organized by the local branch of the drivers. New unofficial strike actions are possible. The syndicalist job branch in the subway has declared its support and their members are fighting side by side with the SEKO members. If the bosses sack one union activist they will attack others too. The Central Committee of SAC has declared its full support to the train drivers. Letters demanding the reinstatement of Per Johansson can be sent to: info@klubb119.org, seko@seko.se, janne.ruden@seko.se, with a copy to: spar.sektionen.stockholm@sac.se.

### **Murdered Nestlé worker**

The International Solidarity Commission condemns in the strongest terms the murder of Diosdado Fortuna, a union leader employed by Nestlé at its Cubayo facility in the Philippines. Mr. Fortuna was shot and killed following a demonstration connected with a longtime struggle for basic workplace protections at Nestlé. The company has refused to negotiate for over three years, largely over the right to have retirement benefits included in collective bargaining agreements.

While it comes as no surprise that such a grievous injury is associated with a historically terrible employer like the Nestlé Corporation, a rapid response is all the more necessary in this case. The government of the Philippines must investigate this death and bring those responsible to justice.

The ISC of the IWW joins with the IUF and other labor and human rights organizations in this demand and reminds Nestlé and the government of the Philippines that the murder of Mr. Fortuna stands as an injury to workers everywhere. We stand watching and ready to act in any manner we deem appropriate to right this attack.