

INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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May Day issue!

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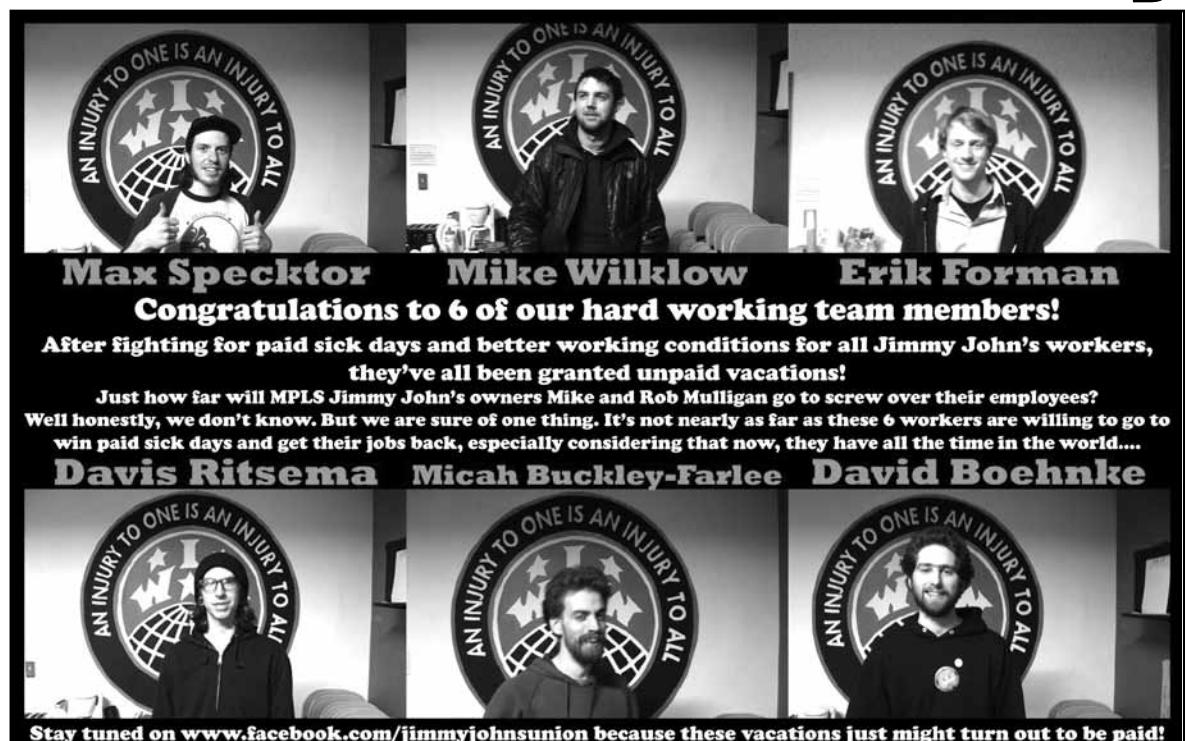
By the IWW Jimmy Johns
Workers Union

Thousands of community supporters have jammed Jimmy John's phone lines and flooded the chain's Facebook page with messages of outrage and support for six whistleblowers who were fired for exposing widespread coercion to work at the chain while sick. On March 25, the workers announced that they plan to escalate actions against Jimmy John's until their demands for the right to call in sick, paid sick days, and reinstatement of the fired workers are met.

"We will not be silenced. Speaking out against the policy of forcing workers to work while sick is not only our right, it is our duty," said Erik Forman, one of the fired sandwich workers. "The unfettered greed of franchise owner Mike Mulligan and Jimmy John himself jeopardizes the health of thousands of customers and workers almost every day. We will speak out until they realize that no one wants to eat a sandwich filled with cold and flu germs."

After franchise management rebuffed numerous employee requests to reform the sick day policy,
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Under current policy, Jimmy John's workers are disciplined for calling in sick if they cannot find a replacement. In addition, many workers are unable to afford to take a day off if they are ill because wages at the sandwich chain hover around the federal minimum of \$7.25 an hour. The result of these pressures is that sandwich-makers often have to work while sick, creating an enormous public health risk.



The JJWU calls attention to six Wobblies who were fired.

Graphic: IWW Jimmy Johns Workers Union

Fired Union Barista Achieves Victory In Brooklyn



Wobblies protest Ozzie's on Jan. 29, 2011.

Photo:images.suite101.com

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aware that Bauer was organizing with the One Big Union, their response was harsh and relentless. Bauer was subjected to mistreatment, harassment and verbal abuse on a daily basis.

In June 2010, Bauer suffered a severe cut in hours when he stood up for a coworker who was physically assaulted and threatened by store manager Raphael Bernadine's boyfriend, a former cop, on the shop floor. In response to this retaliatory attack on Bauer's right to defend his coworker from a violent confrontation, as well as his legally-protected right to discuss workplace conditions, Bauer led a union delegation of six Wobblies and supporters into Ozzie's Coffee & Tea. The purpose of this "March on the Boss" was to deliver a demand letter directly to the boss and officially notify him of Bauer's affiliation with the IWW. Bauer's list of demands included his hours be restored to

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Solidarity Greetings From The IW

To all the
workers fighting
against the
bosses on the
shop floor and
on the streets,
remember:
this is your day.
Happy May Day!



**Letters Welcome!**

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

Mailing address:
IW, P.O. Box 7430, JAF Station, New York, NY 10116, United States

Get the Word Out!

IWW members, branches, job shops and other affiliated bodies can get the word out about their project, event, campaign or protest each month in the *Industrial Worker*. Send announcements to iw@iww.org. Much appreciated donations for the following sizes should be sent to:

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Press Date: April 20, 2011

Organizing In Wisconsin: Looking Back & Moving Forward

By Oliver Lanti

I was lucky enough to recently spend a month in Wisconsin organizing for the IWW. I plan to write collectively about the experience with some of the other Fellow Workers who were present, but for now I'll write something less formal from my own personal thoughts.

I've never been more proud of my red card than when I first read that the IWW was agitating for a general strike, and that this was resonating in the broader working class. I think the IWW is the best game in town for those who want to "fan the flames of discontent," and I have thought that ever since I joined, just after the centenary. Although our strength and our successes have been limited, it seems that we are the only organization in the United States or Canada that has any program for building up new working-class militants, through our model of "solidarity unionism." However, during the May Day protests of 2005 and 2006, the IWW was relatively uninvolved: most branches marched in solidarity with immigrant workers, but as an organization we had basically nothing to offer to any militant, self-organized

militant workers who wanted to move forward. I've been hoping for years that the IWW would develop organically to be able to influence future working-class struggles that will take place beyond the walls of a single factory (or coffee shop). To be clear, the focus on actual workplaces and actual workers, as opposed to the completely spectacular activism that I saw everywhere else, was what brought me into the IWW back in 2005.

In 2011, it was the IWW's agitation for working-class collective action on a broad social level that brought me back after about 18 months of inactivity. Among other things, to use FW J. Pierce's idea of "Goals, Strategy, Tactics," I'd been discouraged by a feeling that the IWW had a goal (that the workers of the world should "take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the earth") and a tactic (build working-class militants and win concessions from employers through solidarity unionism), but, like a group of gnomes from South Park, we lacked a step two, a strategy that could link the goal and the tactic. We still don't have one, really,

but from our experience in Wisconsin it is clear that we are building one collectively, just as it is clear that we never would have been ready to have the impact that we did if we hadn't already wet our feet, as an organization, in the day-to-day class struggles at Starbucks, Jimmy John's, and a myriad of other businesses.

I look forward to the debate in the IWW about what we can learn from this struggle and how we can better prepare for the next one. I'll close this letter with a quote from an excellent pamphlet I read just after leaving Wisconsin, Justus Ebert's "The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice" (1919):

"This brings us to another question, namely: Does the I.W.W. believe in and advocate politics? Absolutely! The I.W.W. is neither anti-political nor non-political. The I.W.W. is ultra-political. That is, the I.W.W. believes that getting votes and winning office is not politics of a fundamental kind."



Graphic: iww.org

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Wisconsin

A Week Of Commemoration For The Triangle Factory Fire

By Tom Keough

In the month of March, IWW members commemorated the 100th anniversary of the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire. Nobody has forgotten how the businessmen were allowed to treat their employees so badly that 146 people were killed and the owners got away with serving no prison time, paying no money to the victims' families and eventually becoming the proprietors of a new factory nearby and continued to live the good life.

Recently, an excellent website, <http://www.rememberthetrianglefire.org>, was set up that helped facilitate and publicize many activities designed to memorialize the tragedy. They published a list of events which included 94 different types of events in New York City and nearly that many in other parts of the United States. The television station PBS ran an excellent documentary on the fire and the labor movement of that time. These events were organized and sponsored by dozens of unions, Jewish organizations, women's groups, schools, musicians, Italian-American and Asian-American organizations, church groups and even some elected officials.

Wobblies participated in several of these events. Wobblies from New York and New Jersey went to a very well-organized evening forum at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) on March 23. Entering the hall, attendees walked by cardboard buildings eight feet tall with cardboard women on fire leaping to their deaths—a very difficult image to forget. The entire FIT community—students, staff and administration—worked skillfully to remember this profit-driven horror "in our industry." The forum included



Photo: Tom Keough
Babul Akhter & Kalpona Akter, Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity.

a combination of speakers and a fashion show by students. The event was hosted by the staff union, the United College Employees of the Fashion Institute of Technology (UCE FIT). The president of the union, Juliette Romano, was great—she spoke about her union and said that she is very proud that her union was always a union of all the staff at FIT. All staff, from building staff, office staff, and professors, are members of one union.

The main speaker was Kalpona Akter, a former child garment worker and Executive Director of the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity (BCWS). She spoke of a recent fire which killed 54 women in Bangladesh. She said that, "Bangladesh essentially has a Triangle Fire every year." She spoke about the suffering of the working class and their recent fight back, as well as problems of the U.S. working class buying clothes made in sweatshops. Last year garment workers in Bangladesh organized a massive strike. Many of the workers were imprisoned. Akter and several other leaders were given special treatment in prison, and they were tortured repeatedly. It was only through international solidarity from many organizations, including Amnesty International and the International Labor Rights Forum (ILRF), that brought their release. The ILRF and SweatFree Communities were also sponsors of the event, proving, once again, why solidarity is still so important today.

Akter felt that the strike did not achieve enough of its goals. The strike and the previous organizing did get a pay increase, raising the pay from an amount equal to \$10 per month before the organizing began to \$20 per month. Last year's strike changed the pay to \$40 per



Commemorating the Triangle victims at the site of the fire. Photo: Diane Krauthamer

month. Some improvements were made in the areas of safety, sanitation and scheduling.

This forum led up to the main Triangle Fire remembrance event—a spirited march and rally in front of the building where the fire occurred—on March 25, 2011.

Early that morning a group of people assembled in Union Square. One-hundred forty-six people wore the names of the victims of the fire. Many unions were represented by groups of their members with their families and friends. Laborers Local 79 and other unions also gave their members signs which had the names of people who died in the fire. The Teamsters, the Amalgamated Lithographers of America (ALA), the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), Actors Equity, the Hudson County Labor Central Labor Council of N.J., UCE FIT and FIT students as well as union staff and students from New York University, United Students Against Sweatshops, other organizations and even some elected officials marched. Some marchers had large photos of the Triangle workers, while others wore t-shirts with the names

all listed on the back. Some people who marched were relatives of people who were killed. The message of the march was explained with signs with such messages as "When it comes to Corporate Profits LIFE is an Expendable Commodity."

IWW member David Temple was there with his high school students. Many of these students are from Bangladesh. Fellow Worker Temple was actually able to have his students meet with U.S. Labor Secretary Hilda Solis. He teaches his students about international labor issues and has long run a program called the Bread and Roses Curriculum. The students met Solis while marching down Broadway from Union Square Park. She recognized him bringing his students to the commemoration and chatted with the students. She asked them where they were from and a 19-year-old told her three of them were from Uzbekistan, seven from China, eight from Bangladesh, and one from Tibet! Earlier, in the park, FW Temple spotted Bjorn from SweatFree Communities with the garment labor leader from Bangladesh, Kalpona Akter. The students chatted with Akter, mostly in English. After this event, Akter went on to speak in Chicago, Boston, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia and then at New York University the following week.

"It was meaningful and emotional. I washed a tear to think that my Bubby and Pop could have been victims, too, and feel so proud of my radical union grandfather," said FW Temple. There were about 2,000 people present and the entertainment was good. Another highlight was when Mayor Bloomberg went on to speak, the crowd booed him. Bloomberg is known for wanting to break city unions.

On March 26, Wobblies attended the Sweatfree Upper West Side Rally. This was organized to connect the other Triangle events to the problems of sweatshops today in New York City. This event was organized to support the fired workers at the Saigon Grill restaurant who protest and leaflet every day outside the restaurant. In 2009, the Saigon Grill was the scene of a year of protest by the workers and many support groups including unions, student groups, workers' centers and other social justice groups. The IWW had joined these picket lines many times. In December 2009 the owners were arrested and jailed for numerous crimes including wage and safety violations. A new owner bought the business. He received community support, including the required community approval to get a liquor license, because he told the community that he would be a "socially conscious" businessman who would run Saigon Grill different from the previous owners. He then fired his staff, saying that he wanted younger looking workers. The staff has picketed and leafleted every day since, even in the worst weather. Several hundred people were at the rally, including elected officials and clergy. A union organizing group from Domino's Pizza attended the demonstration in solidarity. One worker told me how they had been inspired by the Starbucks Workers Union.

Join the IWW Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I affirm that I am a worker, and that I am not an employer.

I agree to abide by the IWW constitution.

I will study its principles and acquaint myself with its purposes.

Name: _____

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Membership includes a subscription to the **Industrial Worker**.



Their Interests And Ours

By Scott Nappalos

"The employers interests are our interests. We are all in a circle with the patients in the center," a union president told us at the first meeting of nurses in my moribund hospital local. The union administrator had been sent from out of state to develop a labor-management partnership committee and try to create a collaborative relation between the bosses and the union. At my workplace, management routinely reminds aging workers they would fire a third of them if they could to achieve a "change in culture."

The union administrator wanted us to develop programs that would cut costs for management and help our working conditions. After exploring options management would not accept and ones that would not help us, I half-jokingly suggested we fire all the managers and run the units ourselves.

A veteran nurse who usually is a union yes-woman told us a story. A hurricane swept into our state. All the hospitals initiated their emergency plans. At her hospital, the director of nursing ordered everyone to go home in the middle of the storm because she wanted to save money, and was hoping it would be a small storm.

The workers disobeyed and carried out their own plan to run the hospital without management on board. They successfully cared for the patients in a disaster situation. No one was disciplined for refusing to go home.

Health care is special in that we need the services it provides. In a sense we all have common interests in keeping it running. At the same time having a class analysis of society as a whole helps us understand where management and workers' interests diverge even in health care. Management is a class that earns its

living through managing and increasing the labor of others. That pressure leads to interests against our own, and against humanity as a whole.

My coworkers at the meeting instinctively resisted the administrator's attempts to sell partnership. Every day we face dehumanizing behavior and a factory model of lean production that turns our caring labor for others into a mechanized form of assembly labor. Our bosses routinely tell us they want to eliminate us, and would see us on the streets if they could. They do not put forward any concept of working together for the patient—instead their position is that we are the problem. Managerial organization is directed at solving the



problem posed by workers unwilling and unable to conform to their engineered designs. At best, they offer us apologies for the health care system, but emphasize discipline, subservience and utilize

heavy threats.

At the same time my coworkers were not inherently opposed to the idea of a partnership. We care about the patients so we see the need to have some way of moving forward. The union leadership had to pitch the idea. The workers rejected it but did not spontaneously propose class struggle as an alternative, or any alternative for that matter. This dynamic, being pulled between worlds, is not an aberration but is a part of our experience in work. Workers are torn between two worlds—the ideas and practices of the dominating classes and our own—stunted and held back by the constant reproduction of class relationships all around us. As organizers, it is our job to draw that process out, and contribute to building the struggles that can rupture that teeter-totter and facilitate our coworkers becoming conscious of their power and interests.

ATTENTION!

IMPORTANT DUES RETENTION NOTICE FOR ALL MEMBERS WITHIN THE 300 DEPARTMENT

In February 2011, the IWW General Executive Board granted the 300 Industrial Organizing Committee voluntary dues retention of all its members falling on the jurisdiction of the 300 IOC. This means that all members within the 300 department may opt to pay their dues to their IOC to further the organizing of their industry.

How will this work for 300 members that currently belong to a GMB?

For the time being, 300 members will have to decide whether they want to continue being a part of their general membership branch, or if they want to be a part of their Industrial Organizing Committee. If you wish to pay your dues to your IOC, simply tell whatever delegate that you are paying dues to that you wish to have your dues go to the 300 IOC. However, we are working with the GHQ to make it possible for individuals to belong to both of them in the near future.

How will this work for 300 members that do not belong to a branch?

This is your chance to belong to and participate in a body of the IWW. If you currently pay dues through an at-large delegate, you can continue to do so. You must tell the delegate that you want your dues to go to the 300 IOC (More information for delegates can be found below). If you are paying online, you will need to stop and begin paying your dues to either a nearby delegate or to a 300 delegate. You can use the information below to contact the IOC for more information on how to do this.

I'm a delegate. How do I collect dues for the 300 IOC?

Clearly earmark the dues that are collected for 300 on your delegate sheet. Make sure to record what member(s) on your sheet are paying to 300. It is of the upmost importance that if a member belonging to the 300 department is paying dues to you that you inform the Fellow Worker of their right to pay dues to their IOC. If the Fellow Worker chooses to do so, you must be very clear in your recording of the destination of those dues.

I'm a branch secretary, what do I do?

GHQ has put together a new Branch secretary report for dues collected for IOC's. When you take in the delegates sheets every month, you will check to see if there are any earmarked dues for the 300 IOC. If so, you will record this on a separate report that you will receive from GHQ. (If you do not have this report form contact GHQ for instructions). The dues will not be split with the branch. The full dues will be sent to GHQ, and headquarters will split the dues there between the IOC and GHQ.

This is a great step in the march to Industrial democracy within the construction industry. Our dues retention will provide us with the ability to provide our members with new member packets, hardhat stickers, and trainings. Also it will provide us with sustainable funds to insure that we have the ability to take on organizing drives.

We thank everyone in the entire union for your work and support as we move forward in building the construction union in the IWW.

To our fellow 300 members, this is the time to make the 300 IUs strong once again. There is a lot of work to be done and a lot of different seats to be filled. If we are going to create a union that will better our jobs and our lives, all members must stand up and contribute no matter how small or large the task. Get in touch with a committee member to find out how you can help the work along.

Sincerely,

300 IOC

iu300oc@lists.iww.org redbell3@gmail.com

WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY

Chapter 43

The March of the Mill Children

When Mother Jones answered the call of striking Kensington, Pa. textile workers in the spring of 1903, she found that nearly 10,000 of the 75,000 strikers were children. Many were missing fingers and hands. "They were stooped little things, round shouldered and skinny," she recalled later. Many were not over 10 years old.

Mother Jones led the children on a parade to Philadelphia's Independence Square, to a rally where she declared, "Philadelphia's mansions are built on the broken bones, quivering hearts and drooping heads of mill children."



As the strike continued, Mother Jones decided to stir up the issue further. She took the children on a march to the summer mansion of President Theodore Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, Long Island. They carried signs that said "We want more time to play" and "Prosperity is here, where is ours?" For many of the kids it was the first and only holiday of their lives.

"We marched down to Oyster Bay but the president refused to see us and he would not answer my letter," Mother Jones wrote later. "But our march had done its work. We had drawn the attention of the nation to the crime of child labor." The strike was lost and the children forced back to work. But not long after the Pennsylvania legislature enacted a tough child labor law.

Graphic: Mike Konopacki

Solidarity Greetings from the Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance

And the IWW's *unofficial*
Cartography Department...
please send maps to Kenneth
Miller, 1306 Sheffield Street,
3rd Floor, Pittsburgh, PA
15233. Call 412-867-9213 for
information about the IWW's
Cartography Department.

On May Day, the IWW
transcends language,
geography and time.



Graphic: Bill Yund, published in "The Point of Pittsburgh" by Charles McCollester

Stonewalled By Stonemountain

By Jane Powell

This year marks the 30th anniversary of Stonemountain and Daughter Fabrics, an institution based in Berkeley, Calif., and one of the few independent fabric stores left standing as chain fabric stores are taking over. Stonemountain has remained profitable even in this difficult economy, grossing over \$2 million in 2010. Owners Suzan and Bob Steinberg are proud of the store's longevity and their claim of "giving back to the community," but they should be ashamed. Their business was actually built by retail workers whose skills and knowledge they tout constantly, but who have never been paid a living wage or offered more than part-time hours.

The store was first unionized by the IWW in 2003, and a few concessions have been made since then. The base wage is now a whopping \$10.70 per hour, and you can get crappy Kaiser health insurance if you're willing to devote one-third of your monthly paycheck to the premium—except you won't be able to afford to use it, seeing as how it has a \$1,500 deductible. A \$10.70 per hour wage may seem like a lot to people who are being paid minimum wage in other retail jobs, but the reality is that retail wages have barely risen at all over the past 25 years while the cost of gas, food and rent have tripled. The Stonemountain starting wage today is approximately what



Graphic: iww.org

Macy's Union Square in San Francisco was paying in 1987, except Macy's provided 100 percent employer-paid benefits.

The union is currently in contract negotiations with the owners. Stonemountain offered the same contract as they did three years ago—no wage increase, a pitiful increase in paid time off and a four-year agreement to these terms. We were proudly told by the owners that we are some of the highest paid fabric store workers in the United States, which suggests that others are horribly underpaid. All of the current employees at the store

are women—it's sad that a female business owner feels she can exploit other women.

The owners apparently think we all have other jobs which are extremely lucrative and we don't need the money. In reality, standing on a concrete floor for nine hours a day, three or four days a week, doesn't leave anyone a whole lot of energy for doing anything else.

We are asking for support from Stonemountain customers and the community at large in our fight for a decent wage. We love the store and the customers and we want it to succeed, but we also want to share financially in that success. Please email the owners, Suzan at fabriclady3@gmail.com, and Bob at steinbergdiane@yahoo.com, and tell them you support higher wages for Stonemountain workers.

IWD In Australia, Part Two



Photo: Jake Scholes

Chloe Reynolds and Helen Reichelt demonstrate in Perth, Australia, on International Women's Day, March 8, 2011.

Correction To The Correction

By the *Industrial Worker*

In the "Correction: The Real Matilda Rabenowitz," which appeared on page 5 of the April 2011 *IW*, we mistakenly said that Matilda's granddaughter contacted the *IW*. Robbin Henderson is, in fact, Matilda's grandson. The *IW* apologizes greatly for this error.

Chris Garlock of the Metro Washington AFL-CIO was ejected from the hearing entirely.

"The people of Wisconsin did not vote for his agenda," said Junemann, a Wisconsin native.

The House Republicans had planned to use the hearing to give Walker and the National Right to Work Committee a national stage to attack workers' rights, under the guise of fixing broken state budgets. More than half the Republican committee members are recipients of funds from the anti-union Koch brothers, big donors to Walker.

The plan backfired when Walker found himself the subject of tough questioning from Democratic committee members. Rep. Dennis Kucinich of Ohio forced Walker to admit that several anti-union provision in his controversial "budget repair bill" had nothing to do with balancing the state's budget. Rep. Elijah Cummings of Maryland called

ILWU Local 10 Shuts Down Oakland Port

By John Kalwaic

On April 4, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 shut down the Big Container Port in Oakland, Calif., as a line of trucks waited in vain for the workers to unload the cargo. The initiative to strike and not unload the port was spearheaded by the rank-and-file union members. The demonstration was part of nationwide labor demonstrations to protest anti-union measures against public employees in several states as well as to commemorate the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was killed while supporting striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tenn. Also, in Oakland, approximately 100 teachers and educators came out to protest Wells Fargo Bank. The teachers chanted "bail out schools, not the

banks."

Protesters took turns at the bullhorn, demanding that workers' jobs, pensions, schools and social services must be safeguarded before one cent of interest is paid to the banks and wealthy bond investors. Which has priority, they asked: profits for the wealthy, or our children's future?

They also highlighted Wells Fargo's role in the foreclosure epidemic and demanded a moratorium on foreclosures, so that families can stay in their homes.

On April 4, The Bail out the People Movement organized demonstrations at Wells Fargo branches in Los Angeles and Baltimore, in solidarity with the teachers' action in Oakland. Wells Fargo is based in California, with their main headquarters in San Francisco.



ILWU Local 10 demonstrates on April 4.

Photo: workerspower.net

To The Memory Of Heroes Past: IWW & The Australian Labour Museum

By Bruce Campbell

The actions of the IWW in Australia in the early years of the 20th century still shape the face of unionism in the country. Before the IWW, Australian unionism, despite its many good points, had a huge downside—it was for advancing the causes of the white man only. Of course, there were good people who knew that the worker deserved better. The arrival of IWW ideology in Australia helped to organize these people into a radical force, leading to the formation of the IWW Australian Regional Organizing Committee (ROC) in 1907.

The legacy of the IWW in Australia is hugely important, as the IWW was the first union—or for that matter, group—in Australia to call for an end to racism, the right of free speech, equal rights for women and many other policies that are now part and parcel of mainstream union policy in Australia. We should note that while there sure is still a distance to travel, much of what the IWW called for back in the 1910s and 1920s is largely in place today.

Australian IWW members of the past are particularly famous for their vocal and outspoken opposition to conscription. They can be said to have led this successful struggle to stop poor workers from being sent overseas to fight other poor workers who were defending their homelands while the wealthy on both sides just got richer.

After the first official push on conscription failed, thanks to the actions of the IWW, the Australian government used the War Precautions Act and the Unlawful Associations Act to arrest and prosecute anti-conscriptionists. Tom Barker, editor of the IWW newspaper *Direct Action*, was sentenced to 12 months in prison in March 1916. Additionally, 12 prominent IWW activists, called the "Sydney Twelve," were arrested in New South Wales in September 1916 for arson and other offenses, despite a total lack of evidence. The Australian government even locked up the legendary proto-Wob Monty Miller, confining him to a filthy cell, despite Monty being in his mid-80s.

The good news is that the Australian government lost a second push to introduce conscription after they had locked up all the leading Wobblies—an indication of how much the Wobblies had influenced the conscription debate and other social justice matters in the broader community. So, despite the Australian government's attempts to run them out of town, the Australian IWW fought on against injustice, as it does to this day.

The IWW continues to occupy a mythological place in Australian union history as the militant social justice avant-garde of the Australian labor movement. It is to the memory of Fellow Workers past that Australian Wobblies of today have arranged for the IWW Australian ROC to become Foundation Members of the Australian National Museum of Labour, which is to be built in the nation's capital, Canberra, in the coming months. Here's to our heroes past—may you inspire us always to fight the good fight!

Hey Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker: You Can't Hide!

By Chris Garlock, *Labor Notes*

"Wherever Scott Walker goes, he needs to know that we're going to be there waiting for him," said International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers (IFPTE) President Greg Junemann at a demonstration in Washington, D.C., against the controversial Wisconsin governor. Walker testified at the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee hearing on April 14.

Outside, two dozen demonstrators chanted, "Hey, Walker, you can't hide, we can see your corporate side" and "Tax Wall Street, not Main Street," drawing interest from passing tourists and a speedy response from Capitol Police. Police threatened arrests and dispersed the "unpermitted demonstration" organized by National Nurses United.

Ann Louise Tetrault, a nurse from Wisconsin, was booted from her seat in the hearing by a Republican committee staffer before the hearing began, and reporter

politicians' efforts to use the economic downturn to "strip American workers of their rights" "shameful."

And despite Walker's best efforts to dodge the question, he finally had to admit to Rep. Gerry Connelly of Virginia that he'd never brought up repealing workers' collective bargaining rights during his campaign

for governor. Even fellow witness Pete Shumlin, governor of Vermont, chided his colleague, saying, "If you want to go after collective bargaining, just come out and say it, but if you want to balance



Photo: Chris Garlock, *Labor Notes*

your budget, you bring people together, you have a dialogue."

This story originally appeared on April 14 in Labor Notes. It was reprinted with permission.

May Day Special

Celebrating May Day Throughout The World:

By Autumn Gonzalez and Nicholas DeFillipis

May Day has its origins in the long, ferocious struggle for an eight-hour work day. The concept of a celebratory work stoppage to achieve this goal started in Australia on April 21, 1856. Although the Australian workers originally planned this to be a one-time event, annual proletarian celebrations gained popularity in Australia and quickly caught on across the globe. May Day as we know it burst on to the labor and political scene in 1884 when the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (which became the American Federation of Labor) passed a resolution proclaiming that eight hours would constitute a legal work day after May 1, 1886. The resolution called for a general strike to achieve this goal, gaining the support of over 250,000 workers by April 1886.

On May 1, 1886, more than 300,000 workers across the United States walked off their jobs. In Chicago alone, 40,000 workers struck. The struggle continued beyond May 1, with the number of strikers in Chicago swelling to 100,000 by May 3. This resulted in police repression of the strike, causing clashes between workers and cops that led to the Haymarket Massacre.

In 1889, the International Workers' Congress, attended by 400 delegations from across the world, called for May 1, 1890, to be a day of international demonstrations for an eight-hour work day. It was a huge success, and workers in the United States, most of Europe, Chile, Peru and Cuba took to the streets. The next year, Brazil, Ireland and Russia celebrated their first May Day. In 1913, Mexican, Costa Rican and Ecuadorian workers held their first May Day celebrations, followed by Chinese workers in 1920 and Indian workers in 1927.

Since its inception in 1905, the IWW vowed to continue the annual May Day tradition. In 1907, the Wobblies kick-started their May Day activities by publishing a class-conscious statement criticizing Labor Day:

"Labor Day has completely lost its class character. The very fact that 'Labor Day' was legally, formally and officially established by the capitalist class itself, through its organized government, took the 'starch' out of it: destroyed its class character. The First of May has not been disgraced, contaminated, and blasphemed by capital's official sanction and approval, as has Labor Day. The capitalist class can never be a friend of May Day; it will ever be its enemy."

In 1911, the IWW was making a major



A famous rendition of Chicago's Haymarket bombing in 1886.

Graphic: kasamaproject.org

commotion in its fight for the eight-hour work day. Under IWW leadership, eight-hour-day groups were set up across the country, printing and distributing thousands of stickers which read, "I won't work more than eight hours after May 1, 1912, how about you?" The struggle was to be topped off with a massive demonstration on May Day 1912. To celebrate May Day in 1912, as well as to protest poor working conditions, thousands of IWW lumberjacks soaked their blanket rolls in kerosene to make a huge bonfire, forcing the bosses to supply them with more acceptable bedding.

Commemoration of the holiday led to violence in May 1919, when unionists, workers, socialists and anarchists marched in Cleveland to protest the jailing of Eugene V. Debs. As the group moved through the city, some police on the sidelines demanded they lower their red flags; the marchers refused. Fighting broke out and lead to two deaths, 40 injuries and over 100 arrests. Some years later, during the Great Depression, the unemployed marched en masse on the holiday, and many were attacked or arrested by police.

On May 1, 1944, imprisoned German, Polish, Czech and Russian leftists in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp secretly rendezvoused to celebrate May Day, singing working-class songs and giving speeches. This came only a few days after German communist Wilhelm Pieck broadcasted his May Day greetings to the German people from Soviet radio waves, predicting the Nazi regime would soon be defeated. On May 1 of the very next year, the world breathed a sigh of relief as of

ficials reported that Hitler was dead!

In 1946, in an economically troubled and defeated Japan, workers celebrated their first May Day since 1934. Singing leftist songs, 250,000 Japanese workers demonstrated in Tokyo to demand a seven-hour work day, the dissolution of the Shidehara Cabinet, and, most importantly, food. The event was dubbed "Food May Day." In 1952, anger mounted among Korean workers in Japan over the American war in Korea, and Japanese leftists were unhappy about the collaboration between the Japanese and American governments. As a result, 3,000 people rioted in Tokyo and Kyoto, clashing with police, overturning cars, and breaking U.S. Air Force office windows. This riot became known as the "Bloody May Day Incident."

During post-war years, workers continued to honor and celebrate May Day. American author and communist Howard Fast, in a pamphlet to promote a May Day march in New York City, explained in artful prose why protest in 1951 was as important as ever: an end to the Korean War, a call for a powerful union movement, freedom from want, an end to segregation. His words ring true today as wars persist, the labor movement continues to fend off

attack, the gap between rich and poor expands exponentially, and the powerful use race as a tool to divide and distract.

May Day returned to Indonesia in 1995 for the first time in 30 years. Organized by the Centre for Indonesian Working Class Struggle and Students in Solidarity with Democracy, workers protested for an increase to the minimum wage, freedom to organize, and the release of political prisoners. In the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, a delegation of 100 people delivered their demands to the Ministry of Labour. In the city of Semarang, 1,500 people took part in a rally resulting in brutal assault by authorities. Many workers were beaten in the streets and arrested that year, but Indonesians persevere and continue to celebrate May Day. Thousands took to the streets of Jakarta during last year's rally to demand a guaranteed pension.

In the 21st century workers continue to honor the tradition of dissent and protest that has

marked May 1 for over 100 years. In May 2006, Latino immigrants called for a boycott of businesses and a day-long strike in the United States. The call to action was touched off in part by the xenophobic border fence movement, which gained traction in the Sensenbrenner Bill in Congress. The bill would also have made it illegal to knowingly assist an undocumented immigrant to remain in the United States.

Continued on next page



Graphic: iisg.nl

Oregon Mayday
Greetings
from the
Lane branch
of the Industrial
Workers of the World

**Take a whack
at the boss
.....pinata!**

Ida Tony Roehrig-SIC

"I LOVED it."
"The Smell of Money"

"What great music too, but I really enjoyed the lyrics! Reminded me so much of all my comrades from all my years as an activist. I kept trying to pick a favourite song to tell you - but each new one changed my mind."

- Delores Broten, editor of The Watershed Sentinel, B.C.

Smokey Dymny has been writing political songs since the 1970s.

He's played on picket lines from sea to fished-out sea. He's played four of Toronto's Labour Day parades, many May Day events, and many, many protest rallies. He was arrested at least six of these.

His first CD, "The Smell of Money: Dollars, Dirt & Desolation," has full accompaniment by Canadian jazz & folk virtuosos. The song "General Strike" was recommended by Utah Phillips for inclusion in the "Little Red Songbook." The title song is about pollution in industrial towns in Canada. Smokey's political & environmental songs are often laced with satire and feature many sing-a-long choruses, appropriate for a member of the IWW.

Now he has a new CD out—"Solidarity Is Easy"—whose title song is in the latest "Little Red Songbook."

For more information, visit <http://radio3.cbc.ca/#bands/Smokey>, <http://unionsong.com/reviews/dymny.html> and <http://www.newunionism.net/solidarityidol.htm>.

Purchase CDs at: <http://store.iww.org>, or send \$17 (CAD) to:
Smokey Dymny, Box 745, Quathiaski Cove, B.C., V0P 1N0, Canada

May Day Special**A Look Back And A Look Ahead****Continued from previous page**

Although the bill managed to pass in the House, it had the unintended effect of mobilizing immigrant communities and allies around the nation, centered around the actions on May 1. The call for a day-long boycott and strike was heeded by Latinos, with major marches bringing as many as 100,000 people into the streets in many major cities. The huge turnout brought much-deserved attention to the issue of immigrant rights, sparking national debate on immigration policy, reform and racism. The push for a border fence and criminalization of undocumented immigrants was defeated for a time, as workers, immigrants, students, churches, unions and entire communities raised their voices and withheld their work in protest on May Day.

As the Iraq War has continued on, the International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU) used May Day 2008 to show solidarity with both the people of Iraq and with the working-class youth of the military. The ILWU, much like the IWW, has a long tradition of standing up against unjust wars and taking aggressive direct action to further their goals; the ILWU helped organize the group Labor for Peace, and during the 1930s, ILWU members blocked shipment of supplies to fascist movements in Europe and Asia. In that spirit of solidarity

and action, on May 1, 2008, the union shut down West Coast ports to protest the war. Iraqi port workers, also union members, shut down their port for an hour in concert with the action and sent a message of solidarity to their brothers and sisters in the ILWU.

May Day protests in 2010 targeted Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 and other anti-immigrant legislation. Similarly in 2006, thousands marched in cities around the United States, coming together against bills that target Latino and immigrant communities.

On May Day 2010, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launched a general strike that lasted for six days, involving upwards of 600,000 workers. The strikers demanded the resignation of the prime minister, who was widely viewed as a puppet of the expansionist Indian government to Nepal's south. Seventy-thousand strikers surrounded the national capital of Kathmandu on May 4. Pro-government groups and the police clashed with the Maoist strikers, but overall it was a

peaceful strike. Although the strike was eventually called off and did not lead to the resignation of the prime minister, it was a great advancement for the anti-capitalist struggle in Nepal.

During the infamous Greek May Day of 2010, hyped by trade unions, left-wing political parties and anarchists, at least 20,000 people marched through Athens to combat the unpopular austerity measures of tax increases, wage cuts and pension reductions demanded by the European Union in exchange for a bailout of the economically-troubled Greek state. Chants of "Hands off our rights, IMF and EU Commission out!" echoed throughout Greece as protesters clashed with police, smashed windows and started fires in fits of justifiable indignation.

Clearly, recent events in Wisconsin and Ohio, and the assault on collective

bargaining rights for employees everywhere, are on our minds this May Day. Workers, students, small business owners and members of the community have marched into the streets and reclaimed the public space of their state houses. We have all been reminded that, yes, there is the possibility for large-scale protest and dissent in this country. Workers everywhere have watched people rise up in Egypt and throughout the Middle East, against insurmountable odds and at great personal risk. The world has seen first-hand the power of a people's action to topple even the most entrenched regimes. The movement toward a better world begins with small steps. When we talk openly about current struggles internationally and at home, we can educate each other on the power of workplace and community solidarity, and organize for action!



Thousands march on the streets in Greece, May Day 2010.

Photo: cedarlounge.wordpress.com



ILWU port shut-down, 2008. Photo: sites.google.com/site/maydayilwu



MAYDAY
Greetings from the
**Workers
Solidarity
Alliance**
For Direct Action and
Self-Management,
ORGANIZE!
www.workersolidarity.org

May Day Mix Tape**By Jon Hochschartner**

They say familiarity breeds contempt. That's certainly how I feel about the protest songs of the Woodstock generation. So in honor of May Day, the international workers' holiday, I'd like to present 10 of the best protest songs from my lifetime.



Photo: thejosevilson.com

10. **"Fight the Power" by Public Enemy** — There's probably never been a more obnoxiously shameful sellout than Flavor Flav, but Public Enemy's influence is undeniable. So they're here.

9. **"The New World Order" by Defiance, Ohio** — Despite a misleading title, which often relates to right-wing conspiracy theory, this is a joyful lampooning of the myth of American exceptionalism. As Sherri Miller puts it, "If you can't hear God's calling, you're probably from France."

8. **"Take the Power Back" by Rage Against the Machine** — If Howard Zinn could rap, he might sound a little like this. Here, RATM takes on cultural bias in mainstream accounts of history. Zack de la Rocha rhymes: "The present curriculum, I put my fist in them / Eurocentric, every last one of them!"

7. **"When the President Talks to God" by Bright Eyes** — You can hear so much of the collective frustration with Bush's fundamentalist arrogance distilled in Conor Oberst's voice.

6. **"Changes" by 2pac** — Less than 15 years ago, Tupac Shakur declared the obvious: "We ain't ready to see a black president." Yet I hardly think the election of Barack Obama would mollify him. Indeed, were Shakur to release the song today, its famous opening would no doubt stay the same: "I see no changes!" After all, the song's lyrics sound more relevant than ever: "There's war on the streets and the war in the Middle East / Instead of war on poverty, they got a war on drugs so the police can bother me."

5. **"Fuck tha Police" by N.W.A** — Once upon a time, Ice Cube, now the star of family-friendly fare such as "Are We There Yet?," was thought a grave threat by white America. Here, in what was a harbinger of the 1992 L.A. riots, he and the group offers a scathing critique of racial profiling and police brutality, which earned them a letter from the FBI.

4. **"4th Branch" by Immortal Technique** — It takes significant talent to recite what is, in essence, a laundry list of U.S. crimes without sacrificing musicality. Immortal Technique accomplishes this. But like too many otherwise progressive artists on this list, he holds a deeply reactionary attitude toward gender issues which should not be excused for the sake of solidarity.

3. **"Know Your Enemy" by Rage Against the Machine** — In a time when celebrity activism meant shilling for the Democratic party, RATM brought genuinely left-wing politics to a mass audience. They're particularly passionate here taking on apologists for American empire. Zack de la Rocha spits: "What? The land of the free? Whoever told you that is your enemy!"

2. **"Rich Man's War" by Steve Earle** — More than the Left's answer to the jingoism of Toby Keith, this song manages a near timeless quality which transcends both the country genre and the Middle Eastern conflicts it describes. It's about all war.

1. **"Keep Ya Head Up" by 2pac** — Shakur was no great feminist, and perhaps that's what made this song more necessary, more moving. He takes on sexism, domestic violence, and reproductive rights in what is arguably the rapper's greatest song, political or otherwise.

Jimmy John's Workers 'Quarantine' Sandwich Shop

By Michael Moore

Micah Buckley-Farlee was born with a severe medical condition that results in the spontaneous partial collapse of his lungs. On a Saturday night last year, while working his shift at a Minneapolis Jimmy John's, Buckley-Farlee began suffering severe chest pains.

"I went to my manager and said, 'Hey, I need to go to the hospital. I think my lung is collapsing,'" Buckley-Farlee said.

His manager's response: Find someone to work out the remainder of the shift or you're fired.

Fortunately for Buckley-Farlee, one of his co-workers was willing to work on short notice that night. But several current and former workers at area franchises say the incident raises concerns about the health of Jimmy John's workers—and the safety of the sandwiches they're paid to make.

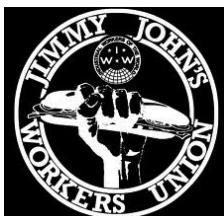
"Workers are disciplined for calling in sick," said David Boehnke, who was fired from his job at a downtown Minneapolis Jimmy John's after raising concerns about employees working while sick. "The new attendance policy mandates discipline for workers who call in sick or can't find substitutes."

Boehnke, who is active in the upstart IWW Jimmy Johns Workers Union, joined 30 other workers and supporters in raising awareness of the franchise's sick-days policy—or lack thereof—on March 31 by playfully "quarantining" a Jimmy John's store in Cedar-Riverside with a picket line.

Six Jimmy John's Workers Fired For Whistleblowing

Continued from 1

members of the IWW Jimmy Johns Workers Union (JJWU) posted 3,000 copies of a poster warning the public of health risks at the sandwich chain. Management fired six outspoken union members



Graphic: JJWU

ment of all fired workers.

The supporters included representatives of two state-wide unions that represent workers in the health care field, the Minnesota Nurses Association (MNA) and SEIU Healthcare Minnesota.

"Because I work union and because I have a contract, I can call in sick. There are no consequences for me to do that," said Barb Martin, a nurse at Fairview University Hospital. "I'm here today on behalf of the MNA to support the workers at Jimmy John's who are trying to gain the right to call in sick when they are sick. "I really don't want you making me a sandwich when you have the flu or strep throat."

But according to Boehnke, that's exactly what he did for three days straight during a bout of strep throat last year.

"We're making minimum wage, and that just means we can't afford to not be at work and make the money we need to pay our bills, pay for our kids, pay for our livelihoods," Boehnke said.

Kent Wilcox, a vice president of SEIU Healthcare Minnesota and an employee in a St. Paul hospital, called out Jimmy John's for putting profits before product

**YOUR SANDWICH MADE
BY A HEALTHY JIMMY
JOHN'S WORKER**



**YOUR SANDWICH MADE
BY A SICK JIMMY
JOHN'S WORKER**



**CAN'T TELL THE DIFFERENCE?
THAT'S TOO BAD BECAUSE JIMMY JOHN'S WORKERS DON'T
GET PAID SICK DAYS. SHOOT, WE CAN'T EVEN CALL IN SICK.
WE HOPE YOUR IMMUNE SYSTEM IS READY BECAUSE YOU'RE ABOUT TO TAKE THE SANDWICH TEST...**

**HELP JIMMY JOHN'S WORKERS WIN SICK DAYS
CALL THE OWNER ROB MULLIGAN AT 612-817-9016 TO LET HIM KNOW YOU WANT
HEALTHY WORKERS MAKING YOUR SANDWICH!**

Graphic: IWW Jimmy Johns Workers Union

Poster advising the public of health risks at the sandwich chain.

safety.

"When I heard Jimmy John's corporate leadership was forcing people to work sick, I knew I had to be here," Wilcox said. "Unfortunately, I was not surprised that another corporation is putting their dirty greed ahead of their customers' and their employees' health, safety and welfare."

Workers at the 10 Jimmy John's franchises owned by Mike and Rob Mulligan took part in an organizing election last year, but the results were tainted by employer interference, according to a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which nullified the election results.

While they re-organized support for another election campaign, Jimmy John's Workers Union supporters focused on the issue of working sick—distributing fliers to patrons warning them of the franchise's policy of punishing workers for calling in sick.

That activity got six workers fired in March, although the union has filed charges with the NLRB to get the workers reinstated.

This story originally appeared on April 7, 2011 in Workday Minnesota. It was reprinted in accordance with Workday Minnesota's non-commercial use policy.

MAY DAY GREETINGS



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Boston General Membership Branch
PO Box 391724
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

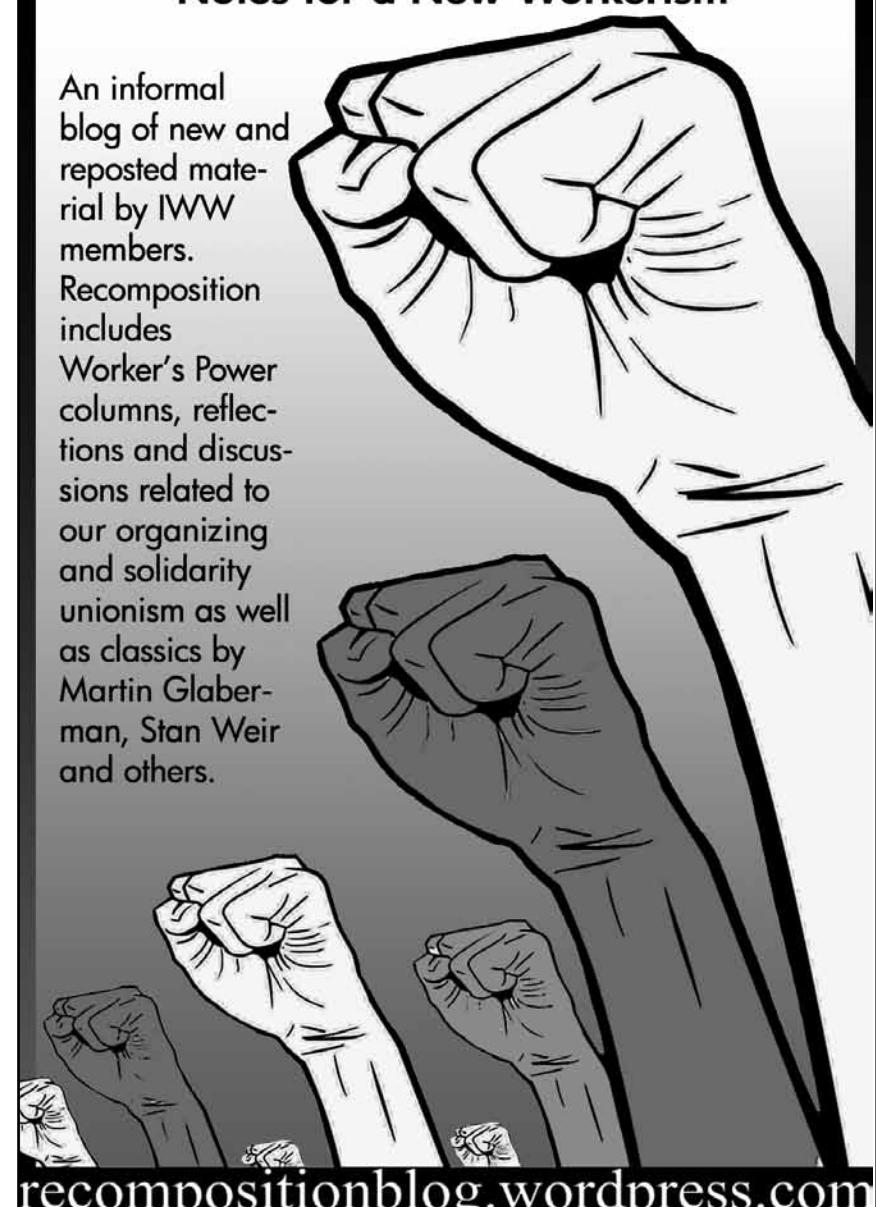


May Day Greetings from...

RECOMPOSITION BLOG

Notes for a New Workerism

An informal blog of new and reposted material by IWW members. Recomposition includes Worker's Power columns, reflections and discussions related to our organizing and solidarity unionism as well as classics by Martin Glaberman, Stan Weir and others.



recompositionblog.wordpress.com

Fired Union Barista Achieves Victory In Brooklyn

Continued from 1

40 hours, his only written warning be retracted and removed from his permanent record, an immediate cease to any and all harassment and/or retaliation based upon his union affiliation, and for Ozzie's to obey all federal labor laws, including those that relate to paid overtime.

When Ozzie's co-owner Melissa Azulai found out about the demand letter, Bauer was immediately removed from the schedule and unlawfully terminated a week later. Azulai didn't have the decency to fire Bauer to his face; instead she informed his then legal counsel, friend and comrade Daniel Gross, via a phone call. During this same phone conversation Azulai told Fellow Worker Gross that "this will all blow over, it always does." Gross informed Azulai that that's not how the IWW operates, that when we start a campaign we stick with it until the bitter end. When Azulai refused to reinstate Bauer, Gross helped Bauer file an Unfair Labor

Practice (ULP) complaint with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). At the same time, the NYC IWW launched an aggressive campaign of direct action that ranged from union-wide phone and email zaps to increasingly more spirited pickets and demonstrations in front of the store.

Six months later, on Dec. 23, 2010, Region 29 of the NLRB found merit with Bauer's claims and issued a complaint against Ozzie's Coffee & Tea. A hearing date was set to take place on Feb. 8, 2011, in front of an administrative law judge. This was later postponed due to the beginning of heated settlement talks between Azulai's lawyer, Eric M. Baum, and Bauer's legal representation, Benjamin N. Dector and Quisquella Addison, legal interns from the Labor and Employment Law Clinic of the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law.

After a boisterous "punk percussion protest" involving whistles, pots and pans, noisemakers and the radical marching band Rude Mechanical Orchestra, Ozzie's Coffee & Tea finally caved to increasingly militant union pressure and rising legal fees. In mid-March, Ozzie's signed a settlement in Bauer's favor, worth \$15,500.

"The right to form a labor union is fundamental; campaign victories like Jeff's are critical to making that right real. This win is a great testament to the power of creative and determined worker-led campaigns," said Gross.

"FW Bauer's victory is a great inspiration to every Wobbly barista out there. He has been a driving force of solidarity behind the Starbucks Workers Union for many years. He has stood with us, so we stood with him. That is solidarity unionism. The SWU toasts his hard-fought victory," added NYC IWW member Liberte Locke.

According to the terms of the NLRB settlement, Bauer is to be made whole for all lost wages, estimated tips and overtime pay in the amount of \$15,400 by May 29,

2011, nearly a year after he was fired for organizing. An additional \$100 is attached to a side agreement. Ozzie's co-owners Melissa and Alon Azulai have agreed to pay Bauer in three monthly installments.

In addition to making Bauer whole for lost wages, management is required by the NLRB to conspicuously display a notice stating that they "will not discharge, issue warnings to, reduce the work hours of, or otherwise discriminate against, any employee for engaging in activities on behalf of Industrial Workers of the World, or any other labor organizations, or for engaging in protected concerted activities."

The notice goes on to state that Ozzie's Coffee & Tea "will pay Jeff Bauer the wages and other benefits he lost because of the alleged discrimination against him" and that "Bauer indicated that he does not want to return to work and would not accept an offer of employment." Furthermore, Ozzie's is required to notify Bauer in writing that they have removed from their files any references to his warning and discharge, and that the warning and discharge will not be used against him in any way.

"Ozzie's violated my legally protected right to join, form or assist a union," Bauer said. "They harassed me, retaliated against me, reduced my hours, demoted me and terminated me for engaging in protected concerted activity."

"I'm happy that this is almost all behind me. I can move on knowing that at

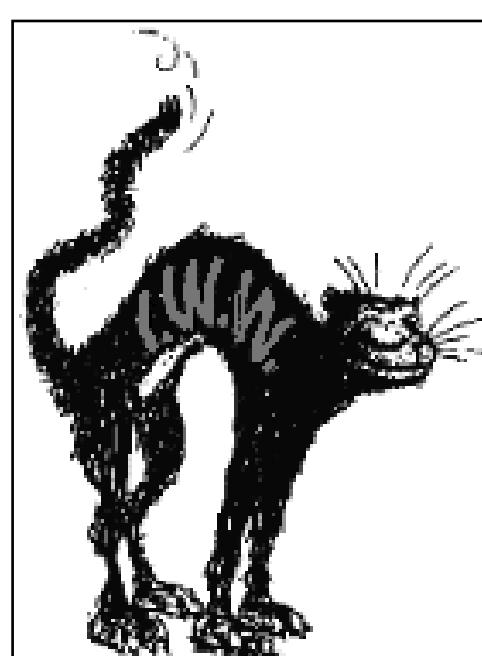


FW Bauer signing the settlement. Photo: Liberte Locke

least one boss will think twice before interfering with a worker's right to organize for respect and dignity on the job and for a safe, non-hostile work environment," he added.

Bauer is now employed as a proud, dual union card-carrying janitor at the College of Staten Island, and is a Wobbly for life.

For more information, visit <http://www.wobblycity.org>.



Graphic: iww.org

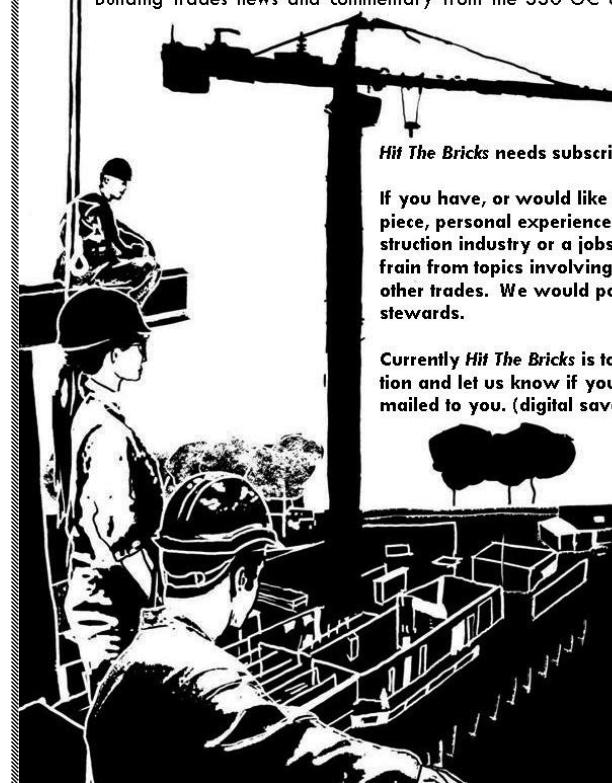
A May Day greeting to all of our brothers and sisters in the building trades. To all the people who get up every day and build our communities we send greetings. To all those who labor for their families to their own detriment we offer an additional hand to ease the load. To all those who work eight to ten hours a day working tall in sweat we offer a sympathetic ear and shoulder. To all those who struggle in darkness we offer the light of the One Big Union and Industrial Democracy. To those who would deny us our rights we offer a warning. May the poor take courage and the rich take care. Our day will come.



Happy May Day! from Hit The Bricks (IWW Building Trades Newsletter!)

HIT THE BRICKS

Building trades news and commentary from the 330 OC of the Industrial Workers of the World



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If you have, or would like to write an opinion or educational piece, personal experience, or report news concerning the construction industry or a jobsite issue, send it our way! Try to refrain from topics involving inter union politics and criticisms of other trades. We would particularly like to hear from jobsite stewards.

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Wobbly Arts

Solidarity Forever: A History Of IWW Musicians:

By John Pietaro

Of all U.S. radical organizations, the IWW is perhaps that which has most fully embraced the notion of the revolutionary cultural worker. Many of its early organizers were writers, musicians or visual artists (often simultaneously) who successfully used the arts as a tool in organizing workers across the globe. The Left's focus on folk arts as a representation of cultural and national heritage has been a foremost tool in outreach since the turn of the 20th century. This foray into a "culture of the people" became a major point of identification by the proponents of the masses and was the natural outgrowth of the use of songs by workers and others in trying situations. Folk song collectors grew in prominence during the first decades of the 20th century, producing a "folk revival," which had blossomed by the 1940s. Ironically, in the United States, the political Left (primarily the Socialist and Communist parties) did not acknowledge the important role of folk arts for decades, though this media was a vastly important historical point of reference. This is particularly true in the IWW.

Accounts of Wobbly musicians have been recorded as early as 1906, just one year after the IWW's founding. The Spokane IWW branch was approached by highly active Socialist Party orator/organizer **Jack Walsh**, who developed a plan to aid the Wobblies' somewhat stunted organizing attempts. Though Walsh was able to draw a considerable crowd in the depressed tenderloin district of the city, he was encountered purposeful disruptions by the missionaries of the Salvation Army and one of their particularly pious brass bands. Not to be outdone by the cacophony, Walsh and the Spokane Wobblies soon had its own powerhouse **Industrial Workers Band**. Blaring on cornets and marching to the thunderous pulse of drums and tambourines, the Wobbly band were said to have devastated all whom they crossed. The band, clad in black overhauls and red work shirts, left no corner safe for the street evangelicals.

According to John Greenway's book, "American Folksongs of Protest":

"Walsh organized a brass band of his own, in which Mac McClintock played an E-flat baritone horn and a giant lumberjack beat, as McClintock recalled, the "jeezus" out of a bass drum. Walsh's band learned four tunes and hammered away at these over and over until the evangelists capitulated."

The Industrial Workers Band, taking a cue from the popular parodies of the evangelists' songs, began to perform their own such lampoons of the Religious Right of their day. Among them was "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder," as well as songs by **Harry "Mac" McClintock** (1883-1957), already a noted songster in the hobo jungles, and **Richard Brazier**. Armed with this minimal repertoire and copies of song-lyric leaflets they printed up, the Band embarked on something of a tour

of the Pacific Northwest's coastal towns.

"Mac" McClintock had come to the IWW with an arsenal full of topical original songs including "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" and "The Big Rock Candy Mountain" and he helped to popularize many of Joe Hill's songs including "The Preacher and the Slave." He traveled the country organizing for the IWW, spending much of his time in the hobo jungles of the period, where he had been a frequent guest since his teenage years. Prior to the IWW, McClintock had worked as a railroad switchman in South Africa and then, according to Wobbly historian Joyce Kornbluh:

"...[he] bummed his way to London to attend the coronation of Edward VII in 1902. He was a civilian mule Skinner in the Spanish American War, and had also made his way to China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion."

Of course McClintock also had the honor of leading that first IWW marching band, which became a fixture in the Pacific Northwest for several years. McClintock, like others of his generation, remained a Wobbly throughout his life. He began to perform songs of labor and struggle on radio broadcasts in 1925 and he continued to have a show through the mid-1950s. In addition to his IWW membership, McClintock had also joined the American Federation of Musicians Local 6 in California, but he is best known as a songwriter of the IWW.

Ultimately the Industrial Workers Band and the IWW Spokane branch dispensed with its early leader Jack Walsh, whom they saw as a shrewd businessman largely out for his own profit. But the dye had been cast and the cultural workers among the Wobbly ranks had become celebrated by the people and notorious by the powers that be. Greenway writes:

"...his idea had taken root, and before long street singing and organization became the principal activity of the struggling Pacific locals. The national policy board bestowed its benediction on topical singing as a weapon of revolt, and Walsh's four-page leaflet grew larger year by year."

Another important songwriter associated with the IWW was **T-Bone Slim** (dates unknown, c. 1890-1942), whose actual name was Matti Valentine Huhta. T-Bone served the movement as a highly active Wobbly musician/organizer, though he was a journalist by profession in addition to laboring in other fields over the years. He became affiliated with the IWW around 1910 and quickly began to write for their various periodicals. He also put many of his poems to music. The best known of these was "The Popular Wobbly," a parody of the then-hit "The Girls Go Wild, Simply Wild Over Me," which Slim transformed into a sardonic protest song. The Wobblies' own historical documents call T-Bone Slim one of the most famous and popular of Wob writers, as he penned numerous pamphlets in addition to a number of songs. He would remain an active Wobbly throughout his life.

Starting with 1909, the Wobblies began publishing **"The Little Red Song Book"** which made songs of labor and social change available to all workers.

Richard Brazier, an IWW musician, was part of the committee which produced the first IWW songbook. He described how the music of the Industrial Workers first drew him in:

"What first attracted me to the IWW was its songs and the gusto with which its members sang them. Such singing, I thought, was good propaganda, since it had originally attracted me and

many others as well; and also useful since it held the crowd for Wobbly speakers who followed."

Wobbly historian Salvatore Salerno clarifies:

"Cultural expressions such as songs, cartoons and poetry became a critical form and means of communication between the IWW and its members. While IWW worker intellectuals had a major role in disseminating knowledge of the activities, principles and tactics of industrial unionism, worker artists went beyond formal political expressions to create a language and symbolism that made the IWW's principles meaningful within the context of the workers' cultural and social alienation."

A Wobbly poet/organizer of almost

legendary proportions, later an associate of the Socialist Party, was **Arturo Giovannitti** (1884-1959). This Italian anarchist relocated to the United States in 1901 and became entrenched in the cause of radical labor, developing powerful journalism skills along the route. Giovannitti worked as a coal miner and joined the Italian Socialist Federation of North America. Soon thereafter his writing skills led him to the post of editor of the Italian-language left periodical *Il Proletario*. Quickly, Giovannitti joined the IWW and focused his efforts on organizing the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass. He and organizer Joseph Ettor led the groundbreaking Bread and Roses strike of 1912, during which both men were arrested on a bogus murder charge. While serving his jail term, Giovannitti was encouraged to write about it and he composed the multi-verse book-length work **"Arrows in the Gale,"** which spoke of the struggle and brandished an introduction by Helen Keller. It included the haunting poems "The Walker" and "The Cage" which told of the sense of eternal hopelessness of the men he encountered in jail. A 1913 article in *Current Opinion* magazine wrote of Giovannitti and his poetic works:

"He has the soul of a great poet, the fervor of a prophet and, added to these, the courage and power of initiative that mark the man of action and the organizer of great crusades...This jail experience of Giovannitti's has given the world one of the greatest poems ever produced in the English language...The Walker' is more than a poem. It is a great human document."

More so, a piece in *Forum* magazine of the day stated:

"The significant thing is that here we have a new sort of poet with a new sort of song...He and his songs are products of something that few Americans yet understand. We do not comprehend the problem of the unskilled just as we do not comprehend the IWW that has come out of it. A poet has arisen to explain...In 'the Walker' he has pointed the prison as no man, not even Wilde, has done."

The charges against Giovannitti and Ettor were overturned on appeal and the pair were freed after five months. Upon release, they found that their strike had been a success and the mostly Italian immigrant workers had won. Indeed, they



Graphic: favianna.typepad.com

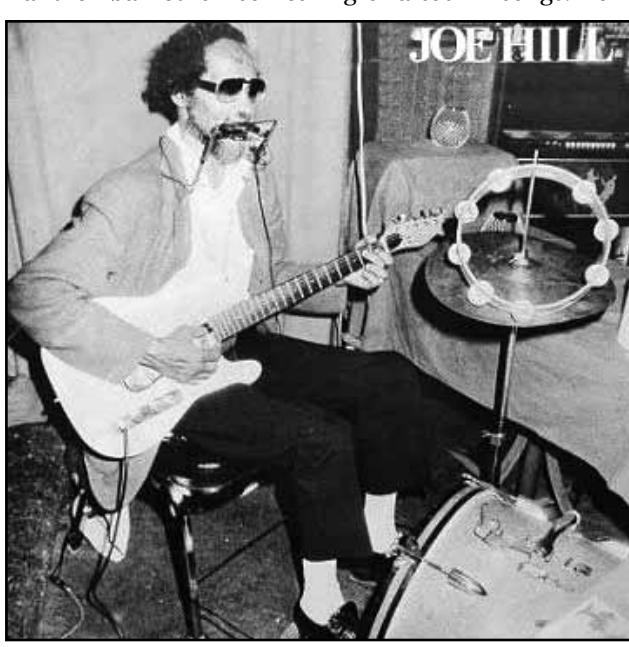
"Joe Hill" by Wobbly artist Carlos Cortez.

had secured not only a voice on the job but fair and just wages. Following this, Giovannitti participated in the IWW's unsuccessful Patterson Silk Strike and wrote for significant Left magazines in both English and Italian, including *The Masses* and *The International Socialist Review*. He also created his own anti-war organ, *Il Fuoco*, as World War I erupted. Giovannitti, long considered one of the labor movement's greatest orators, was expelled from the IWW in 1916 along with Ettor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn due to their activities in a Minnesota iron-ore strike that IWW leaders did not agree with.

Joe Hill (Joel Emmanuel Haaglund, a.k.a. Joseph Hillstrom, 1878-1915) was—and remains—the IWW's guiding cultural force. A model for the fighting cultural worker, Hill wrote globally relevant, militant topical songs and biting parodies in support of the union cause and in the process spawned a legend. Among his most famous pieces are "The Preacher and the Slave," "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," "There is Power in the Union," "Mr. Block," and "Where the Fraser River Flows," amidst a stream of others. He performed on piano, guitar and various other instruments. Hill composed songs in bars and IWW halls at night, so that he would have them ready for union meetings, pickets and other functions the next day, spreading the word of this global industrial union through music. Hill came to the United States from Sweden as a young man and saw firsthand the terrible conditions workers had to endure in the first part of the 20th century; shortly thereafter he pledged allegiance to the cause of the IWW. He became a mythic character in all Left factions when he was silenced by the state of Utah via his infamous unjust execution. Famously, his last written statement was "Don't mourn for me—organize!" Hill, for all the mythology that surrounds him, has been the subject of numerous biographical sketches; his life, and the frame-up which ended it, have been viewed as a principal to the labor historians' repertoire.

IWW members Dean Nolen and Fred Thompson's detailed booklet, "Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter," offers considerable insight, even if some of it remains shrouded in the Joe Hill legends. While they cite that Hill's first years in the United States were often a rather desperate attempt to find employment (he became something

Continued on next page



Wobbly musician T-Bone Slim. Graphic: beauprude.com

Wobbly Arts

From The Industrial Workers Band To Utah Phillips

Continued from previous page

of a "wharf rat," the first accounts of his cultural work date back to 1906. Hill was then living in San Francisco and chronicled The Great Earthquake for his hometown paper. Later, living in New York, he worked as a porter by day and played piano in downtown saloons by night. But much more to the point:

"The earliest parody written by Hill that we know of went to the hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," a Salvation Army favorite. It was already in circulation before it appeared in the 1911 edition of the IWW songbook."

The IWW's official historical document, "Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology," describes Hill's cultural work as such:

"Hill's songs and writings articulated the simple Marxism of the IWW Preamble and the Wobbly philosophy of "direct action..Wobblies, socialists, communists, AFL-CIO members transcend sectarian differences to sing Joe Hill's songs and share his lore."

John Greenway's "American Folksongs of Protest" tells of Hill's first possible encounter with the Wobblies as well as his presentation of "The Preacher and the Slave" to the IWW:

"One evening late in 1910 Joe Hill walked into the Portland, Oregon IWW hall with a song he had written to the tune of the popular Salvation Army gospel hymn, "In the Sweet Bye and Bye." He gave it to the secretary of the local, George Reese, who handed it to Mac McClintock, the local's "busker," or tramp entertainer. Mac sang it to the men idling in the hall, and the tremendous applause that greeted its rendition convinced Reese that they had something. He and McClintock revised the song, and printed it in their little song leaflet which two years later was adopted by the IWW as the official songbook of the union. Hill was invited to join the Wobblies, and so began his fabulous career."

As has been written of many times over the years, Hill's organizing efforts in the state of Utah were successful enough that the powers of both government and business converged to stop him at all costs. Not long after, he was arrested on a murder charge that has always been contested by the IWW and a wealth of others. Eugene V. Debs, the nation's most celebrated socialist and radical of the 1910s, offered the highest praise to Hill during the time of the Wobbly's imprisonment. He wrote in an article in *The American Socialist*:

"Joe Hill is of a poetic temperament and is the author of songs of labor of genuine merit; he is of a tender, sympathetic and generous nature and utterly incapable of committing the crime charged against him."

The story of Joe Hill is best remembered as one of martyrdom. He'd survived red-baiting, police assaults and vicious Pinkerton detectives' dubious means of strike-breaking. He lived to tell of dock-yard fights, barroom brawls, and back-room precinct house beatings. But he was not able to survive the Utah court which found him guilty and sentenced him to death in 1915. While imprisoned, Hill wrote prolifically and toward the end offered what was arguably his most famous prose, which today is simply recalled as "Don't mourn—organize!"

While Joe Hill continues to put a face on the concept of Wobbly cultural workers, he was by far not alone in this role. Significant numbers of itinerant musicians, poets, bards and visual artists functioned as IWW organizers, travel-

ing to areas which contained oppressed workers, often immigrant or home-grown unskilled laborers, who could be moved to action via the arts in a most profound way.

Ralph Chaplin (1887-1961) is recalled as one of the strongest cultural voices in the IWW, functioning as a writer and editor on several Wobbly periodicals as well as offering visual artwork and music to many struggles. But Chaplin's influences predate the IWW: As a boy he was a witness to the infamous Pullman Strike in Chicago and by his young adulthood Chaplin was employed as an artist by the Charles H. Kerr publishing house, which released relevant early socialist books and also published the *W*, a guiding force for all progressive activists.

Chaplin's activities with the IWW came early into the federation's existence and he worked alongside such legendary figures as Mother Jones. His most important achievement, however, was his 1915 authorship of labor's anthem, "Solidarity Forever," written to the tune of "John Brown's Body," a theme of the Abolitionist movement. Over the years, Chaplin spoke of the struggle of the coal miners at a strike in Kanawha Valley, West Virginia, as the influence for his writing of this song. He was serving as editor of the union newspaper at the time, and he returned home from the strike line one evening in January 1915 and wrote the lyrics out to as he lay on his living room rug. The song was published immediately thereafter in the Jan. 9 edition of *Solidarity*. This song continues to hold up as the primary anthem of labor and some of its more militant verses are heard only during the more radical gatherings, but in any event, it remains respected as the movement's theme. He wrote of the song's origins in *Wobbly*, an IWW organ:

"I wanted a song to be full of revolutionary fervor and to have a chorus that was ringing and defiant."

Additionally, Chaplin penned other Wobbly songs that have been well-remembered including "The Commonwealth of Toil" and "Paint 'Er Red." The latter song became a vehicle for the forces of reaction in their fervor to neutralize the IWW and it was cited in numerous court documents during the World War I era prosecutions of the IWW.

Ironically, by the 1930s, Chaplin became a voice for the more conservative end of organized labor and he stood as an outspoken critic of the Congress of Industrial Organization's Communist-associated unions, though these were usually on the cutting edge of workers' rights and engaged on a mass scale in the same industrial organizing the IWW had pledged itself to since its founding. His turn against his Wobbly comrades has never been fully explained.

The IWW suffered the brutal assault of the reactionary U.S. government's initial Red Scare, that which targeted anarchists as "foreign terrorists" and subjected the IWW offices to continual ransackings and its members to constant oppression. By the end of the organization's first decade, it had already experienced significant damage and during WWI, Wobs needed to largely take their operation underground. By the end of the 1920s, this noble union had become a shadow of its former self. While the IWW has had points of invigoration over the decades, it was often ravaged by times of deprivation. But the anarchist core found new alliances within the street and campus uprisings of the 1960s and 1970s and could boast such members as celebrated folksinger/activists **Phil Ochs**, **Dave Van Ronk** and especially **Utah Phillips**, who remained perhaps the most



Utah Phillips at a 2007 peace march in Grass Valley, Calif.

Photo: yubanet.com

active Wobbly musician until his passing in 2008.

In the current day, the IWW stands as a dedicated force for social change, maintaining offices not only throughout the nation but internationally. In the wake of the IWW's centenary of 2005, increased attention has been brought to their struggle through actions such as the ongoing campaign to organize workers in Starbucks shops. Multiple accounts of compact disc collections have offered music dedicated to the cause and the publication of many new books on the Wobbly journey have brought it a newfound focus. As organized labor seeks to look into its own radical heart, it cannot avoid the mission of these Industrial Workers, particularly when "Solidarity Forever" is next performed at a strike line or rally. These words of unity, this melody of rebellion, rings as loud and true now as it did then.

The noted journalist John Reed, a Wobbly in the 1910s before helping to found the Communist Party, wrote in a 1918 piece for *The Liberator* magazine of how the IWW was able to touch so many, so deeply. Here he offers perhaps the best possible description of the power of song

within the Wobblies' actions:

"Let there be a "free speech fight" on in some town, and the "wobblies" converge upon it, across a thousand miles, and fill the jails with champions."

"And singing. Remember, this is the only American working class movement which sings. Tremble then at the IWW, for a singing movement is not to be beaten... They love and revere their singers, too, in the IWW. All over the country workers are singing Joe Hill's songs, "The Rebel Girl," "Don't Take May Papa Away From Me," "Workers of the World, Awaken." Thousands can repeat his "Last Will," the three simple verses written in his cell the night before execution. I have met working men carrying next their hearts, in the pockets of their working clothes, little boxes with some of Joe Hill's ashes in them. Over Bill Haywood's desk in national headquarters is a painted portrait of Joe Hill, very moving, done with love... I know no other group of Americans which so honors its singers..."

This piece originally appeared on Dec. 27, 2010, on <http://theculturalworker.blogspot.com>, and was reprinted with permission from the author.



Joe Hill's ashes at IWW General Headquarters in Chicago.

Photo: Diane Krauthamer

Reviews

Lessons From Latin American Social Movements

Dangl, Benjamin. Dancing With Dynamite: Social Movements And States In Latin America. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2010. Paperback, 160 pages, \$15.95.

By John Maclean

Benjamin Dangl introduces his "Dancing With Dynamite: Social Movements And States In Latin America" with some words from Pedro Cabellero, a Paraguayan landless activist: "No one listens to us, so we have to take matters into our own hands...The legal route isn't working, so we have to go for the illegal route, which does work." This is sound advice for people in the United States too, a land in which a moribund liberal class has become adept at policy drift; closing off traditional avenues to change, and allowing legal remedies to lag behind adverse developments in the real world. Dangl writes that in situations like this, "survival trumps the law," the state becomes "irrelevant," and what we need is to move together, daring to go beyond the dance.

He begins with chapters on Bolivia and Ecuador, both sites of powerful indigenous movements. In Bolivia the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) broke through out of labor and indigenous groupings, and in Ecuador, Pachakutik was founded for political coalition-building out of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE). In both situations constitutions were re-written, but only political parties, not varied movement elements, could participate in the drafting. In Bolivia, some commentators, who came through the resource wars, see MAS as serving to domesticate hard-won movement "capacities," and in Ecuador political leaders, on securing office, "sought alliances with the country's elite" and reverted to a pattern of "cooptation and repression" with their indigenous supporters. In both lands, a local reliance on destructive extractive resource technologies, and predatory foreign corporations, are a direct threat to communities.

In 2001, a precipitous economic decline in Argentina saw people banding together to "create a new society out of the wreckage of the old." As things worsened the unemployed began to block streets, a desperate gambit for having their grievances met, and the *piquetero* movement was born. The middle class was eventually dragged down, and with this a "larger sector of the population was...willing to try activist alternatives and tactics previously seen as too radical." At one point the turmoil was such that the country went through five presidents in a matter of weeks. Dangl quotes a legal commentator, who said that the failure of the bosses was so great that some judges, in the context of struggles over reclaimed companies, ruled that work should come before a once sacred private property. The Kirchner administration sought to "restore legitimacy and belief" in Argentina's failed institu-

tions and started a dance which attempted to transform "protest into politics..." Many of the more privileged movement elements desired a "return to class separation" and the "logic of the state and political parties" was left to work its magic. Some found the cycles of complaint and election to be more comforting than the "day-to-day creative initiatives of assembly, the piqueteros, the occupied centers and factories, indigenous communities, and other self-organized initiatives throughout Argentina."

During the 2010 electoral breakthrough of Frente Amplio (FA), as President Jose Mujica sang "folksongs outlawed during military rule" with a jubilant people, Eduardo Galeano commented that it was a time "of celebration but also of compromise." The FA got together in the early 1970s, and sought to emulate happenings in Chile, under the then popular President Salvador Allende. Through all these decades of struggle and sacrifice Uruguay was dominated by the National and Colorado Parties. The economic collapse in Argentina, just across the Rio de la Plata from the country, and a national struggle over water privatization, presented an opening for the upstart party. Dangl writes that FA political leaders began to "water down" their principles, making all the "right signals," as they moved ever rightward "turning their backs on their leftist base..." He relates his experience at an FA base meeting, in the city of Montevideo, and how when it ended a more experienced member pitched for the patient participation of new arrivals to its politics, stressing the importance of the work, and how what they may be unsure of now will become clearer with time, and struggle. In battles for lesser evils "the logic of electoral politics takes precedence over the urgent demands of a population" and this can undermine social movements, leaving them "lost and confused." Dangl writes that the former guerrillas of the FA were so busy conquering power that they "converted activists into voters."

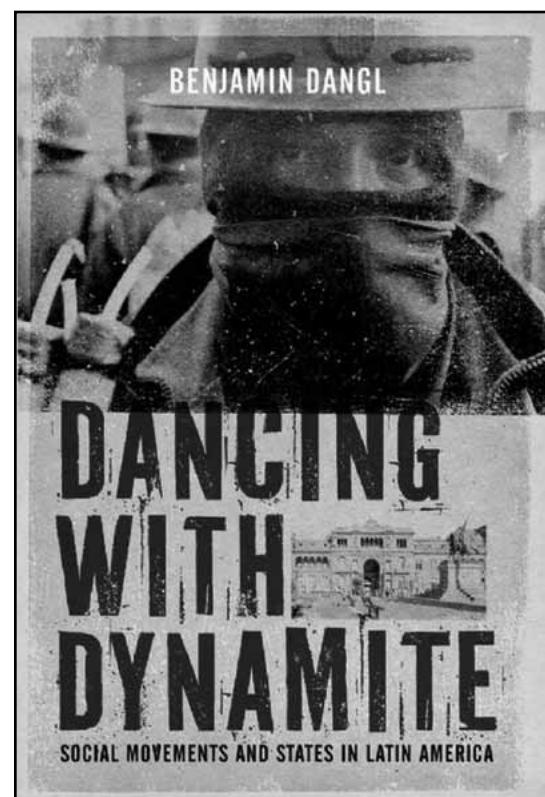
In Venezuela, under Hugo Chavez and The Movement for the Fifth Republic (MVR), the government has "funded and organized" many projects with poor communities; these include Mercals, for food, radio stations, and health clinics. Dangl quotes a citizen as saying that "[Chavez] is the first president who even knows we are here..." In the Caracas barrio, El 23 de Enero, the residents used direct action to take over a police station, with a horribly repressive role in the area's past, and made it over into a "community radio station and cultural center." The MVR "didn't emerge directly out of a social movement," like other political parties in the new Latin America, but formed amidst dissent within the military, and to advance the political career of the popular Chavez. One commentator, quoted by Dangl, says that the poor really respond to these programs, because they enable them to "see a way out of poverty." A re-write of the national constitution has given the state control over Petroleos de Venezuela SA, providing crucial funding for its domestic efforts, given textual support for a Housewives' Union, and called "for the breakup of large, private land holdings." One of the most significant developments in the country may be the communal councils, which seek to "transfer power from mayors and governors to ordinary citizens..." These hold great potential for getting rid of wasteful bureaucracy, and for getting around "corrupt and unresponsive politicians." In 2005, the national government issued "decrees" that provide for the expropriation of "businesses and factories," paving the way for "workers to manage them as cooperatives." According to Dangl, Venezuela has gone further down this path than the much publicized Argentina. Despite all of these advances there are still many struggles to be engaged in on the ground; Dangl mentions those of the landless and indigenous

people, fighting against destructive coal mining practices in the interior.

In the mid-1980s, with the passing of the Brazilian dictatorship, a "new constitution" established "the right of the government to redistribute unused land to landless farmers." The National Colonization Agrarian Reform Institute (INCRA) is the institutional means through which title to land can be transferred. The first Movimento Sem Terra (MST) occupation occurred on Oct. 29, 1985; more than 2,000 families descended on Fazenda Annoni, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and resisted attempts at their removal. In the decades since then, the MST has "expropriated some 35 million acres, land that is now occupied by nearly 400,000 families." Dangl writes that from the beginning, the MST has recognized the right of all family members to participate in common efforts, conducting themselves collectively, and educating their children to "advance gender equality."

According to a 2006 MST report, cited by Dangl: "the wealthiest 20 percent of the Brazilian population own[s] 90 percent of [the country's] land, much of it being idle, used for ranching, tax write-offs, or to produce crops exclusively for export, while millions starve." After setting up a camp the landless families must immediately begin pressuring INCRA, and other officials, for land titles. This process often takes years, and in the meantime "landowners, their thugs, and police" try to force the squatters out through harassment and assassination. The MST uses the state, but believes in direct action to secure rights to the earth which no government can bestow. Despite the compromises of the Workers Party (PT) and its leaders, their embrace of neo-liberal designs, agribusiness, along with unemployment producing austerity, an autonomous MST has developed "hundreds of farming cooperatives, one natural medicine factory, 1,600 government-recognized settlements, numerous health clinics, 1,800 primary and secondary schools for some 160,000 students, and a literacy program in which 30,000 adults participate."

Paraguay, despite the election of former Catholic bishop Fernando Lugo in 2008, remains a company state for oligarchs, black-market business, narco-traffickers, and transnational corporations. The monstrous legacies of the Colorado Party and Alfredo Stroessner, which ruled for 60 years prior to the 2008 presidential election will not be overcome easily. A year before the election, Paraguay exported over 4 million tons of soy, much of which ends up in the bellies of European cattle. The new president condemned the industry as a terror campaign against the vulnerable. Hundreds of thousands of children suffer from malnutrition, health problems associated with soy and dumped agrochemicals are widespread, and untold thousands of small farming families have been violently expelled by thugs or "poisoned off their land." Dangl visited the tenacious community of Tekojoja, which he describes as "sandwiched between seemingly limitless expanses of soy," and writes: "I could smell the chemicals in the air already...I began to feel a disorienting sensation of dizziness and nausea..." These small family farmers not only deal with constant chemical intrusions, from the practices of their Brazilian agribusiness neighbors, but they suffered full scale assaults which saw buildings burned and community members murdered. The perpetrators of these crimes are still at large, and drive by their victims daily with impunity. Dangl writes that the "expansion of the industry takes place with the support of the Paraguayan state, military, and justice system" even under the new populist president. Finally Dangl tells of



Graphic: zcommunications.org

Los Banados (The Bathed Place), a community "of desperate poverty and violent crime" locked between the city of Asuncion and a river. The area is populated by the displaced of Paraguay, and has "risen up to manage its own destiny, pressure the government for funding and support, fight poverty, and build community from the ground up." Dangl attended a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of Community Defense (CODECO) in which women from throughout the neighborhoods participated prominently, and as he later walked through the area he saw "small aqueducts, sewers, and bridges," urban gardens, and livestock, hearing of how the people reclaimed all this from the river, with no help from a state which only demonizes and attacks.

There is much in this book for people in the United States to heed. The final chapter of "Dancing With Dynamite" contains an overview of recent struggles in the United States; the author writes of the Republic Window and Doors factory occupation in Chicago, fights over water privatization in Michigan and Georgia, the MST-like Umoja Village, and Take Back The Land movement in Florida. Max Rameau of Take Back The Land writes of the homeless who would occupy foreclosed homes: "the right of human beings to housing supersedes the corporate drive to maximize profits...We advance that assertion by directly challenging existing laws which favor profits over human needs." Dangl concludes by calling for a reversal of our destructive export of torture and economic policies which devastate human communities around the world, and by asking activists in the north to take up the autonomous direct action tactics of our fellow and sister workers to the south.

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Reviews

How Corporate PR Is Killing Health Care

Potter, Wendell. *Deadly Spin: An Insurance Company Insider Speaks Out on How Corporate PR Is Killing Health Care and Deceiving Americans*. London: Bloomsbury Press, 2010. Hardcover, 288 pages, \$16.00.

By John Maclean

Wendell Potter begins his book, "Deadly Spin: An Insurance Company Insider Speaks Out On How Corporate PR Is Killing Health Care And Deceiving Americans," by recognizing the 45,000 people who die every year, in the United States, because they lack health insurance. To the many who mistakenly believe that the United States has the best health care in the world, or that Obama is spearheading a government takeover of our health, he can only say that he did his job well in support of industry profits. Potter writes that "the dark arts of PR" can turn a criminal into the benefactor of humanity. He says that the Obama administration was "played like a Stradivarius" by Karen Ignani of American Health Insurance Plans (AHIP), who rose to her position after a stint with the AFL-CIO in the 1990s. The first part of the AHIP strategy is the "charm offensive," which positions the industry publicly as a good faith reform partner, while the second undertakes a covert campaign of fear mongering, lies, and misinformation, with the intent "of killing any reform that might hinder profits." Wendell Potter knows all this because he helped to put the strategy together during his 20 years of service to the health insurance cartel.

Potter surveys some early, and more recent, PR efforts from U.S. history. Ivy Lee, considered one of the originators of "crisis management," worked with coal operators throughout the early 1900s, and was taken on by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in the aftermath of the Ludlow massacre. One of his recommendations to Rockefeller was to walk around with a pocket full of dimes, and be seen giving them out to children. Edward Bernays worked with George Washington Hill of the American Tobacco Company all through the "Roaring Twenties," and one of his books was seen to have ended up on a shelf in Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels' library. As a PR officer for CIGNA, Potter, along with APCO Worldwide, a Washington, D.C.-based firm, and a front group called Health Care America, undertook a campaign against Michael Moore and his film "Sicko." They succeeded in drawing attention away from Moore's criticisms, spreading fears about a government takeover of healthcare, and not a single reporter was able to follow the funding back to health insurance interests. Potter also mentions the efforts of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA), between 1937 and 1942, and the threat to democracy it saw in the face of a growing PR industry and other forms

of domestic propaganda. The organization put together a list of eight common ploys of propagandists; they include fear-mongering, grand generalities, celebrity testimony, name-calling, associations with everyday people, the use of "doublespeak" or euphemisms, bandwagoning and loyalty transfers.

In 2007, while visiting his boyhood home in Tennessee, Potter found in nearby Wise County, Va., that the United States had joined the third world. Remote Area Medical (RAM), founded by Stan Brock of Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom fame, was conducting its eighth annual medical expedition to this isolated border area. RAM is a "highly mobile relief force of doctors, dentists, optometrists, nurses, and medical technicians who volunteer their time to treat hundreds of patients a day," and when Brock began organizing the group 25 years ago, he had no idea that most of its expeditions would be to communities in the United States. When Potter arrived at the Virginia fairgrounds he relates: "I felt as if I'd stepped into a movie set or a war zone." He saw hundreds of soaking wet people, who had been lined up for hours, waiting before "barns and cinder block buildings with row after row of animal stalls" for treatment, and others "lying on gurneys on rain-soaked pavement." Typically hundreds are turned away because the volunteers must return to their lives and workplaces. Potter describes himself as having had a spiritual epiphany here, when he realized that these people could have been his relations, or the victims of "policy rescission"—the dumping of the insured for preexisting conditions.

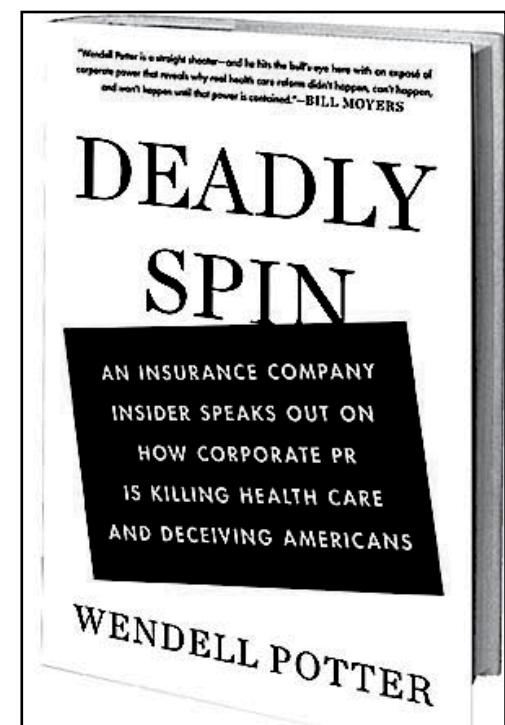
Potter writes that in the United States we "forfeited" the advancement of our healthcare system, and essentially left it to profiteers. The longstanding strategies employed to scuttle serious reform efforts can be seen clearly in the American Medical Association's (AMA) 1960 "Operation Coffeepot." The "Women's auxiliary" of the AMA was activated around the country to listen to an LP called "Ronald Reagan Speaks Out Against Socialized Medicine," and to agitate against proposed Medicare legislation. Potter claims that this record provided the talking points for future fear-based campaigns against reform—with even the likes of Sarah Palin quoting from the disc. The pattern of thoughtful, practical moves toward reform followed by private interest fear-mongering was so well-established in the United States that even FDR was made to detach health insurance from Social Security; and, in 1949, under Truman, the first president to support a single payer plan, the country experienced "its first-ever all-out paranoid-propaganda blitz by the country's for profit..health care sector." Truman cautioned us about not heeding the "scare words" of the spe-

cial interests and their PR accomplices, and condemned "the reactionary selfish people and politicians who fought year after year every proposal we made to improve the people's health."

Insurers and employers in the United States are forcing more and more Americans into consumer-driven plans with high dollar deductibles, ceilings under which no benefits will be paid out; and this is increasing out of pocket expenses, and causing people to delay or forgo care. Potter writes of a "forced 'migration' of workers [in]to managed care," from traditional indemnity plans during the 1990s, due to provisions of the Nixon-era Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) Act. In 1998, a PR campaign was undertaken to help improve the image of managed care; companies hired Goddard Clausen, the creators of the "Harry and Louise" commercial aimed at the Clinton plan, and the Hawthorn Group, both of which operated behind a front group called Coalition for Affordable Quality Healthcare. Rather than owning up to their failures, health insurance companies "pointed the finger of blame at their customers," and their CEOs embarked on personal responsibility crusades, which Potter describes as a ploy "for pushing risks, and costs, formerly borne by institutions onto individual Americans." Potter writes that the shift from "failed" managed care to "consumerism" was all about meeting the expectations of Wall Street, finding ways to "avoid paying for healthcare," and shifting "costs to policy holders." Big insurance companies like CIGNA and United Health Group began forcing their employees into "high-deductible plans"—a process that was called "going full replacement." A 2005 survey of employers "showed that more than three quarters of all U.S. companies planned to shift costs to their employees." Potter then mentions the sale of the "illusion of coverage" and what he calls "limited-benefit plans." These are the "ultimate in cost shifting" and are marketed to chains with high employee turnover. He calls them "fake insurance." Finally, it is through premium increases and the shifting of costs that insurers are able to "manipulate" their "medical-loss ratio" (MLR). This ratio is followed closely by Wall Street and CEOs concerned about their stock options, and it says much that having to pay for care is seen as a loss. Potter writes that from 1993 to the present "the average MLR in America has dropped from 95 percent to around 80 percent."

The storied AMA issued a report in 2010 documenting nationwide "the state of competition in the health insurance industry." It found that 24 of the 43 states examined, up from 18 the previous year, had just two large insurers controlling "70 percent, or more" of their market share. Within the "313 metropolitan markets" surveyed, 99 percent of them were deemed "highly concentrated," according to Department of Justice (DOJ) guidelines, up from 94 percent one year earlier. In a little over half of these markets, one insurer controlled 50 percent, or more, of all available business. There has been such a collapse of competition that the DOJ "aggressively" used its anti-trust powers to combat the trend. These swollen, anti-competitive insurers have rigged the system so as to hike premiums, cut benefits, dump enrollees, force consumers to pay more out of pocket, and "deliver massive and growing profits" to themselves. Potter says that our representatives have failed us in allowing this "cartel" to take hold.

It is important to understand that the insurance cartel has federal law on its side. In the early 1970s the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) was passed to prevent employers from stealing the retirement benefits of workers. Despite the obvious intent of the law courts have "interpreted [it] to apply to



Graphic: wendellpotter.com

all employee benefits, including health plans." As a result of this interpretation ERISA has preempted state law, and is "used as a weapon" to prevent states from implementing consumer rights in healthcare. The health insurers and other companies are opposed to changes in this law, and together with their PR consultants have created a front group, the National Coalition on Benefits, to beat back states' rights. Potter relates the story of the death of Nataline Sarkisyan, and how her family discovered that their "insurance plan was protected by ERISA" and this denied them legal recourse, in state courts, against the insurer CIGNA. Hilda Sarkisyan, the young woman's mother, has made it her purpose to educate people about this law, believing that it "allows insurance companies to...get away with murder." Under this "shield of protection" the insurance cartel has "no financial incentive to provide timely treatment" and can decide whether or not benefits are to be paid out. Many attempts to address this injustice have been beaten back, including the Patient's Bill of Rights in the 1990s; and Potter, who admits to being "the company's main voice [during] the case," cites the grieving mother as saying "this is not only about my daughter...This could have happened to any one of us. We have to put a stop to these people. They cannot tell us who's going to live and who's going to die."

For Potter, cigarette companies are central to all of this, particularly Phillip Morris (PM); President Obama didn't just sign into law the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010, but did the same for the Regulatory Strategy Project, a year earlier. This legal coup, in part written by PM, was 10 years in the making, and some have warned that it makes the Food and Drug Administration "a de-facto research and development department for cigarette manufacturers." This product kills more than 443,000 people a year. Potter writes of cigarette makers that their strategies have "injected...negative, manipulating DNA into corporate culture worldwide, to the detriment of people everywhere." Their "success" showed the way: hire a PR firm, create a front group, and get third parties to sign on; write letters and opinion pieces, get to know publishers and editors, influence the "tone and content" of what gets written, put together fake surveys; and play with numbers, get your talking points out there, and always be charming. Finally, Potter cites an author as saying—sadly for the prospects of democracy—that we "could be heading for a well informed class at the top and a broad populace awash in opinion, spin, and propaganda."

The next time someone, awash in spin, tells you that Starbucks workers have it great—health insurance and all—tell them of this tragic tale, and the "fake" insurance marketed to chains with significant employee turnover.

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International Labor Struggles

A Look At Three Figures From The IWW In South Africa

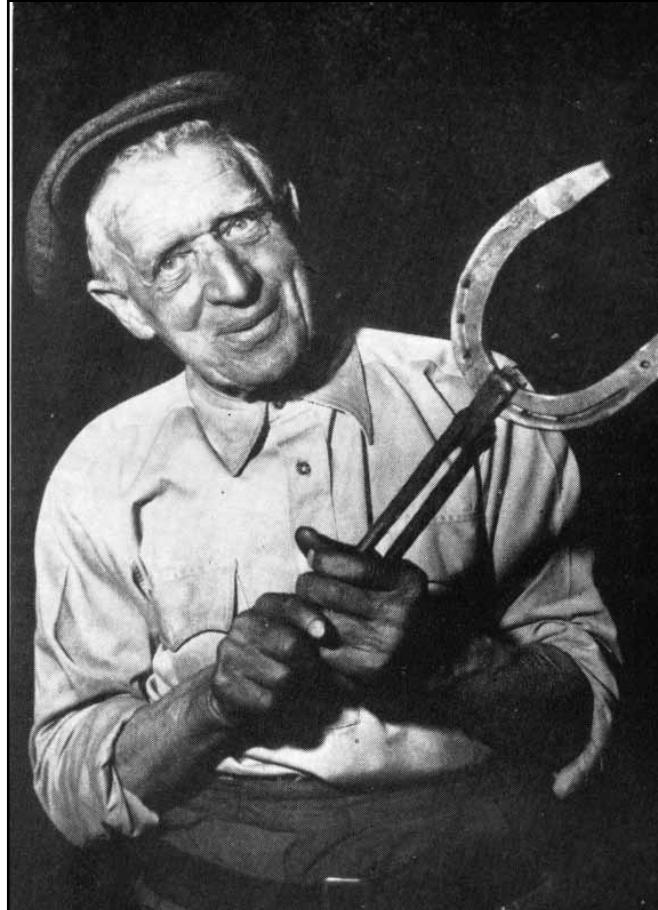


Photo: South African Trade Union Council
Andrew Dunbar as an 80-year-old blacksmith.



Photo: "A History of Communism in South Africa"
T.W. Thibedi, year unknown.

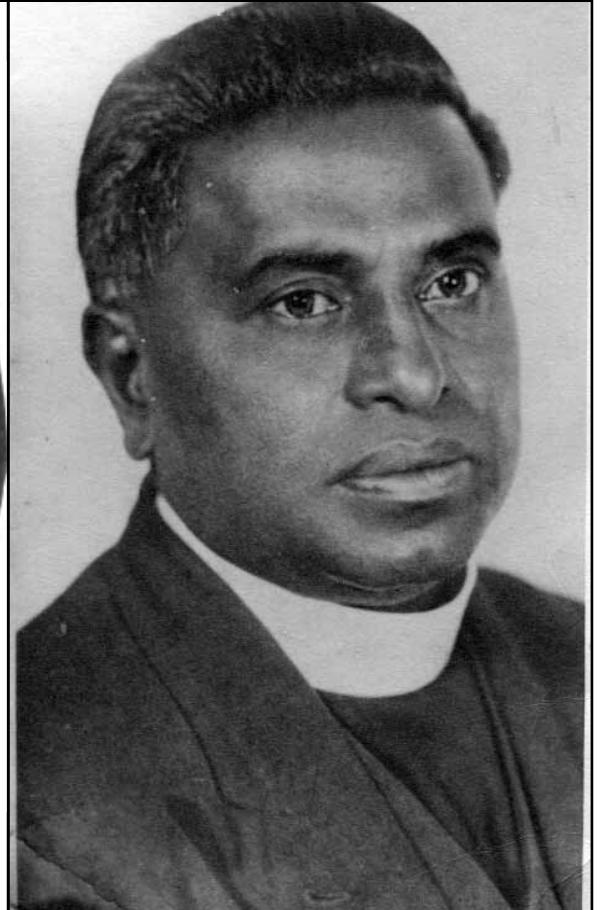


Photo: "Bernard Sigamoney Papers"
Bernard L.E. Sigamoney in his later years.

By Lucien van der Walt

The IWW was the main influence on the radical left in South Africa in the early 20th century. But who were the South African Wobblies? This article looks at three key figures.

Andrew Dunbar (1879-1964)

Andrew Dunbar was general-secretary of the IWW in Johannesburg, established in June 1910. A hefty Scots immigrant who arrived in 1906, he worked in the Natal railways as a blacksmith, leading a mass strike in 1909. This cost him his job, and he went to work on the Johannesburg tramways. These were the IWW's stronghold, with a powerful presence amongst the white workers, and led to big strikes in 1911. In 1912, Dunbar was ousted from the IWW, which faded away soon afterwards.

In 1914, he was in the War on War League, which set up the revolutionary syndicalist International Socialist League (ISL) in September the next year. The ISL campaigned for One Big Union, and fought against the oppressive laws applied to African workers, the majority of the working class, including indenture, pass controls, housing in closed barracks, etc. It also opposed the discrimination being applied against Indians and other minorities.

In June 1917, Dunbar was part of an ISL team running study groups in downtown Johannesburg amongst African workers, advocating civil disobedience and One Big Union against African oppression and capitalism. This led to the Industrial Workers of Africa, an African union mod-

elled on the IWW. As interest in the Russian Revolution rose, Dunbar and others formed Africa's first Communist Party in October 1920—on a basically syndicalist platform; he was general-secretary. In 1921, this merged into the official Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), but Dunbar headed a syndicalist faction. Later expelled from the CPSA, he faded from union and socialist work.

Thibedi William Thibedi (1888-1960)

The son of a Wesleyan minister, Thibedi William Thibedi was one of the most important African syndicalists in 1910s South Africa. Hailing from the small town of Vereeniging, he trained as a school teacher and worked at a church school in Johannesburg. Around 1916, he joined the ISL and became its first major African leader.

In September 1917, Thibedi was involved in organizing an ISL-sponsored conference that led to the formation of a "Solidarity Committee," intended to reform the orthodox trade unions. These generally excluded people of color (except in Cape Town), tended toward craft unionism, and were prone to binding no-strike agreements. Thibedi served on the Committee which was not however a success.

In 1918, Thibedi was involved in the Industrial Workers of Africa in Johannesburg, arguing for One Big Union, united on class lines across the races; and mass action. Along with other figures in the union, he also promoted these views

in the leftwing of the African nationalist South African Native National Congress (SANNC). When a failed general strike in July 1918 led to a crackdown on the ISL, Industrial Workers of Africa and SANNC, it fell to Thibedi to revive the union in Johannesburg. The union drew its members from across the African working class, and was more a general membership branch than an industrial body.

The key African in the early CPSA, Thibedi put his syndicalist background to work when he ran the party's night school in Johannesburg, and became a full-time organizer and unionist. When the CPSA expelled him in 1929, the communist-led Federation of Non-European Trade Unions forced his reinstatement; he was expelled again in 1931. Later, Thibedi flirted with Trotskyism before drifting away into anonymity.

Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney (1888-1963)

Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney was the grandson of indentured Indian farm laborers, Pariah Christians, who arrived in South Africa in 1877. His family managed to secure him an education, and he worked as a teacher at Estcourt Indian High School and then St. Aidans' Boys' School.

During World War I, Sigamoney became increasingly involved in politics, addressing public meetings on the growing food shortages in Durban. He soon encountered the local ISL, which founded an Indian Workers' Industrial Union on

IWW lines in March 1917. Sigamoney joined the ISL, and was the union's first secretary. The union claimed members among Durban's large Indian population, notably on the docks, in garment work and laundries, painting, hotels, catering and tobacco workers. There were efforts to unite it with the Industrial Workers of Africa. Meanwhile, Sigamoney and other ISL figures supported the independent Tobacco Workers' Union, and its big strike in October 1920, and the 1921 strike of Indian furniture workers.

Sigamoney did not join the CPSA. Instead, he left radical politics, going to Britain in December 1922 to study as an Anglican pastor, and returning to work for St. Anthony's Indian Mission in Johannesburg in 1927. He was viewed as a troublemaker by the authorities, partly because he associated with the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, a union influenced by both the IWW and Marcus Garvey, as well as the SANNC. Sigamoney's remaining years were focused on work in the church, in promoting Indian sport, and in promoting the civil rights of people of color.

Conclusion

The multiracial IWW tradition in South Africa threw up some remarkable militants. These three men—one white, one African, one Indian—exemplified the high moral character and dedication it evoked, and its staunch and unwavering opposition to the country's barbaric racial capitalism.

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May Day: A Celebration Of International Solidarity

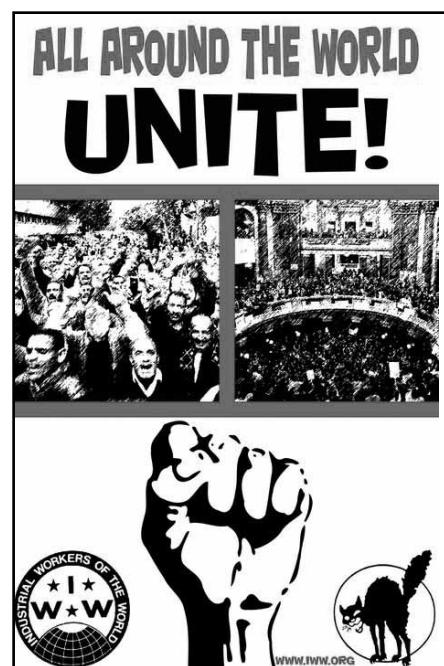
By Matt Antosh

I'm really not a protest person, mostly due to a mild phobia of large crowds and new people. Since becoming active in left-wing struggles in 2007 I've been to around four rallies or marches. With the exception of a rally in protest of the killing of international development workers and solidarity activists by Israeli commandos on board the Mavi Marmara bound for Gaza last year, I've only been to Winnipeg's annual May Day march.

Is there any other reason why? May Day is International Workers' Day, the day that working people themselves decided to honor our struggles and accomplishments from the past year. It's the day to remember the Haymarket Anarchists who fought for our right to have eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of recreation. Most importantly, it is a day to remember and celebrate that we are not alone in this struggle: working people across the globe are in the same situation, fighting back together, and that our solidarity with them is what binds us.

There is no doubt that I don't have the amazing experiences of my fellow ISCCers. I have never tasted sweet pecan pie in South Africa or paid witness to the daily humiliation of the military occupation in Palestine. Heck, the furthest out of Canada that I've ever been is to Fargo, North Dakota.

But international solidarity isn't just about visiting other nations, meeting and learning about people's lives and loves and struggles. As important as that is, international solidarity is also something you do at home. It's writing a protest letter or passing a branch motion. It's tying up the phone lines at Jimmy John's for a lunch period despite never actually eating there. International solidarity is volunteering to



be an ISC liaison in your branch, or just participating because you're passionate about building solidarity with other nations and unions.

Participating in May Day is an act of international solidarity, in its most genuine and simplest form. It is affirming that between "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." International solidarity is an action anyone can do, and if we are going to build a more just world, everyone should do their part and march in or organize a May Day rally wherever they live.

If you are interested in becoming involved, ISC calls happen third Monday of the month. For more information, email solidarity@iww.org.

IWW Statement Of Solidarity To The Peoples Of Japan And The Freeteters Union

By the ISC

Over 20,000 people have died and hundreds of thousands more left homeless from the earthquake and tsunami that devastated Japan on March 11. On top of that, the Japanese are facing a potential nuclear disaster, and radiation leak. As is often the case, working people are on the front

line of these disasters and the aftermath, many risking their lives to stave off nuclear catastrophe. The Industrial Workers of the Word stand in solidarity with all of the Japanese people, and our comrades in the Freeteters Union in particular. We urge our members to do whatever is needed to support our Japanese fellow workers.

Donate To The Catastrophe Aid and Solidarity Fund for General Freeteters Union in Japan

By the FAU-IWA

Given the vast destruction wrought by the earthquake and tsunami on March 11, and given the threat of a nuclear disaster caused by the destroyed nuclear power plant in Fukushima I, the FAU-IWA launched a solidarity and aid fund for precarious workers in Japan—the "Freeteters Solidarity Fund." As an anarchist-syndicalist grassroots trade union, our first concern is the many precarious workers (Freeteters), who were excluded even before the disaster, often forced into appalling working and living conditions. It calls for

donations for the relief and solidarity fund whose resources are to be used in close consultation with the "Freeteters Zenpan Roso," a self-organized group of precarious workers in Japan.

Donations can be sent to:

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Pogroms Follow Killing Of Settler Family

By Michael Dranove

Following the brutal murder of an Israeli settler family of five on March 11, Israeli settlers have begun pogroms against Palestinians living near the illegal settlement of Itamar, where the killings took place. Itamar is one of hundreds of illegally-constructed settlements located in the occupied West Bank.

Reports of violence against Palestinians increased dramatically following news of the killings. Al Jazeera reports that in the occupied city of Hebron in the West Bank, a Palestinian man was stabbed, a shop was set on fire, and two Palestinian girls, ages 5 and 11, were intentionally hit by cars. In the city of Nablus, burning barricades were erected by settlers who threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at cars and pedestrians. Two Palestinian children were hospitalized after a group of settlers firebombed a Palestinian home. Israeli soldiers and settlers also uprooted 500 olive trees belonging to Palestinians near Bethlehem.

The pogroms were launched without

any proof that any Palestinians were responsible for the killings. Rumors are circulating that Thai workers might be responsible for the killings, with the Palestinian news agency Ma'an reporting that Thai workers had been rounded up by Israeli police for questioning. This has not stopped the Israeli army from rounding up and imprisoning dozens of Palestinians across the West Bank. Israeli soldiers entered the village of Awarta, south of Nablus, at night and arrested 40 men and boys, fingerprinting them and taking their DNA.

The Palestinian territories have been divided into untenable cantons by Israeli checkpoints and settlements, such as Itamar. Israeli settlement construction has been determined by the United Nations to be illegal under the Geneva Convention. However, a recent U.N. Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlement expansion was vetoed by the United States causing anger across the occupied territories.

Israel receives more than \$3 billion worth of U.S. aid every year.

Bahrain Unions Protest For Rights

By John Kalwaic

As part of the recent wave of protests in the Middle East, strikes and riots have occurred in the small Gulf nation of Bahrain. What started in Tunisia and Egypt has since moved to other parts of the Middle East, even to fairly wealthy countries like Bahrain and Oman. Bahrain, a nation with a majority Shi'a Muslim population, is ruled by a Sunni Muslim monarchy. Bahrain also contains a vast number of migrant guest workers.

Workers have taken to the streets to protest the royal family's hold on the government. Bahrain and Kuwait are two

Persian Gulf states where workers have at least the right to organize and strike. Workers do not have rights in Saudi Arabia, and in the United Arab Emirates, even state-controlled unions are against the law. Bahraini pro-democracy activists have used strikes as a way to challenge the dictatorship of the Sheik Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa. King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, one of the United States' closest allies in the region, launched an invasion in Bahrain in hopes of quashing the uprising and preventing unrest from spreading to Saudi Arabia, which has already experienced smaller protests and riots.

A Call For Labor Representation On The Second Gaza Freedom Flotilla

Fellow Workers,

In addition to my IWW work, I've been working with the Free Palestine Movement* (FPM) which is a participant in the second Gaza Freedom Flotilla to break the Israeli Blockade of Gaza.

This flotilla of 15 ships, carrying more than 1,000 passengers and 5,000 tons of humanitarian supplies, is scheduled to sail to Gaza on May 31 (although it may be delayed, depending on circumstances). The anticipated time participants should be prepared to devote to this undertaking is at least two weeks.

There is no dearth of volunteers, and most ships and organizations, open to all, are indulging in a more-or-less strict vetting process, with chosen volunteers being primarily responsible for making their own financial arrangements.

The FPM has decided on a different procedure to fill our quota of flotilla passengers: we will limit the number of participating members and cover all their expenses.

In order to obtain maximum influence and gravitas among the American people, we've made the decision to invite specific representatives from a broad spectrum of endeavors with an eye towards persons respected and influential in their fields who could best articulate the experience and capture the ear of the public and the media.

Some confirmed members of the delegation include former congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, former U.S. ambassador Samuel H. Hart, U.S.S. Liberty survivor Joe Meaders, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb, American Indian Movement representative William "Jimbo" Simmons, musical artists Dead Prez, African-American political activist Fred Hampton, Jr. and others.

My own interest is to ensure that working people have a presence onboard, so as to best convey the international import of the voyage from a working-class perspective.

I urgently need your input in finding such persons.

In Struggle,
fw sparrow, X326388 sfba gmb IWW, FPM
(650) 219-9641



Graphic: FPM

*FPM is a tax-exempt, U.S. government-approved and United Nations-accredited NGO with a commitment, through nonviolent action, to deliver humanitarian aid to the people of Gaza and to open access to peaceful travel and trade by sea—a right that has been denied by a 43-year-old Israeli naval blockade. For more information, visit <http://www.freepalestinemovement.org>.

Assessment Stamp for Friends of the Palestinian Workers Group

Benefit stamp designed by underground cartoonist Spain Rodriguez.

Send \$5 and a SASE to sparrow at IWW San Francisco, 2022 Blake Street, Berkeley, CA 94704.

