

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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Wal-Mart closes second union store in Québec

Wal-Mart shut its second unionized store in Gatineau, Québec, Canada on October 16.

Wal-Mart said that it was closing the store because the wages ordered by the contract arbitrator made the Wal-Mart Tire and Lube Express store unprofitable. The union has called it “an attack on its workers.”

This legally-binding first union contract raised the minimum pay from \$8.50 per hour to \$11.54 with a new top rate of \$15.25. Eight people lost their jobs at the store.

This store was the first unionized Wal-Mart store in Canada to have a contract imposed by an arbitrator.

In April 2005, Wal-Mart shut a store in Jonquière, Quebec, firing 200 workers who had voted to join the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), just before binding arbitration was about to begin.

“Wal-Mart thinks a cheap oil change is more important than the Canadian constitution,” said Wayne Hanley, UFCW Canada president. Canadian workers have the right to associate and form unions protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The UFCW said it plans to take Wal-Mart to the Supreme Court of Canada for closing the shop. It has also asked the Québec labour minister to investigate.

“For Wal-Mart to say its employees are free to unionize, but then declare that a contract produced through mediation just doesn’t work for their business model, means as far as Wal-Mart is concerned, the rights of its American shareholders are more important than the human rights of its workers in Canada.”

Wal-Mart is in binding arbitration with the UFCW for a store in St. Hyacinthe, which is expected to conclude before the end of 2008.

Analysis

Crisis a product of capitalism

By John Reiman

The airwaves are filled with all sorts of talking heads—economic “experts”—who claim that the ongoing and worsening economic crisis is due to greed or corruption or deregulation or excessive government spending. Every one of them—conservative, liberal or radical—refuses to deal with the fact that this is a crisis of the capitalist system itself, caused by its own internal contradictions.

25-year expansion

The last 25 years in the US have been exceptional in capitalist history. They have been filled with nearly uninterrupted growth, punctuated by a few crises—the stock market collapse of 1987, the Savings and Loan collapse, the dot com bust, etc. Each time, the federal government bailed out the economy by cutting interest rates and increasing the money supply.

Tendency toward overproduction

Lurking in the wings was the tendency toward overproduction, the simple fact that workers cannot buy back all that they can produce since some must be left over for the profits of the boss. This tendency was held at bay by the government’s financial policies, basically inflating the money supply.

The amount of money in society reflects the amount of credit (debt) that exists. This can be seen from a basic process: If you open up a bank account with \$10,000 and then go to the bank and borrow that amount, you are considered to still have that \$10,000, but you also have an additional \$10,000. The money supply has been increased by this same amount. If the amount of money that exists in society grows at a rate faster than overall production, then the money’s value will tend to decrease.

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Photo: PSAC

Rhoda Innuksuk, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, demanded clean drinking water for 108 Aboriginal communities at a Winnipeg rally.

Aboriginal workers organize

Aboriginal workers in Canada are turning to two of Canada’s largest unions to gain a voice at work and in the union movement.

The Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), with a membership of 160,000, held the first stand-alone conference of Aboriginal workers in Winnipeg, Canada, on September 19-21.

The participants were Aboriginal workers and members of the union’s National Aboriginal, Inuit and Métis Network, on which sit a male and female representative for each region in accordance with Aboriginal traditions. Other topics for discussion at the conference included how to protect the environment, settle land claims, and strengthen Aboriginal leadership within the union.

The conference also launched a postcard campaign to “Make Aboriginal Poverty History.” The campaign is a play on the 2005 campaign to lobby national governments to end poverty globally. It asks Canadians to end widespread poverty in Canada’s Aboriginal community, on and off-reserve. More than half of Canada’s Aboriginals live off-reserve.

Getting and keeping jobs is a key way for Aboriginal Peoples to end poverty in their communities. However, Aboriginal unemployment is more than double the rate of non-Aboriginal workers. Another problem facing Aboriginal workers is pay equity, with Aboriginal women earning 46 per cent as much as non-Aboriginal men. These statistics help explain why 42 per cent of Aboriginals living off-reserve had low incomes and 60 per cent of their children live in poverty.

On September 19, conference delegates and other PSAC members rallied in Winnipeg to demand the federal govern-

ment live up to its responsibilities and improve living conditions for Canadian Aboriginals.

“Public services are crumbling and private companies are eager to cash in on the problem. Privatization is no solution. It’s time for the federal government to stand up for quality public services in Aboriginal communities,” said Patty Ducharme, PSAC’s National Executive Vice-President, noting this is a human rights question.

There are 108 Aboriginal communities who must boil their water before drinking it, said Michael Desautels, PSAC’s newly appointed Aboriginal Rights Officer. He pointed to the bottles of water sent to Walkerton, Ontario, when it had a similar problem in May 2000. “So why isn’t the same action being taken for Aboriginal communities?” he asked.

The 570,000-strong Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) has also launched a program to include Aboriginal workers within the union, encourage new leaders and become an ally to Aboriginal Peoples.

“The only advocate of Aboriginal Peoples have been Aboriginals themselves,” said Don Moran, Senior Officer for First Peoples’ Issues at CUPE. “They need allies in place and that means unions.”

CUPE also has Aboriginal-led and run local, provincial, regional councils as well as a national council formed in 2004 which Moran said is there for “combatting racism and discrimination within our own union and in society as a whole.” Moran said that CUPE, with 500,000 members, his union has a long way to go with its Aboriginal members.

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Couriers aim to organize across North America

By Mykke Holcomb, IU 540 NYC

Workers have launched a continental campaign to overhaul the courier industry, with organizers from different cities forming the IWW Industrial Union 540 North American Organizing Committee (NorAm).

In one of its first outreach efforts, NorAm IU 540 workers held an open Labor Forum at the annual North American Cycle Courier Championships (NACCC), which took place in Chicago over Labor Day weekend, August 29-September 1. Hundreds of bike messengers from North America, Europe, Japan and elsewhere gathered to socialize and compete with other messengers in races that resemble their work.

Forty couriers from various cities attended the forum, which was received with much enthusiasm. Delegates from active campaigns gave inspiring presentations, and others from cities that have yet to be agitated aired concerns about

their scenarios. Common grievances were identified and many new contacts were made.

Coming out of the event, NorAm is hoping to bring new cities on board its campaign and boost the effort in areas where there is already a union presence. The NorAm committee's aim is to connect this movement, strengthen solidarity within it, and assist each other's efforts with resources and advice. It draws inspiration from the example of the Chicago Couriers Union and from the discontent brewing in cities across the United States and Canada.

While couriers love their work, they face a rotten industry that is hostile to its workers. NorAm is raising funds to support its campaign, through a \$3 or \$10 assessment stamp or t-shirt. Visit iu540.phillybma.org or call 1-312-638-9155 to order or join the One Big Couriers' Union.



Photo: NorAm

Couriers discuss how to organize their industry at the Labor Forum organized by the IWW at the North American Cycle Courier Championships in Chicago over Labor Day weekend, August 29-September 1.

Sheffield IWW barman fights for job with another day of action Nov. 8

On November 8, the Showroom Theatre in the northern English city of Sheffield will face another day-long picket in support of fired barman and IWW member Chris Lockwood.

Lockwood said that managers had heard a rumour that he was possibly a union organizer and that there was a union growing at the cinema. Just hours later, they had concocted a reason to fire him. Normal disciplinary procedures in United Kingdom workplaces include warning letters and meetings well before dismissal.

Working conditions at the non-profit community theatre had taken a turn for the worse after management restructuring over the summer, he told local media. On September 12, the IWW and community supporters in Sheffield

picketed the theatre from 10 AM to 1 AM the next day to demand Lockwood's reinstatement.

Supporters who could not walk the picket line called, faxed and emailed their protests to cinema management. In response, management switched off its email accounts and office phone line.

"As Friday is the busiest day for the Cinema and there is a premiere tonight, this is a significant blow to the Cinema's management," said an IWW statement posted on indymedia.org.uk.

The IWW urged management to review Lockwood's sacking and called for a meeting. To telephone your demand for Lockwood's reinstatement, call 0114 249 5479 and ask to speak with management. Tell the Sheffield IWW about how you lent support: sheffield@iww.org.uk.

Seattle Solidarity wins back wages

By www.seattlesolidarity.net

On September 17, a painting contractor finally agreed to pay former employee Jorge Aranda Paz \$900 in unpaid wages.

His decision ends a two-month fight by the IWW-affiliated Seattle Solidarity Network and the Workers Defense Committee (Casa Latina). To put pressure on the boss, the Network and Workers De-

fense Committee visited the boss' house to deliver a final demand for payment on July 19 and distributed flyers to educate the boss' neighbors. When he still did not respond, picketers twice shared the word with his congregation at church on Sunday morning.

The boss made his first payment as agreed on September 20.

Campaign to decriminalize prostitution gains steam

The Erotic Service Providers Union is campaigning hard to convince early voters to vote to decriminalize prostitution in San Francisco.

Advance polling has already begun and the campaign is urging these early voters to say yes to "Proposition K".

San Franciscans for Democracy and the Richmond District Democratic Club

have endorsed the initiative, labeled on the ballot as Proposition K.

The campaign is asking for donations to support mailings and publicity, which can be made via their web site espu-ca.org/wp/.

IWW referendum to elect officers

In November, the Industrial Workers of the World will hold its annual referendum which is how the membership elects its officers and decides important policy questions.

Chris Lytle from Cincinnati, where headquarters is currently housed, and Walt Weber Jr. from Philadelphia, are both running for General Secretary-Treasurer, the union's only paid officer.

Ten candidates are contesting to win seats on the seven-member General Executive Board. The incumbents are GEB chair Jason Krpan from Chicago, Heather Gardner from Philadelphia, Bryan Roberts from Edmonton, and Nick Durie from Glasgow, Scotland. The other nominees will be Sarah Bender and Michael Hargis from Chicago, Clayton Beverly from Albuquerque, New Yorkers Stephanie Basile and Jim Crutchfield, and Koala Lopata from Baltimore.

Former editor of the *Industrial Worker* Jon Bekken from Philadelphia will run against a joint slate of Diane Krauthamer from New York and former *Bread & Roses* magazine editor Phil Wharton from Newcastle, England.

For the three-seat International Solidarity Commission, IWW German Language Area Regional Organizing Committee member Michael Ashbrook from Luxembourg, Sean Boomer of Edmonton, Canada, Bryant Dean II of Pittsburgh, and two Philadelphians who participated in the ISC delegation to Haiti, Nathaniel Miller and Justin Vitiello, are standing as candidates.

Tom Kappas, from Cincinnati, is the sole candidate for the post of Central Secretary Treasurer of the IWW's General Defense Committee.

General Assembly will return to the United States in 2009. The Chicago IWW branch and Baltimore IWW branch both accepted their nominations to host the annual meeting.

IWW Constitution Preamble

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the earth.

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

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

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

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

Join the IWW Today

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

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

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

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

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

TO JOIN: Mail this form with a check or money order for initiation and your first month's dues to: IWW, Post Office Box 23085, Cincinnati OH 45223, USA.

Initiation is the same as one month's dues. Our dues are calculated according to your income. If your monthly income is under \$1,000, dues are \$6 a month. If your monthly income is between \$1,000 - \$2,000, dues are \$12 a month. If your monthly income is over \$2,000 a month, dues are \$18 a month. Dues may vary outside of North America and in Regional Organizing Committees (Australia, British Isles, German Language Area).

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

I agree to abide by the IWW constitution

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



Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Post Code, Country: _____

Occupation: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

Amount Enclosed: _____

Membership includes a subscription to the *Industrial Worker*.

Debate

Industrial Unionism is the IWW strategy

By Patrick Brenner

While I don't think the *Industrial Worker* is the proper forum for debate over organizing strategy, its readers should be offered an alternative view to that presented by the September 2008 article entitled "Forget Industrial Power," by Fellow Worker Nate Holdren.

In the article he argues that the IWW should avoid placing organizing efforts in large companies because of our relative weak position—that organizing large companies is likely to create failure and burnout for our organizers.

The main disagreement I have with the argument is that it is a self-fulfilling prophesy. The more we believe we can't do something, the more that becomes a reality. We have refused to take on large targets for over 40 years. As a result we have grown little.

It was only when the IWW took on Borders in 1996 and Starbucks in 2004, both large companies, that we saw significant increases in membership and activity.

Furthermore, the argument is grounded in circular logic. Acquiring big resources only comes after we take on big targets. It is tantamount to saying "we need resources to organize big targets, but we can't get resources until we organize big targets."

We've been saying this for decades. Where has it gotten us? The early IWW was not afraid of any targets. They took on companies and industries thousands of times larger (review the organizing of copper mines in Arizona or the textile companies in New England, for example) than their membership and made not only changes for the workers of the industry but also for the labor movement as a whole.

The article further contends that we should focus our organizer recruitment at the small workplaces of our current membership. The problem with this argument is that it assumes we would not acquire organizers at large targets, which is, of course, likely. IWW-style organizing anywhere creates new organizers out of workers.

The argument also completely ignores the good possibility that the quality of the organizers recruited from large targets may be better. Because of the larger size, there is a larger pool of talent to draw from.

He also believes we should focus on small companies instead of big ones. The grounding for this is that we could potentially build enough power on the backs of small capitalists to eventually fight the large businessmen.

While I agree with FW Holdren that we should not solely focus on large companies, I think focusing on small ones is just as problematic, and may even require more time and energy than a large company and may be more prone to failure.

Businesses act in predictable ways if the basic economic laws are given consideration. Occasionally these laws are broken or a business owner will act irrationally or outside agencies (i.e. Government) will interfere with economic laws. But the vast majority of businesses comply and therefore act predictably to internal and external pressures (labor rebellion, etc.). If we apply the pressure of unionism to small companies then we should be able to predict, given a long enough time frame, the effects on the company, the industry or the economy as a whole.

Instead of providing power for the IWW, organizing small companies is likely to lead to eventual weakening of our union. Smaller companies are required to compete with the big companies, who set industrial standards, to survive. Any hindrance to this is likely to either limit what we can gain from employers or entirely push the small shops out of business. The larger companies

will acquire the customer-base left by the exterminated businesses, the Wobblies will be out of work, and capitalism's wheels keep on turning. The amount of real economic pressure we could apply to small businesses is therefore very little.

Organizing small companies is a bigger drain on resources. Even the big business unions, with extensive resources, have had trouble organizing the little shops. They are just too hard to organize.

However, I will not argue that the best alternative is organizing one large company either. On a long enough timeline, the end result of focusing on one large company will reflect that of the smaller ones (look at the Teamster organizing in the Nineties). Large companies can go out of business like any other and when they do, their competitors in the industry will assume their former market share.

What's the alternative? The answer to the problem of limited resources, unemployment prevention, and organizer burnout is to organize industrially. By organizing industrially, we have a large pool of talent to draw from that is often limited in both small and some large companies. We can choose where in the industry to place emphasis to prevent firings and ensure negotiating leverage.

Moreover, taking on an entire industry eliminates the ubiquitous problem in small companies of high turnover. Turnover creates extra stress for organizers and affords little negotiating leverage to the workers. When the pros and cons are carefully considered, organizing industrially is actually much more likely to yield success with less effort than organizing small companies or single large companies. While the endeavor may seem intimidating, industrial strategy is easier and more appropriate for our current resources.

Often times, there is a tendency to fear big targets because the size of the employment is intimidating. I used to think this way. But a close friend and fellow worker once told me I was looking at it from a "glass-is-half-empty" point of view. He said, Don't think of all those workers as a barrier, think of it as an opportunity.

A workplace or local industry of 1000 workers should not be viewed as "1,000 members until success," but rather "this industry offers us potentially 1,000 new members." That optimism never left me. I think if it was adopted by more Wobblies, we would grow significantly.


Holdren responds

By Nate Holdren

I thank Fellow Worker Brenner for taking the time to reply to my column. I disagree with him that the *Industrial Worker* is not a proper forum for debate over organizing strategy.

I argued that we should focus on small targets, because we can have more victories at small targets because our branches are bigger relative to small companies. That way we can win things more quickly and make more organizers by having inspiring victories. I think inspiring victories are important for making organizers, and making more organizers is one of the three most important tasks facing the IWW right now. (The other two are retaining organizers and getting better at organizing.)

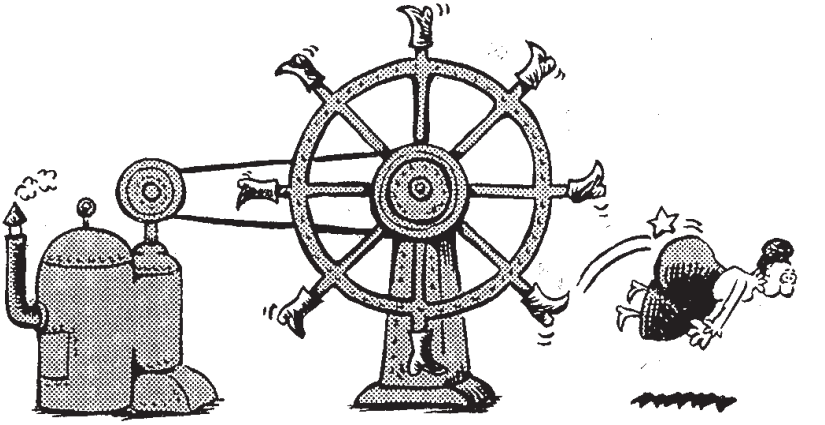
The heart of my column, the bit I feel most strongly about, is this pair of sentences: "Our first priority right now should be to have members improve their own lives at work and to recruit other organizers out of our co-workers. That will build our pool of committed, capable organizers so that we can eventually have really enormous impacts for



WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY


CHAPTER 13 "WE'LL NOT BE SLAVES"

Mechanization in the shoe and boot industry brought dramatic changes to Lynn, Mass. but despite dazzling productivity and spiraling living costs, wage cuts followed wage cuts. Many women earned as little as \$1 a week, despite work days of up to 16 hrs. Men earned \$3 a week.



The male shoemakers struck for higher pay on Washington's Birthday, 1860 - but knew that success depended on the female binders and stitchers. "If the ladies refused to bind and stitch, the bosses must accede to our demands," said strike leader Alonzo Draper.

On March 7, 1860 the 1,000 women binders joined the 5,000 male shoemakers. Despite a fierce blizzard they marched through the streets of Lynn, carrying a banner that proclaimed, "AMERICAN LADIES WILL NOT BE SLAVES!" The wages of the work women, declared strike leader Ellen Darwin, are "reduced far below a just compensation."



Newspapers warned of "rebellion in the north" and compared the female strikers to the women of the French Revolution. The authorities called out the militia. The bosses tried to split the Germans and Irish from the Yankees, but failed. Eventually the strikers, female and male, returned to work with the promise of higher wages - but without union recognition.

our whole class." I think Brenner and I agree on this.

Brenner points out that this can also be done by targeting big companies and industry-wide campaigns. He points to the Starbucks campaign as an example. The Starbucks campaign is important and impressive. It's made more organizers for our union and that is awesome. Brenner is absolutely right and this is a gap in my column's argument.

All of that said, I still think that a new GMB that is looking for a first organizing target is better off trying to organize a smaller shop. The smaller the shop, the less resources management has to dump into union-busting and the more of their business we can shut down

with pickets and other actions given our currently small numbers.

Let me put it this way. Let's say hypothetically that three new branches form in three different counties in the great state of Minnesota and they host a joint organizer training. One says, "We have a member who works at Wal-Mart so we're targeting all the Wal-Marts in our county." The second says, "We have a member who works at a local magnet factory with 50 workers so we're targeting that." The third says, "We haven't made up our mind yet—we have Wal-marts here and we have a magnet factory with 50 workers, and we have one member at each." If someone from the third

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N. Carolina truck drivers build community support

'We are family'

By x361737

On September 13, two members of the IWW Industrial Union (IU) 530 Transport Workers Organizing Committee accepted an invitation to visit the Jamesville Community Center and attend a fellowship meeting of the Hope Temple United Holy Church. The Church's new minister—a local truck driver who goes by the handle of "preacher man"—organized the community cook-out to allow the Reverend and his congregation to introduce themselves to local families.

The Reverend, a supporter of IU 530, saw the meeting as the perfect opportunity to discuss a new organizing strategy and explain to his congregation and neighbors why truckers in Eastern North Carolina need a community-based union of independent truckers, company drivers, and owner-operators. Many of the container haulers and log drivers who live in Jamesville and the surrounding

towns, came to the event, which was the latest in a six-month transport workers' organizing campaign.

Contemplating and discussing how to build the union and community support, truckers, organizers, and community members enjoyed a full smorgasbord of Southern delicacies while they shared laughs, got to know each other, and developed friendships.

After the meal, the Reverend led attendees in prayer. He requested that all truckers in the audience join him at the

The very process of building a powerful grassroots union would deepen an already strong sense of community togetherness.

—Reverend, Hope Temple United Holy Church

front of the room. He then began to explain why a union was so desperately needed in this rural part of North Carolina.

Drivers often labor 12, 14, or 16 hours a day just to make ends meet. Even after such excessive shifts, the truckers are

denied any sort of paper trail to ensure they receive the proper pay for their work. This lack of transparency has seen truckers robbed of their rightful wages again and again. Moreover, they have no paid holidays, receive paltry benefits, if any at all, and the increasing price of gasoline has seen a marked decrease in weekly earnings.

The Reverend concluded by explaining how workplace organization would not only see truckers make gains in pay

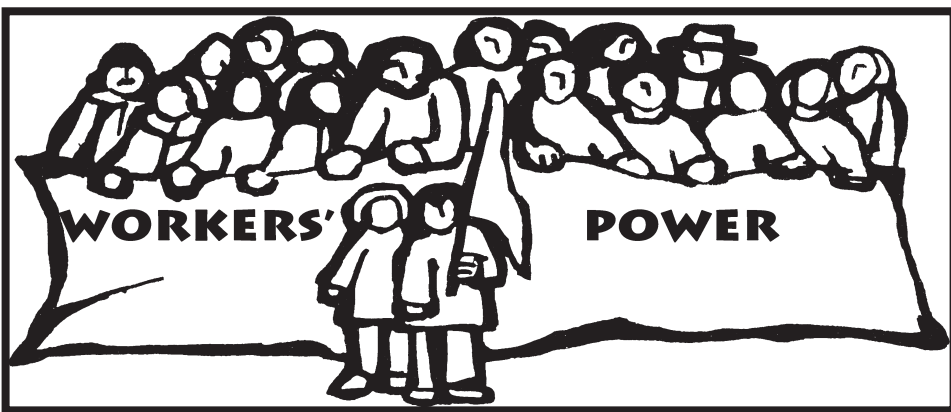
and conditions, but that the very process of building a powerful grassroots union would deepen an already strong sense of community togetherness.

The second reason the organizers had been invited, to build industrial strength, was equally successful. The first of the North Carolina truckers placed a bumper sticker on his rig that read simply: ORGANIZE! At a previous truckers meeting in New Bern, the truckers had decided to use a bumper sticker campaign to create a 'buzz' for their campaign. Fellow drivers couldn't miss the big red "ORGANIZE" and would naturally inquire about what it meant. Each time the question would be asked, would be an opportunity to explain the union and discuss the benefits of organization.

Why involve the church and community?

The thinking was simple: the church, much like a union, is a family. Together they form two pillars of a strong commu-

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What does the IWW do?

By Nate Holdren

People become IWW members in two ways. Some people join because of ideology and other people join because of the union's activity.

Along the same lines, the IWW does two main things. First, it helps workers solve problems at work by helping them organize. Second, it transforms people. That is, the IWW improves some people's live on the job and radicalizes some people through collective action alongside discussion. In doing so it gives them practical skills and confidence to do things. Another way to put this is as a pair of principles: building industrial power and building organizers.

We need room for both of these principles. Our organizing should radicalize workers. And our organizing should make people who think of themselves as radicals more effective in fighting bosses and capitalists.

In practice, these principles are closely related. For instance, the New York City warehouse campaign really got running because of the hard work and dedication of a handful of IWW members. This is basically true across the board for the IWW. The bulk of the work of maintaining and building the union rests on a relatively small percentage of IWW members. In this, I think we're like most unions. So, we build industrial power by using our current organizers. These principles work together.

While these principles overlap, it can be useful to think about them separately

Holdren responds

Continued from 4

branch asked my advice, I would urge them to follow the lead of the second branch, not the first. I would wish the first branch nothing but success and they would certainly deserve support. But I would predict that, at least in the short term, the second branch is more likely to succeed with more of the victories necessary for sustaining organizers. Of course, I would be happy to be proven wrong by more victories and organizer recruitment within really big campaigns.

sometimes. This gives us two different ways to evaluate success and set priorities.

Let's say in one shop we win an awesome contract for 100 people and develop no members of that shop into class conscious workers and active IWW members and organizers.

Let's say in another shop we lose and the campaign dissipates. But five people who were already IWW members become better organizers and five new members join from the shop and become organizers. The first hypothetical is better if our main priority is industrial power. The second is better if our priority is developing organizers.

Personally I think if someone only cares about one or the other principle, then the IWW may be the wrong group for them, depending on what industry they work in and what role they want to play. If someone wants to organize and all they care about is industrial power, other unions do a lot better at building industrial power most of the time.

If someone wants to organize in a way that only focuses on developing class consciousness I think there are groups that do a better job than us. However, the IWW is one of the only groups I know that does both at the same time and is reasonably good at both.

While both of these principles are important, my personal view is that right now the priority for the IWW should be to develop organizers.

This doesn't mean neglecting industrial power, because we can only meaningfully develop organizers by aiming at industrial power. But the reality is that the IWW relies too much on people who joined with their vision and values already formed and their skills already developed. Plus, turnover in the IWW is far too high.

We need to get better at creating organizers, improving organizers over time, and retaining organizers for the long haul. This is a key part of building the One Big Union and, ultimately, abolishing the wage system.

Social workers need job control

By Chris Agenda

Social workers generally have high-stress, relatively underpaid, and incredibly emotional jobs. As workers we are entrusted with people and situations that the majority of society have tried to either sweep under the rug or discard under a bridge so that the reflection of systemic plagues are not seen. Within this context alone, it becomes difficult to organize workers who are already over-taxed.

Employers at for-profit and non-profit agencies consistently push a guilt complex on their employees, claiming that worker organization only hurts the clients, the folks who are on a fragile edge already. This is the first and foremost concept that must be addressed across the industry of social workers.

A basic response to this is that organizing within any workplace improves whatever service is being offered by the workers. Larger agencies (yes, even the non-profit) become businesses that lose the small details of their client's lives in paperwork and do not see what causes the occasional miracle or what evades the occasional tragedy. The workers who are with their clients do see these things and it should follow that they should have more control of their work.

When funding gets cut, an agency's priority will always be to protect the people who are at the top. The workers, however, know what things their clients need most, what things might be able to be skipped, and often know how to offer the same caliber of services with cut corners.

The trend, unfortunately, is that the agencies will cut off a few "dispensable" front line workers and ask the rest of the lucky workers to pick up the slack. Not only is the actual workload larger but the emotional toll of this type of work piles up exponentially quicker.

Fighting to keep jobs is important but the eventual goal should be to have the workers gaining control of the budget from the start. Rather than consistently fighting management when a crisis arises, workers would have a hand in sculpting the programs as a whole and (hopefully) have some better ideas on how to continue offering services with less resources. Many other industries

face a similar problem of organizing in a way that is more than just seeking confrontations with the bosses. There are times that confrontations are necessary and should be encouraged but it is hard to maintain energy within a single shop, let alone an entire industry, when organizing is solely focused on these conflicts. An emphasis needs to be brought

back to one of the key principles of the IWW which is to control the workplace.

This has become an increasingly common theme in struggle with our brothers and sisters in the rest of the Americas that

are reclaiming their workplaces for the betterment of a larger cause. The IWW should be leading the charge in 650 organizing because this union is about more than being an advocate for "bread and butter." Workers need an advocate for the work they do as advocates for others.

As our economy comes closer to collapse and the system becomes more apparently audacious at every level, those who work with the "bottom" of society will soon be busier as the bottom class swells. Historically, the social services sectors get cut hard during economic hardship but the workers (and the union) must be able to protect their right to work and demand adequate resources to do so.

Industrial organizing means more than individual shops in this case and part of the strategy must incorporate confronting the apparatus of the state since much of the current funding is linked to government. Preparation must begin now for the inevitable "unavoidable budget cuts." Workers outside the industry can also pressure government officials and help advocate for the issue in the public.

There is a clear difference between the IWW's willingness to ally with the struggling of the world as opposed to the business unions who are more concerned with perpetuating their own status.

When the people are sick and living in the streets, will we be with them or will we be sitting in an office weeping over the dues that were lost when our rank-and-file were laid off?

OFFERINGS FROM THE

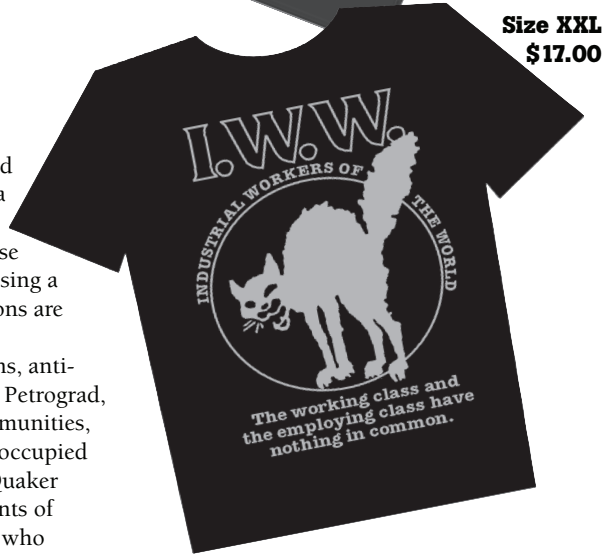
I.W.W.

Literature

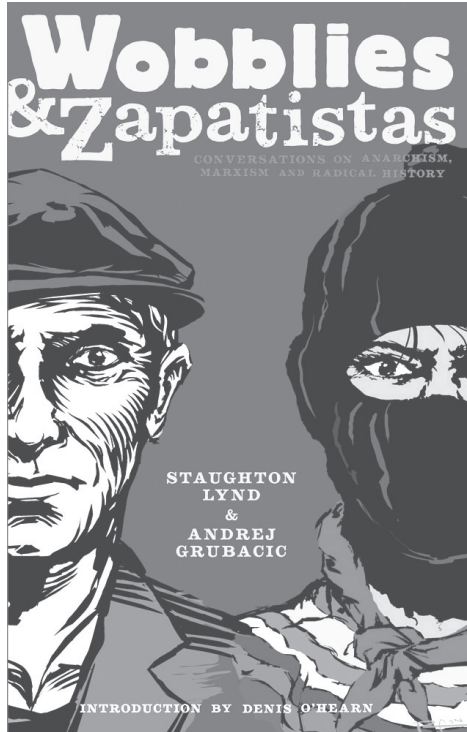
DEPARTMENT



IWW T-shirts
Sabo-cat or globe design, printed in red on black shirt.
Sizes S-XL \$15.00
Size XXL \$17.00



When ordering, please specify size and design



Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism and Radical History

BY STAUGHTON LYND AND ANDREJ GRUBACIC

Wobblies and Zapatistas offers the reader an encounter between two generations and two traditions. Andrej Grubic is an anarchist from the Balkans. Staughton Lynd is a lifelong pacifist, influenced by Marxism. They meet in dialogue in an effort to bring together the anarchist and Marxist traditions, to discuss the writing of history by those who make it, and to remind us of the idea that “my country is the world.” Encompassing a Left libertarian perspective and an emphatically activist standpoint, these conversations are meant to be read in the clubs and affinity groups of the new Movement.

The authors accompany us on a journey through modern revolutions, direct actions, antiglobalist counter summits, Freedom Schools, Zapatista cooperatives, Haymarket and Petrograd, Hanoi and Belgrade, ‘intentional’ communities, wildcat strikes, early Protestant communities, Native American democratic practices, the Workers’ Solidarity Club of Youngstown, occupied factories, self-organized councils and soviets, the lives of forgotten revolutionaries, Quaker meetings, antiwar movements, and prison rebellions. Neglected and forgotten moments of interracial self-activity are brought to light. The book invites the attention of readers who believe that a better world, on the other side of capitalism and state bureaucracy, may indeed be possible.

“There’s no doubt that we’ve lost much of our history. It’s also very clear that those in power in this country like it that way. Here’s a book that shows us why. It demonstrates not only that another world is possible, but that it already exists, has existed, and shows an endless potential to burst through the artificial walls and divisions that currently imprison us. An exquisite contribution to the literature of human freedom, and coming not a moment too soon.” —David Graeber, author of *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* and *Direct Action: An Ethnography*
300 PAGES, \$19.95

Labor Law for the Rank and Filer: Building Solidarity While Staying Clear of the Law

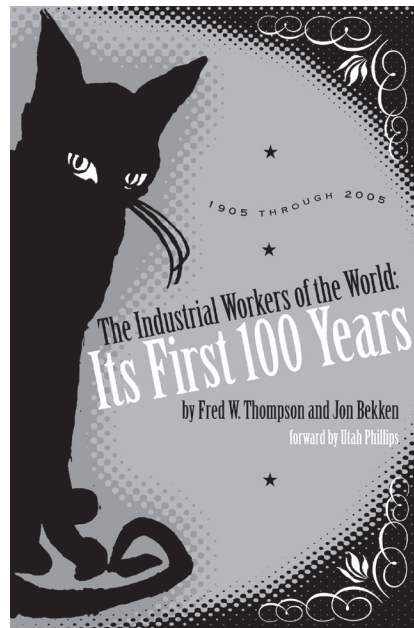
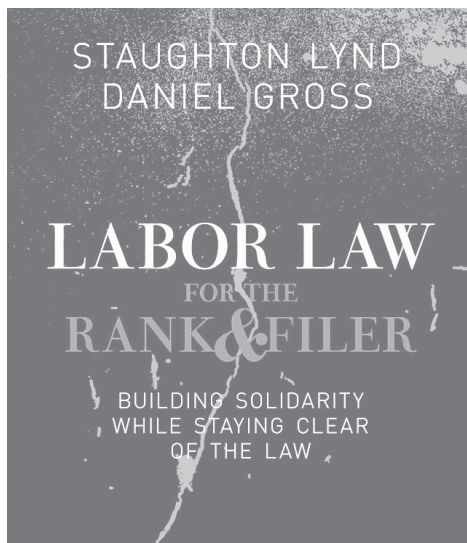
BY STAUGHTON LYND AND DANIEL GROSS

Have you ever felt your blood boil at work but lacked the tools to fight back and win? Or have you acted together with your co-workers, made progress, but wondered what to do next? If you are in a union, do you find that the union operates top-down just like the boss and ignores the will of its members?

Labor Law for the Rank and Filer is a guerrilla legal handbook for workers in a precarious global economy. Blending cutting-edge legal strategies for winning justice at work with a theory of dramatic social change from below, Staughton Lynd and Daniel Gross deliver a practical guide for making work better while re-energizing the labor movement.

Labor Law for the Rank and Filer demonstrates how a powerful model of organizing called “Solidarity Unionism” can help workers avoid the pitfalls of the legal system and utilize direct action to win. This new revised and expanded edition includes new cases governing fundamental labor rights as well as an added section on Practicing Solidarity Unionism. This new section includes chapters discussing the hard-hitting tactic of working to rule; organizing under the principle that no one is illegal, and building grassroots solidarity across borders to challenge neoliberalism, among several other new topics. Illustrative stories of workers’ struggles make the legal principles come alive.

110 PAGES, \$10.00



The Industrial Workers of the World: Its First One Hundred Years

BY FRED W. THOMPSON AND JON BEKKEN
FORWARD BY UTAH PHILLIPS

Many histories have been written of the Industrial Workers of the World, often called the Wobblies. Founded in 1905 in hopes of uniting the working class into One Big Union, the IWW promoted industrial organization at a time when craft unionism was the established pattern. The IWW welcomed all workers, regardless of ethnicity, race or gender when other unions boasted of their exclusionary policies. Its reliance on direct action on the job generated much of the strategy and tactics of the modern labor movement. Often referred to as the singing union, Wobblies wrote hundreds of labor songs and published millions of copies of their Little Red Songbook. The IWW’s theme song, “Solidarity Forever,” became the anthem of the entire American labor movement.

The first book on the history of the IWW was published in 1919, just 14 years after the union’s founding. Since then, countless articles, novels and histories (an annotated bibliography issued in 1986 lists more than 5,000) have been published on the union – showing that the IWW’s influence has extended well beyond its membership and captured the imagination of generations of labor activists, novelists, poets and historians.

The IWW: Its First 100 Years is the most comprehensive history of the union ever published. Written by two Wobblies who lived through many of the struggles they chronicle, it documents the famous struggles such as the Lawrence and Paterson strikes, the fight for decent conditions in the Pacific Northwest timber fields, the IWW’s pioneering organizing among harvest hands in the 1910s and 1920s, and the war-time repression that sent thousands of IWW members to jail. But it is the only general history to give substantive attention to the IWW’s successful organizing of African-American and immigrant dock workers on the Philadelphia waterfront, the international union of seamen the IWW built from 1913 through the 1930s, smaller job actions through which the IWW transformed working conditions, Wobbly successes organizing in manufacturing in the 1930s and 1940s, and the union’s recent resurgence. Extensive source notes provide guidance to readers wishing to explore particular campaigns in more depth. There is no better history for the reader looking for an overview of the history of the Industrial Workers of the World, and for an understanding of its ideas and tactics.

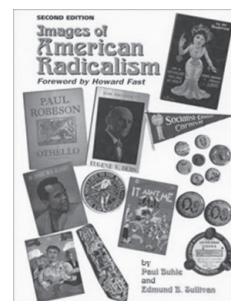
255 PAGES \$19.95

Images of American Radicalism

BY PAUL BUHLE AND EDMUND B. SULLIVAN

Historians Buhle and Sullivan engagingly document here the history of American radicalism. The more than 1500 illustrations provided – 72 in color – are paintings, drawings, cartoons, photographs, lithographs, posters, and other graphics depicting religious visionaries, Shakers, abolitionists, suffragists, anarchists, socialists, Wobblies, feminists, Civil Rights workers, gay and lesbian activists, environmentalists, and more in their quest for a cooperative society overcoming capitalism. Richly illustrating the history of American radicalism, Buhle and Sullivan write about limitations and failures, racism, sexism, and repression as well as the accomplishments and successes of the many radical movements. A dual index lists subjects in the text and illustrations. This handsome book is a superb visual approach to an important but little discussed aspect of American social, political, and cultural history.

42 PAGES, \$20 PAPERBACK, \$25 HARDCOVER



Embroidered Patch 3” IWW patch in black, red, white and golden **\$3.50 each**

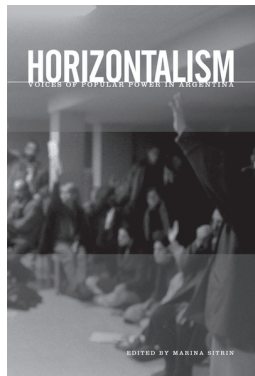


Pyramid of the Capitalist System poster. 17”x22” color reproduction of the classic graphic **\$9.50**



Don't Be A Scab poster. 17”x22” Duotone reproduction of two girls flyering during a NYC transit strike **\$8.50**

Workers of the World



Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina

EDITED BY MARINA SITRIN

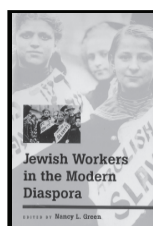
December 2001 marked the beginning of a popular rebellion in Argentina. After IMF policies led to economic meltdown and massive capital flight, millions of Argentinians poured into the streets to protest the freezing of their bank accounts, the devaluing of their currency, and the bankruptcy of their state. This rebellion—of workers and the unemployed, of the middle class and the recently declassed—erupted without leadership or hierarchy. Political parties and elites had no role in the movement that toppled five national governments in just two weeks. People created hundreds of neighborhood assemblies involving tens of thousands of active participants. The dozens of occupied factories that existed at the start of the rebellion grew to hundreds, taken over and run directly by workers. The social movements that exploded in Argentina that December not only transformed the fabric of Argentine society but also highlighted the possibility of a genuinely democratic alternative to global capital. *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* is the story of those movements, as told by the men and women who are building them.

“Marina Sitrin has provided an invaluable service to scholars and activists around the world by compiling the testimonies of the participants in some of the most prominent and original Argentine popular movements. These activists speak of political passion, determination, solidarity, and new forms of horizontal organization. They also speak of frustration, obstacles, and repression. Overall, their voices show in startling detail the stubborn hope of a new generation of sufferers and fighters.”—Javier Auyero, author, *Contentious Lives* 255 pages \$18.95

The Sky Never Changes: Testimonies from the Guatemalan Labor Movement

BY THOMAS REED AND KAREN BRANDOW

Ten moving oral histories reveal the memories and hopes of workers actively involved in the struggle for labor rights in Guatemala in the 1970s and 1980s. The speakers include rank-and-file activists, union organizers, indigenous leaders, and the widows of assassinated unionists. Together, their testimonies give immediacy to the anguish and heroism of the Guatemalan labor movement. “Hope never dies... In the workers’ movement, they say as long a people are subjected to this level of injustice there will be only one option: to challenge the oppression, to change the structure completely so that people can develop themselves and live in a real democracy. ... We have to maintain hope to live, not only to live but to live well. To live just for the sake of living doesn’t make sense.” Rodolfo Robles 192 pages, \$12.00



Jewish Workers in the Modern Diaspora

EDITED BY NANCY GREEN

Documenting the history of the Jewish working class from the 1880s through 1939, this draws upon contemporary newspaper articles, letters, memoirs, and literature to give voice to the workers who left Eastern Europe for the West - and in the process, played a key role in building the modern labor movement as they battled intolerable conditions in their new jobs and communities. This book chronicles those struggles in major cities around the world, and also looks at the cultural and social institutions the Jewish workers built. 256 pages, \$10.00

Democracy at Work in an Indian Industrial Cooperative

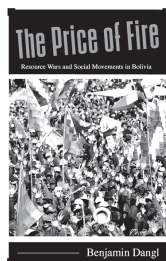
BY THOMAS ISAAC, RICHARD FRANKE AND PYARALAL RAGHAVAN

This is the story of Kerala Dinesh Beedi, a democratic workers’ cooperative that makes cheap hand-rolled cigarettes known as beedis. The beedi workers have long been among India’s most exploited, so the organization in 1969 of this successful cooperative had a transforming effect on the lives of the thousands of workers who work in it, while offering a development model that implicitly challenges mainstream economists’ prescriptions. At the same time, the authors do not shy away from the limitations of the cooperative, from the limited opportunities available to women members to the apathy that threatens its democratic culture. 255 pages, \$15.00

African Population & Capitalism: Historical Perspectives

EDITED BY DENNIS CORDELL AND JOEL GREGORY

Eight chapters (including one in French) examine the devastating effects of slavery, colonialism and capitalism on 20 African societies. 304 pages, \$10.00



The Price of Fire: Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia

BY BENJAMIN DANGL

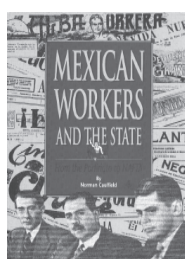
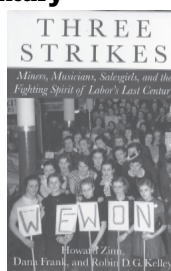
“*Price of Fire* is not yet another bleak ‘tell-all’ account of globalization, its pages are filled with stories of resistance, struggle and, above all, hope.”—Teo Ballvé, editor of the *NACLA Report on the Americas*

New social movements have emerged in Bolivia over the “price of fire”—access to basic elements of survival like water, gas, land, coca, employment, and other resources. Though these movements helped pave the way to the presidency for indigenous coca-grower Evo Morales in 2005, they have made it clear that their fight for self-determination doesn’t end at the ballot box. From the first moments of Spanish colonization to today’s headlines, *The Price of Fire* offers a gripping account of clashes in Bolivia between corporate and people’s power, contextualizing them regionally, culturally, and historically. 256 pages, \$15.95

Three Strikes: Miners, Musicians, Salesgirls and the Fighting Spirit of Labor’s Last Century

BY HOWARD ZINN, DANA FRANK & ROBIN D. G. KELLEY

Zinn recounts the story of the strike that culminated in the Ludlow Massacre; Frank takes us to a sit-down strike in a Detroit Woolworth’s during the Great Depression, and Kelley tells of a movie theater musicians strike in New York City as talkies replaced live music. These strikes raise questions about class and how it is defined, about solidarity and its limits, and about the possibilities for struggle when the odds seem insurmountable. 174 pages, published at \$23.00, Now \$10.00



Mexican Workers and the State: From the Porfiriato to NAFTA

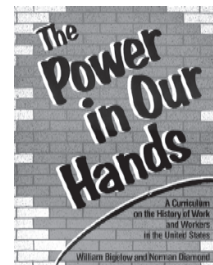
BY NORMAN CAULFIELD

In contemporary Mexico, as during the Porfiriato, the forces of global capitalism are transforming labor, the political system, and other sectors of society. The situation has generated political fragmentation, popular uprisings, violence, militarization and a volatile economy. Within this context, organized labor seeks to redefine itself. Caulfield’s book, which contains extensive work on the IWW’s cross-border organizing, helps readers understand the importance of independent, internationalist, working class movements. 180 pages, \$15.00

The Power in Our Hands

BY WILLIAM BIGELOW AND NORMAN DIAMOND

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



Singlejack Solidarity

BY STAN WEIR

EDITED BY GEORGE LIPSITZ

FOREWORD BY NORM DIAMOND

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

postwar America. He reported firsthand from the front lines of decisive fights over the nature of unions in the auto industry, the resistance to automation on the waterfront, and battles over racial integration in the workplace and within unions themselves. Written throughout Weir’s decades as a blue-collar worker and labor educator, *Singlejack Solidarity* offers a rare look at modern life and social relations as seen from the factory, dockside, and the shop floor. Gathered here for the first time, Weir’s writings are equal parts memoir, labor history, and polemic; taken together, they document a crucial chapter in the life story of working-class America. 384 pages, \$19.95

Chattel Slaves & Wage Slaves

Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves

BY KEVIN BALES

In his 199 book, *Disposable People*, Kevin Bales brought to light the shocking fact of modern slavery and described how, nearly two hundred years after the slave trade was abolished (legal slavery would have to wait another fifty years), global slavery still persists. In *Ending Slavery*, Bales again grapples with the struggle to end this ancient evil and presents the ideas and insights that can finally lead to slavery’s extinction. 261 pages, \$24.95



From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labor Bargaining in the Americas

EDITED BY MARY TURNER



Fourteen case studies explore the ways in which slaves in the Americas and the Caribbean “negotiated” the conditions of their labor (through strategies ranging from sabotage to rebellion), and then continued to

struggle over the conditions of their labor once they had been “emancipated” into wage slavery. Whether slaves or wage workers, the whole of their lives were consumed in the struggle to secure the necessities for life itself, but these richly detailed, engaging histories make it clear that these workers did not meekly accept their fate. 309 pages, \$12.00

Convicts, Coal & the Banner Mine Tragedy

BY ROBERT DAVID WARD AND WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

This book sheds new light on mining practices in Alabama during the 1900s and the evolution of the state’s convict lease system. It is a study of people caught up in an exploiting economic establishment that underwrote and profited from a vicious penal system. 159 pages, \$10.00

The Brother From Another Planet

A FILM BY JOHN SAYLES.

An intergalactic escaped slave struggles to survive in NYC, with the help of Harlem residents. 108 minutes, DVD \$10.00

Workers' Literature



Just Passing Through

BY PACO IGNACIO TAIBO II

In this elegant and literate mystery adventure novel set in 1920’s post-revolutionary Mexico, Paco Ignacio Taibo II is searching for a hero, specifically a leftist hero, and he thinks he has found him in the person of Sebastián San Vicente. But everyone, including the baffled novelist, is trying to figure out exactly who San Vicente really is. There is some record of San Vicente in FBI records during the Wilson era, and some mention of him in anarchist records and rumors, but the rest has to be filled in. And who better to do this than Taibo? Meanwhile, with Taibo busy in the background trying to resolve the mystery of his hero’s identity, San Vicente goes about his heroic avocation of organizing strikes against the capitalists, dodging thugs and hiding out from the Mexican Army. 173 pages, published at \$21.95, now just \$10.00

Harlem Glory

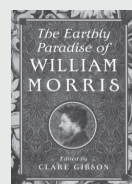
BY CLAUDE MCKAY

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

Calling Home: Working Class Women’s Writings

EDITED BY JANET ZANDY

The contents range from historic pieces by Agnes Smedley and Mother Jones to contemporary activist storytellers such as Marge Piercy and Audre Lorde. Extensive coverage of women on the job, with interesting essays and poems on women doing non-traditional work. 366 pages, \$10.00

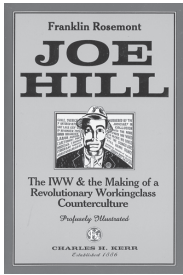


The Earthly Paradise of William Morris

EDITED BY CLARE GIBSON

An attractively produced selection of quotations (and a few poems) from pioneer socialist William Morris on aesthetics, beauty, literature, and the ideal society. “I believe that art has such sympathy with cheerful freedom, open-heartedness and reality so much she sickens under selfishness and luxury ... I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few.” “It is a new Society that we are working to realize, not a cleaning up of our present tyrannical muddle into an improved smoothly working form of that same ‘order.’” 64 pages, hardcover, \$6.00

Books About Wobblies



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

BY FRANKLIN ROSEMONT

"In Franklin Rosemont, Joe Hill has finally found a chronicler worthy of his revolutionary spirit, sense of humor, and poetic imagination. This is no ordinary biography. It is a journey into the Wobbly culture that made Joe Hill and the capitalist culture that killed him. But as Rosemont suggest in this remarkable book, Joe Hill never really dies. He will live in the minds of young rebels as long as his songs are sung, his ideas are circulated, and his political descendants keep fighting for a better day." - Robin D. G. Kelley

639 pages, \$19.00

Big Trouble

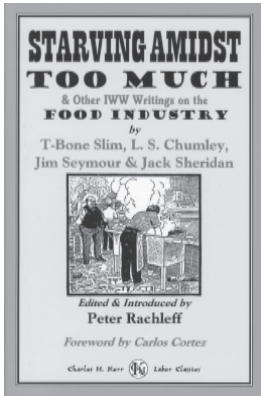
BY J. ANTHONY LUKAS

An Idaho governor who spent his career cozying up to mine bosses is assassinated. Pinkertons and state prosecutors pin the blame on three union officials, including Big Bill Haywood. Lukas examines every facet of the case, from sensationalized press to the prosecution's manufactured evidence. This is a rich, engaging narrative of one of the labor frame-ups of the 20th century. 873 pages, a steal at \$15.00!

The Industrial Workers of the World: 1905-1917

BY PHILIP S. FONER

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

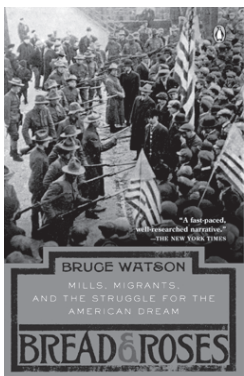


Starving Amidst Too Much and Other IWW Writings on the Food Industry

EDITED BY PETER RACHLEFF

This is a book about the irrepressible conflict between the poorly paid workers who feed the world and the multi-billionaire corporate powers that make the rules and grab the profits. Classic documents on the "food question" by four old-time IWWs. T-Bone Slim

provides a detailed critique of the industry - chockful of penetrating insight and black humor. Organizer L.S. Chumley portrays the horrid conditions of hotel and restaurant workers circa 1918, stressing the need for direct action. Wobbly troubadour Jim Seymour reflects on the possibilities of a radically different diet. Jack Sheridan's fascinating 1959 survey of the role of food in ancient and modern civilization, especially in economic development, is also a crash-course in the materialist conception of history at its Wobbly soapboxer best. 128 pages, \$12.00



Bread and Roses: Mills, Migrants, and the Struggle for the American Dream

BY BRUCE WATSON

On January 12, 1912, an army of textile workers stormed out of the mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts, commencing what has since become known as the

IWW's "Bread and Roses" strike. Based on newspaper accounts, magazine reportage, and oral histories, Watson reconstructs a Dickensian drama involving thousands of parading strikers from fifty-one nations, unforgettable acts of cruelty, and even a protracted murder trial that tested the boundaries of free speech. A rousing look at a seminal and overlooked chapter of the past, *Bread and Roses* is indispensable reading. 352 pages, \$15.00

Wobblies on the Waterfront

BY PETER COLE

This long-awaited book tells the history of the IWW on the Philadelphia waterfront. Wobblies built the first integrated longshore union in the U.S., winning better wages and shorter hours than any other American port until the employers, federal government and ILA came together to crush the union in the early 1920s. With IWW job control that lasted nearly a decade, Philadelphia proved both the practicality of the IWW's approach, and the union's commitment to racial equality. Cole's book is a sympathetic look at a vital chapter in IWW history. 227 pages, \$40.00

The Great Bisbee Deportation

BY ROB E. HANSON

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



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

BY NIGEL ANTHONY SELLARS

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

American Federation of Labor. Focusing on the emergence of migratory labor and the nature of the work itself in industrializing the region, Sellars provides a social history of labor in the Oklahoma wheat belt and the mid-continent oil fields. Using court cases and legislation, he examines the role of state and federal government in suppressing the union during World War I. 320 pages, \$15.00



Break Their Haughty Power: Joe Murphy In The Heyday Of The Wobblies

BY EUGENE NELSON

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

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

Free Speech in its Forgotten Years

BY DAVID M. RABBAN

David Rabban richly details the forgotten legal history of free speech. The pre-World War I era saw extensive battles on behalf of free speech, fought by a variety of individuals and organizations, for a range of causes he collectively labels "libertarian radicalism." Central to this period is the Free Speech League (FSL), precursor of the ACLU, which Rabban claims was "involved in virtually every major free speech controversy during the first two decades of the twentieth century." In the IWW's "free speech fights" from 1906 to 1917, the FSL played a major role in establishing free speech as a real and extraordinarily complex legal issue. A chapter is devoted to the subject. Rabban also explains why pre-WWI free speech history has been relegated to the dustbin: the civil libertarians of the post-War period wrote radicals out of the history books. 404 pages, published at \$34.95, now \$10.00



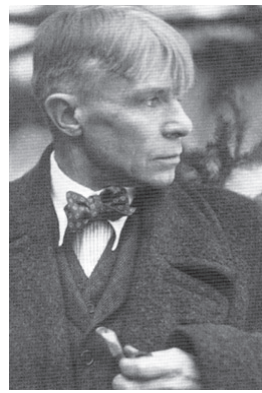
Little Red Songbook: Centenary edition

A limited-edition songbook with 42 classic and new labor songs. Includes chords for guitar. \$6.00

IWW Window Cling 3.5" black & red static cling decal, suitable for car windows \$2.00



Biographies



The Other Carl Sandburg

BY PHILIP YANNELLA

Best known for his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Abraham Lincoln, his Rootabaga stories for children, and his long career as "poet of the people," Carl Sandburg got his start writing for socialist and progressive newspapers in Chicago and Milwaukee, including for the leading socialist magazine (and one

that supported the IWW) of the day, the International Socialist Review. This biography focuses on Sandburg's early socialism and progressive journalism, and the ways in which his politics influenced his later work.

Yanella's biography documents the federal government's surveillance of Carl Sandburg, as well as examining his radical journalism and the commitment to social equality and justice that informed his entire career as a poet, historian, and writer.

Hardcover 186 pages, published at \$27.00, now \$8.00

Memoirs of a Wobbly

BY HENRY E. MCGUCKIN

The classic narrative of a lesser-known Wobbly hero who hopped freights all over the continent, saw action in the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913, and manned the jails during many a free speech fight. An IWW masterpiece that will fit in your pocket. 94 pages, \$8.00

Rebel Girl: An Autobiography, My First Life

BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

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

Fellow Worker: The Life of Fred Thompson

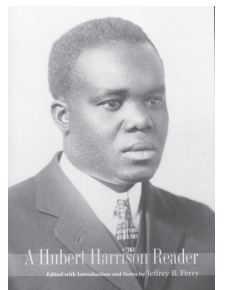
COMPILED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY DAVID ROEDIGER

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

A Hubert Harrison Reader

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION & NOTES BY JEFFREY B. PERRY

Hubert Harrison (1883-1927) was a brilliant writer, orator, educator, critic, and radical political activist and one of the most important, yet neglected figures of early 20th-century America. Harrison was drawn toward the policies and practices of the militant and egalitarian IWW, whom he considered to be practitioners of true unionism. He argued for direct action and praised the work of the integrated IWW-affiliated Brotherhood of Timber Workers in Louisiana. Besides being an excellent collection of nearly forgotten writings by Harrison, the overall work poses interesting questions on the concepts of multi-cultural unionism, political action, and "Race First" organizations. 473 pages, \$25.00



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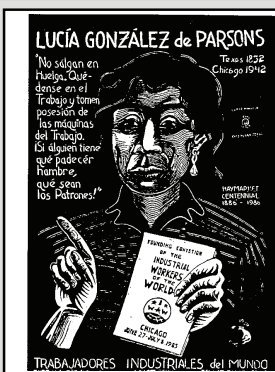
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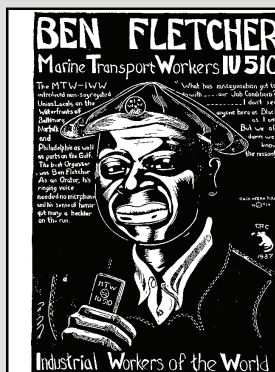
PORTRAITS OF GREAT WOBBLIES



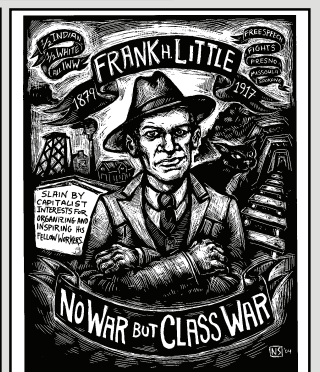
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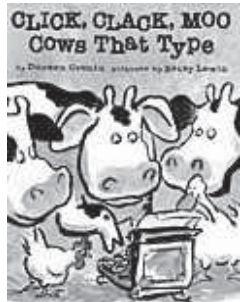
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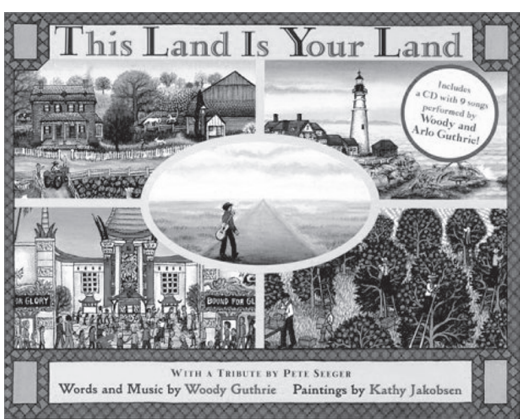
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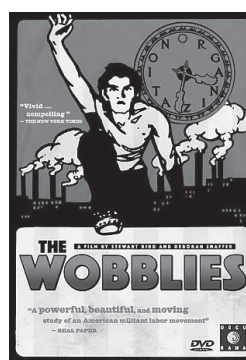
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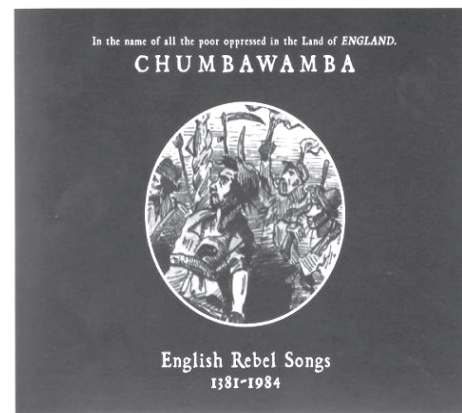
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The Wobblies DVD

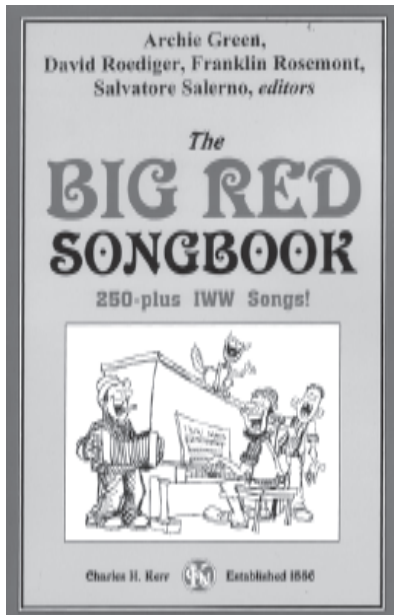
This documentary from 1979 takes a look at the IWW's organizing from its early days, with a combination of interviews from the people who were there, and archival footage.

90 minutes, \$26.95



Chumbawamba: English Rebel Songs 1381-1984 CD

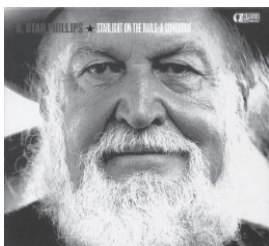
English Rebel Songs 1381-1984 is Chumbawamba's homage to the men and women who never had obituaries in the broadsheets; those who never received titles or appeared in an entry in "Who's Who." This is an album that conjures up the tragedies and triumphs of the people who shaped England: its citizens. The songs were discovered in songbooks, in folk clubs and on cassette tapes, chopped and changed and bludgeoned into shape with utmost respect for the original tunes. Originally released in 1988, this new CD version is fierce, sweet and powerful, and contains ballads not included on the original album. It's guaranteed to sway the listener, break hearts and encourage hope...just as those who inspired the songs by changing history. **13 tracks, \$14.95**



The Big Red Songbook

EDITED BY ARCHIE GREEN, DAVID ROEDIGER, FRANKLIN ROSEMONT & SALVATORE SALERNO

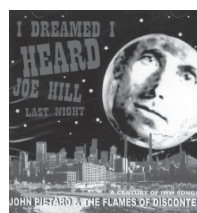
This is indeed an incredible endeavor. The most comprehensive collection of rebel workers' songs and poems ever compiled in English, The Big Red Songbook includes all the songs that appeared in the IWW's celebrated Little Red Songbook from 1909 through 1973, plus dozens more. Here are the songs of Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim, Dick Brazier, Ralph Chaplin, Covington Hall and other Wobbly legends; lesser knowns, but ought to be legends such as Eugene Barnett, Paul Walker, and Henry Pfaff; for the first time anywhere, a good selection of songs by women Wobblies: Angles Thecla Fair, Laura Payne Emerson, Sophie Fagin, Jane Street, Laura Tanne and others; Australians Bill Casey and Harry Hooton, Englishman Leon Rosselson, Germans Ernest Riebe and John Olday, and Scotsman Douglas Robson. A special section focuses on variants and parodies of IWW songs: a Depression-era version of "Hallelujah I'm a Bum," Jack Langan's 1960s version of "Solidarity Forever," an Earth First! adaptation of Joe Hill's "There is Power" by Walkin' Jim Stoltz, and Hazel Dickens' bold update of "The Rebel Girl." And there's the wealth of essays, analysis, references, bibliographies, and discographies, provided by Archie Green, his coeditors, and other collaborators, giving not only historical context, but also a wide range of perspectives on the Wobbly counterculture and its enduring legacies. **546 PAGES, \$24.00**



Utah Phillips: Starlight on the Rails Boxed CD Set

This four CD set contains 63 stories and 61 songs, spanning over 40 years of Utah's performing career. He says, "The way I see it is this: if you take most of what you sing from people, sooner or later

these songs will help you disappear into the people. If you have listened to their voices close enough, the people will embrace your songs and make them their own. But they will not embrace you, because they will no longer know who you are. You will know the people and will be able to vanish into them. Nothing you have given to the people will be owned by anybody but owned by everybody. If you want that, you will turn away from possession. You will turn away from riches and power and fame. For these songs to do their work they must give up your name and be free in every way." Four CDs & booklet, \$38.95



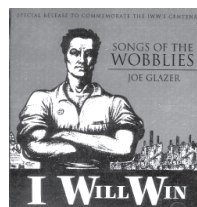
Joe Pietaro: I Dreamed I Heard Joe Hill Last Night

With one Pietaro-penned exception, the newest song was written in 1917, but there's no dusty antiquity in either lyrical substance (workers' battles with big business) or musical style (powerful '50s-based rock and roll with a touch of folk, country, and punk). Also includes three dramatic readings from IWW archives depicting workers' and activists' struggles. \$15.00



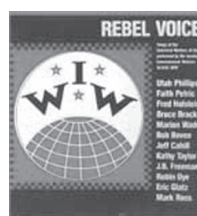
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A project born from a collection of musicians gathered in New Orleans, this release is a soulful and original celebration of IWW song. \$12.00



Joe Glazer: Songs of the Wobblies

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A compilation of 14 songs by and about Joe Hill performed by Billy Bragg, Hazel Dickens, Joe Glazer, Si Kahn, Utah Phillips, Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger and more, as well as an excerpt from a speech by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. \$17.00

A Century of Writing on the IWW 1905 - 2005: An Annotated Bibliography of Books on the Industrial Workers of the World

COMPILED BY STEVE KELLERMAN

This annotated bibliography published by the Boston General Membership Branch of the IWW lists all known books on the IWW, organized by category in chronological order. Brief critical notes describe the books, quickly and helpfully identifying their strengths and weaknesses. Other categories are Biographical Works, Miscellaneous Works including substantial discussion of the IWW, Writings by Wobblies, and a listing of novels featuring the union. An excellent resource for anyone doing research on the IWW. **38 PAGES, \$5.00**

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Financial crisis a product of capitalism

Continued from 1

The massive speculation and build-up of credit, coupled with government policy, has led to exactly this situation. From 1980 to 2007, the US Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 111 per cent, but the money supply as measured by M2 (one of the forms of measurement) increased by 362 per cent, according to federal statistics.

For any other economy in the world, this would have meant that its currency would lose its value; inflation would result. However, given the global role of the dollar, the US was able to get away with this practice.

Debt

This massive build-up of debt and of the money supply kept the US economy expanding over the last few decades. However, this expansion has now reached its limit.

Part of the build-up of debt was the increase in the value of housing, which kept consumers (workers) spending. The easy credit allowed workers to buy homes that they otherwise couldn't afford. The rapid rise of the value of homes meant an increase in wealth (on paper) for those who already owned a home. Many of these workers tapped into this increased wealth by taking out loans on their increased equity. They then spent this money on consumer items, vacations, etc. This, too, helped keep the economy afloat.

Other Factors

Some other factors helped create this economic expansion. It is one of the ironies of capitalism that lower wages often help create an expansion as they raise profits, without which the capitalist has little incentive to invest. The expanding debt helped counter the reduced market that low wages creates, while the high profits helped encourage investment. Now, with credit contracting, the low wages are cutting into the market without any counteracting effect.

On the investment side, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the return to capitalism in that part of the world as

well as in China provided huge new markets for world capitalism as well as new arenas for capitalist investment. The unchallenged domination of US capitalism provided stability. The current rise of China and Russia as capitalist powers in their own right is also destabilizing world relations by removing the certainty of US dominance.

Finally, the world environmental and resource crisis is starting to be felt. Peaking oil production, for instance, is causing a rise in oil prices. This, alone,

they tried. So the only effect of these bailouts is to salvage some of the profits for the capitalists, not to maintain the credit system.

What will be the effects of this bailout? It will rescue many of the Wall Street speculators, of which the US Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson is their prime representative. He is the former CEO of Goldman Sachs and he led that company in the speculative frenzy of recent decades, while amassing a \$500 million fortune for himself.

The \$700 billion bailout has proven to be a failure before the ink was even dry.

has had an effect on what workers can afford here in the US, which has helped bring on the housing crisis. They must spend more on fuel, meaning they have less available to spend on their house monthly payments.

\$700 Billion Bailout

The United States' capitalist representatives proposed to bail out their own with this \$700 billion bailout bill. The US House of Representatives initially rejected this proposal under pressure from voters, but the Senate has passed it. The lack of an organized opposition in the streets made possible the passing of a revised version of this deal.

The bailout simply shifts a small portion of the massive, nonredeemable debt from the private to the public domain, from the capitalist speculators to the taxpayers. It is a continuation and intensification of the same process that has led to this crisis. It is simply the first installment of the plan to spend trillions to bail out these speculators.

How much is needed? The next reported problem on the horizon is the derivatives market. Estimates of the size of this market range from \$48 trillion to close to \$500 trillion. The US government could not bail this market out if

But the overall effect of this bailout will be to massively and further inflate the money supply through the sale of US Treasury Notes. These notes—a form of bonds or certificates of credit—are considered a lot safer than any other form of bond or loan, including bonds issued by private companies such as General Motors, which all need this credit for their regular operations. The Treasury Notes will compete with these private bonds, meaning that private companies will have to pay a higher interest rate to get the credit they need to keep operating.

Homeowners who have adjustable rate mortgages will see their interest rates increase. Many of those already teetering on the brink will be pushed over the edge and will go into foreclosure. Should the union pension funds go under, as is possible, who would bail them out?

However, the economic damage appears to have been done and is spreading globally. The \$700 billion bailout has proven to be a failure before the ink was even dry—at least if its purpose was to prevent a worsening crisis. Every day there are new crises being reported, including the collapse of the European Community economies, the Malaysian economy, etc. Along with this international ripple effect, there is a fundamental shift in the entire world situation marking the decline of the US as the central, unchallenged world power, economically and politically.

Decline of the US dollar

The massive increase in dollars will add further downward pressure on the currency. Already foreign investors (including foreign central banks) are starting to move away from the US dollar.

Wild Edibles uses fronts to avoid boycott

By Brandworkers.org

On the heels of filing a Chapter 11 bankruptcy petition, Wild Edibles is deploying at least eight trucks under various company names and is billing restaurants using invoices from front companies.

Wild Edibles and these front companies are one and the same and are therefore all subject to the current labor dispute. Wild Edibles is using front companies in an attempt to undermine a boycott of its wares due to its violations of basic labor law. The fish from the front companies is processed, packed, and delivered by Wild Edibles workers in the Wild Edibles warehouse. This is the same warehouse which received a warning from the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for selling adulterated tuna that had been, "prepared, packed, or held under insanitary conditions whereby they may have been rendered injurious to health."

According to Kevin Phillips, Republican strategist and analyst, from 1999 to the end of 2006, the per cent of foreign exchange reserves that were held in dollars dropped from 71 per cent to 66 per cent. This bailout bill will tend to strengthen this trend.

The capitalist class is terrified of a general dumping of the dollar globally. They are terrified because they hold so many dollars and they wouldn't be able to dump them all before the dollar's value collapsed, leaving them holding the bag. Even more, they are terrified because a collapse of the dollar would mean a global economic crisis of unheard-of proportions. For these reasons, they have been able to forestall this. They may not be able to forever.

Some Political Conclusions

There is one other effect of this bailout. So far, the plan is to have private corporations administer these billions. This is a new step in the privatization of government functions and a significant increase in the unfettered corporate control over society.

Naomi Klein in her book *The Shock Doctrine* pointed out how all sorts of shocks—hurricanes and tsunamis, military coups and economic collapses—have been used to further corporate control. This bailout will take US society further down this path.

There are some conclusions that socialists and other anti-capitalists should draw from this crisis. For seven decades, opponents of capitalism were constrained by the existence of the Soviet Union. It was made to seem that this rotten, corrupt and inefficient system was the only alternative. When the Soviet Union and other similar states collapsed, then the propaganda of the "free" market was launched. Its miraculous wonders were trumpeted far and wide. Now, this propaganda is exposed for what it always was: A flat-out lie and a swindle.

This means that we have an opportunity that has not existed for many decades. Capitalism stands exposed as did the emperor with no clothes. Just as in that fable, now all that is required is for somebody to point out its nakedness.

The IWW should link up with other elements in the workers' movement, in the community groups and in those groups which oppose capitalism and organize street protests and street meetings to explain this crisis and to build an opposition to the capitalist "solutions" to it. These "solutions" are, in reality, only further attacks on the world's working class.

N. Carolina truck drivers build support

Continued from 5

nity. Local rank-and-file drivers had long agreed on the need to build a firm base of community support. Their employers, large international and domestic corporations, are not in touch with the needs

of the community. Issues of pay, working conditions, and even the environment have been ignored by companies like Weyerhaeuser and BTT for too long. For all these reasons union supporters had decided it was time to introduce Wobly organizers to their families, fellow church members, and neighbors.

North Carolina is one of 22 states with right-to-work laws that undermine unions and working class solidarity.

While any workplace organizing campaign worth its salt is also a community organizing campaign, community support is especially crucial in this southern state. Community support for a southern truckers' union is all the more pressing given the fact that many towns along the North Carolina coast are dependent upon the logging industry for their economic livelihood. If a worker loses his or her job, it affects the whole community. Likewise, if drivers win a raise, it is a boon to the entire local economy. For towns like Jamesville, with their tight-knit communities, a truckers' union begins at a great advantage: workers and community members already know one another.

All it takes for drivers to achieve the justice, fairness, dignity, and respect they deserve is for them to continue reaching out to their neighbors and friends and build momentum. Truckers, organizers, and community members alike left the meeting satisfied that progress had been made.

In November, We Remember

Bruce "Utah" Phillips

Ed Stover

Eugene Nelson

Dick Ellington

Phil Melman

Judi Bari

Tom Savage

Frank Murray

Fortunado Reyes

The San Francisco
Bay Area General
Membership Branch

MetroLink rail crash makes safety reform a must

By Rail Workers United, www.railroadworkersunited.org

The September 12 crash of a MetroLink commuter train and a Union Pacific Freight train near Chatsworth, California, that killed 25, including the MetroLink train engineer, and injured 135, should lead to rail carriers making much needed safety improvements.

Yet, a “blame the worker” mentality may yet prevent an honest review of the system. The emerging, premature consensus in the week following the accident was that the engineer of the MetroLink train was texting and receiving cell phone messages rather than watching the wayside signals that would have informed him of the need to safely stop his train. Wasting no time, the California Public Utilities Commission voted to ban the use of a cell phone device while operating a locomotive. We can expect such a law to become national in scope within the coming months.

But this action misses the point and the opportunity to create a safer railroad, by focusing exclusively on the specifics of the human behavior in one incident that led to this tragedy.

Al Chapanis, a former professor of Human Factors at the Engineering Department of Johns Hopkins University makes the case well: “Everyone, and that includes you and me, is at some time careless, complacent, overconfident, and stubborn. At times each of us becomes distracted, inattentive, bored, and fatigued. We occasionally take chances, we misunderstand, we misinterpret, and we misread. These are completely human characteristics. Because we are human and because all these traits are fundamental and built into each of us, the equipment, machines and systems that we construct for our use have to be made to accommodate us the way we are, and not vice versa.”

Invariably, workers on occasion make mistakes: fall asleep, become distracted, fail to follow appropriate safety and operating rules, become confused, and/or lose their “situational awareness.”

Rather than focus strictly upon worker behaviors in the wake of industrial accidents, injuries and death, we need to focus on the underlying structural causes, the hazards that can be eliminated that can assure that such devastating accidents are not repeated. It should go without saying, that more than simply a cell phone ban is required.

Two sets of eyes and ears needed

Not long ago, all trains routinely ran with two employees in the cab of the locomotive. With two sets of eyes and ears in the cab, what one crew member missed, the other could catch. When one became fatigued or drowsy, the other could step up. When one became distracted or confused, there was another crew member to assist the other to become refocused on the task. One can only speculate that had there been that second crew member in the cab the morning of the MetroLink crash, the two could have easily communicated the yellow “approach” signal that preceded the red “stop signal” and the train would have been safely brought to a stop. But the rail carriers and government regulators decided a few decades ago that the second crew member was no longer necessary in short distance commuter train service.

In 1999, Amtrak began eliminating the second crew member from the cab on all runs which were less than six hours running time between terminals. Amazingly, the major freight carriers have been chomping at the bit in recent years for single employee operations of freight trains of 10,000 feet in length and upwards of 15,000 tons traveling at speeds of up to 70 mph with a crew

member who routinely works 12 hours a shift.

This idea has been all part of the whole downsizing of the railroad workforce and the “streamlining” of the industry to eliminate jobs and cut costs. In light of the MetroLink tragedy, we need to revisit the whole concept of two employees in the locomotive cab.

Crew fatigue and work schedules

Another factor, one that the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) is looking into is the question of crew fatigue, schedules and hours of work for train crews. The railroad has always ex-

Rail carriers don't seem to understand nor care to address the problem of crew fatigue.

pected its employees to work long hours, days or even weeks at a stretch. In recent years, crew fatigue has been shown to play a significant role in a number of fatal head-on collisions of freight trains.

The rail industry, however, continues to work train crews ragged, often 12 hours of work plus further on-duty time waiting to be relieved, to then get just 8 hours off-duty before again being called for another 12 hour shift. The MetroLink engineer was working his usual 11 1/2 hour “split schedule” on the day of the crash.

“Split schedules are something of great concern to us,” said Kitty Higgins, a member of the National Transportation Safety Board, which is investigating the crash.

Most freight carriers have harsh attendance policies, restrict their employees from taking time off and in many cases make little or no provision for off-days. Unfortunately, the rail carriers’ have done almost nothing to make train schedules more predictable nor to make provision for regular off-days. In general, they don’t seem to understand nor care to address the problem of crew fatigue. In light of the MetroLink disaster, we have the opportunity once again to mandate the structural changes necessary to ensure that train and engine crews receive adequate and proper rest.

Safety technology not installed

Now, let’s look back at a scenario in February 1996 where a similar train crash occurred near Silver Spring, Maryland on the East Coast of the United States.

After stopping at a station, the engineer of an eastbound MARC commuter train #286 apparently had accelerated to 63 mph. He should have restricted his speed to conform with the prior signal (yellow “approach”), which would have authorized a slower speed (30 mph). He needed to go slower in order to be prepared to stop at the next signal at Georgetown Junction where Amtrak’s “Capitol Limited” was crossing from one track to another in front of the MARC train.

Following the wreck, the NTSB made 36 recommendations including that various technological and safety features be added to that rail line (such as Positive Train Control). Certain measures were taken on some railroads, such as posting signs to advise engineers departing passenger stations to run at a reduced speed until encountering the next signal. But, essentially things remained the same.

Here we missed a valuable opportunity to make simple reconfigurations to the physical plant to make such a crash far less likely. “Approach” signals should never be placed in advance of a passenger station stop. It is a simple process to configure the signal system to avoid a scenario where a train departs a station

without aid of a signal indication. But the rail carriers are not willing to spend the money to reposition or add certain signals and the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) and the government are not willing to mandate they do this. Had the railroads and the FRA learned their lesson in 1996, last week’s MetroLink crash may never have happened.

Next, let’s look at technology that could have possibly prevented such a crash. Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa asked why there wasn’t a safety device that would have prevented this tragedy. “There needs to be some kind of failsafe secondary measure to protect

against human error, because two trains on the same track are just unacceptable,” he said.

In fact, such systems have been around for nearly a century. For example, before the Great Depression, the Pennsylvania Railroad installed “cab signal” systems on some of its main routes, including the line from New York City to Washington, DC, now owned by Amtrak. These systems provided additional protection against train wrecks by applying the train brakes if and when the engineer failed to conform to the wayside signal designed to govern the movement of his/her train. It is tried and true technology that is in use in some places around the country and is used effectively on many passenger rail systems throughout the world.

Sadly, once again, the rail carriers have not seen fit to make the necessary expenditures for such protections when they can simply blame human error every time a fatal accident occurs.

Positive Train Control (PTC) is the latest technology that is satellite-based and has the potential to keep trains from

running into each other. Like automatic train control, PTC has the potential to prevent devastating wrecks and save countless lives. Once again, the industry is, at best, dragging its feet; at worst, it is outright opposed to its implementation.

“I’m not surprised that once again there has been a terrible, preventable train collision,” Barry M. Sweedler, a former senior director of the US National Transportation Safety Board, who retired after 31 years, told *The Los Angeles Times*. “It’s extremely frustrating. They (the rail carriers) know what to do to solve these things.”

Despite making record profits for more than a decade now, the rail freight industry is more interested in paying large dividends to stockholders and paying exorbitant salaries to CEOs than in providing safe transportation for its customers, a safe environment for the communities through which it operates and a safe working environment for its employees.

If every time we witness a tragedy of this proportion we simply lay blame on individual workers, we miss the opportunity to correct the underlying problems. The rail carriers would have us believe that “all accidents and injuries are avoidable” and focus upon changing worker behavior as the sole way to achieve an “injury and accident free workplace.” But when we look at the larger picture we see that accidents and injuries are caused by hazards that can and must be removed.

Yes, it is vital that workers do their jobs correctly, follow the operating and safety rules, remain focused and maintain their situational awareness while on the job. But it is long past time for the nation’s rail carriers to stop blaming workers and hiding behind “Behavioral Based Safety Programs.” It’s time the carriers stepped up to the plate, invested in safety, and responsibly did their part in hazard reduction and elimination. And it is time for Congress and the federal regulatory agencies to demand it, too.

CN Rail workers dump UTU for Teamsters

CN Rail workers dumped the United Transportation Union (UTU) with a landslide 95 per cent of union members voting for the raiding Teamsters Canada Rail Conference (TCRC). About 61 per cent of the members voted.

The Canadian Industrial Relations Board (CIRB) released the results on August 29, nearly 18 months after the Teamsters filed for a certification vote on March 1, 2007.

Members were furious with the UTU after its international president sided with CN Rail and declared the February 2007 strike illegal and against the union’s constitution, and sacking the entire Canadian UTU negotiating committee. The CIRB ruled the strike was legal. The strike ended when the federal government passed a back-to-work law. A government-appointed arbitrator then imposed a new deal on the workers and company.

The Teamsters victory adds more than 3,100 members to its ranks and makes it the largest union remaining at CN Rail.

“We are an unavoidable collective bargaining partner for the two major rail carriers in Canada, Canadian National and Canadian Pacific as well as the majority of the short lines in Canada,” said TCRC president Dan Shewchuck in a press release.

An IWW dual carder who voted for the Teamsters described the UTU as “incompetent”, but said he had no illusions about the new union.

“The only difference now is that we will be scabbing in-house,” said Gordie Thomas, saying that the different Team-

sters bargaining units have different contract end dates, so it doesn’t mean an increase in industrial strength. “We’ll be expected to cross the picket lines of the engineers.”

Thomas said he would be watching how the Teamsters tackle CN Rail’s practice of disciplining and firing people for the smallest reasons.

“Since we’ve become privatized and since we’ve been taken over by the Americans, the working conditions have been brutal,” he said.

The bad blood between the UTU and the Teamsters’ newest unit is likely to continue. On September 2, an emergency application was filed on behalf of Canadian UTU locals in response to letters dated August 9 freezing their accounts, unless the transaction has the signature of the UTU international president and secretary treasurer. Another letter dated August 29 demanded locals and the union’s lobbying body hand over all property to the UTU international. Local chair Cindy Little of Belleville, Ontario; Laura Reaume, chair of the Ontario Legislative Board, and TCRC Legal Counsel Jim Shields signed the application.

Thomas said his pay stubs say he is still paying dues to the UTU, so it is possible that the TCRC and the UTU will go to court to recuperate dues paid to the UTU after the labor board’s ruling and to divide the union’s assets, including records. For the rank-and-file, this means that those who have filed grievances and are expecting to go to arbitration hearings are facing either postponement or the possibility of not having legal counsel.



Venezuela is not the Soviet Union Continued from 2

nationalization would be the only way to equitably deliver the services that belong to all workers. Likewise at the local level with education, water, and electricity generation, community ownership and administration would be the most practical and equitable.

In both local and national cases, however, the workers who work in these industries must be unionized and the administrators elected by all workers in free and fair elections. That is the essential element for the above to work, and this essential element is present with Chavez in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, and Correa in Ecuador.

Although I agree with your general statement that “state controlled economies can be tyrannical and dysfunctional”, Venezuela is not the former Soviet Union, and any attempts of such a comparison is a disservice to the truth and the readers of the *Industrial Worker*.

David Johnson
Central Illinois GMB
United States

Capitalists gamble with working class' wealth

Continued from 2

the finance cappos are linked to the industrial cappos via loans and we, fellow workers, we run the industries for wages. The bankers and other lenders blew it and the cappo system is now at risk because credit, speculation and the like are a vital part of the circulatory system of Capital.

So our rulers have come to their finance capitalist buddies' rescue and the system (that ever so mysterious system where the invisible hand passes over our homes and livelihoods like some God) can gain confidence and go on to the next confidence game.

I can hear the calls for sacrifice from the working class coming from bi-partisan corners of the liberal/conservative axis.

Mike Ballard
Australia

Just what does 'Abolition of the wages system' mean?

I think the *Industrial Worker* is turning me into a communist. I'm thinking of your opinion piece on Chavez.

I read the US government document, “US Covert Action in Chile: 1973-1975.” The CIA bought Chilean newspapers, bought out others to print lies about Allende. And it used Chilean unions to overthrow the government. What followed was almost a decade of fascism.

What to do? That's where the *Industrial Worker* falls short for me. Just what does “Abolition of the wages system” mean? Would we just grab stuff in stores without paying for it? Would we just magically get up for work every day without a pay check?

The *Industrial Worker* is informative. I bought two pairs of Levi jeans today and was disheartened to learn that they were made in Bangladesh. Thanks to the *IW*, I know how poor the workers are there.

Please don't take my letter as a slam against the *IWW*—I'm just learning.

Sincerely,

Joe Randell
Bellingham, Washington
United States

We are the RNC8: open letter

We are the RNC 8: individuals targeted because of our political beliefs and for organizing protests at the 2008 Republican National Convention, in what appears to be the first use of Minnesota's version of the US Patriot Act.

The eight of us are currently charged with Conspiracy to Commit Riot in Furtherance of Terrorism, a second degree felony that carries the possibility of several years in prison. We are writing to let you know about our situation, to ask for support, and to offer words of hope.

The RNC Welcoming Committee was a group formed in late 2006 upon hearing that the 2008 Republican National Convention would be descending on Minneapolis-St. Paul where we live, work, and build community. The Welcoming Committee's purpose was to serve as an anarchist/anti-authoritarian organizing body, creating an informational and logistical framework for radical resistance to the RNC. We spent more than a year and a half doing outreach, facilitating meetings throughout the country, and networking with folks of all political persuasions who shared a common interest in voicing dissent in the streets of St. Paul while the GOP's machine chugged away during the convention.

In mid-August the Welcoming Committee opened a “Convergence Center,” a space for protesters to gather, eat, share resources, and build networks of solidarity. On August 29 as folks were finishing dinner and sitting down to a movie the Ramsey County Sheriff's Department stormed in, guns drawn, ordering everyone to the ground. This evening raid resulted in seized property (mostly literature), and after being cuffed, searched, and IDed, the more than 60 individuals inside were released.

The next morning, August 30, the Sheriff's department executed search warrants on three houses, seizing personal and common household items and arresting the first five of us—Monica Bicking, Garrett Fitzgerald, Erik Oseland, Nathanael Secor, and Eryn Trimmer.

Later that day, Luce Guillen-Givins was arrested leaving a public meeting at a park. Rob Czernik and Max Specktor were arrested on September 1, bringing the number to its present eight. All were held on probable cause and released on \$10,000 bail on September 4, the last day of the RNC.

These arrests were preemptive, targeting known organizers in an attempt to derail anti-RNC protests before the convention had even begun.

Conspiracy charges expand upon the traditional notion of crime. Instead of condemning action, the very concept of conspiracy criminalizes thought and camaraderie, the development of relationships, the willingness to hope that our world might change and the realization that we can be agents of that change.

Conspiracy charges serve a very particular purpose: to criminalize dissent. They create a convenient method

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for incapacitating activists, with the potential for diverting limited resources towards protracted legal battles and terrorizing entire communities into silence and inaction.

Though not the first conspiracy case against organizers—not even the first in recent memory—our case may be precedent-setting. Minnesota's terrorism statutes had never been enacted in this way before; if the government wins its case against us, these statutes will only be strengthened to continue the crusade on wider fronts. We view our case as an opportunity to demonstrate community solidarity in the face of repression, to establish a precedent of successful resistance to the government's attempts to destroy our movements.

Right now we are in the very early stages of a legal battle that will require large sums of money and enormous personal resources. We have already been overwhelmed by the outpouring of support locally and throughout the country, and are grateful for everything that people have done for us. We now have a Twin Cities-based support committee and are developing a national support network that we feel confident will help

us through the coming months. For more information on the case and how to support us or to donate, go to RNC8.org.

We have been humbled by such an immense initial show of solidarity and are inspired to turn our attention back to the very issues that motivated us to organize against the RNC in the first place.

What's happening to us is part of a much broader and very serious problem. The fact is that we live in a police state: some people first realized this in the streets of St. Paul during the convention, but many others live with that reality their whole lives. And so, while we ask for support in whatever form you are able to offer it, and while we need that support to stay free, we also ask that you think of our case as an indicator of the oppressive climate in which we live.

The best solidarity is to keep the struggle going, and we hope that supporting us can be a small part of broader movements for social change.

For better times and with love,
The RNC 8: Monica Bicking, Robert Czernik, Garrett Fitzgerald, Luce Guillen-Givins, Nathanael Secor, Max Spectator, Eryn Timmer, and Erik Oseland.

Song

Alexandra: True Lady of Liberty

By John Holland

Alexandra... you marched to help your fellows in the sweatshops of New York.
You heard the migrant call for freedom, raised your voice with sisters, brothers
put your shoulder to real work.
You marched against injustice, the employers force on us.
Joined hands with sister Freedom, fighters,
always first to board the bus,
a small cry for justice.

And now I see you beaten by police,
How can such crime like this ever be?
In America... now a sham democracy.
Where has she gone, once proud democracy?

I see you badly broken by the Providence police.
He swore he would protect you, 'stead he chopped you to your knees,
not a man, for shame! He could have been your father!

Oh, shame! Hang your ugly face in shame.
Lady America, no longer free!
Great shame on us all, Columbia, How can this be?
Gone is democracy, beaten to greed, and hypocrisy.
Alexandra, you thought to help “dear” Liberty,
she was crying out, “Oh mercy, please.”
Your instinct was to help her, she was lying in the gutter, in the cold, and freezing.
You reached and tried to lift her, but she did not have the strength.
So you looked around for others to bring her back up on the bank.
You forgot about the tanks: cold steel treads of justice.

They beat you to the ground, the puppet sweat shop thugs in blue,
and before a soul could help you, they had broken you in two;
a tyrant's servant, hell's shame.
Still, he could have been your father!
But would a father hurt his daughter like this?

Alexandra, I'm sorry for the tears I made you cry.
I don't deserve to wear this badge, “sworn to protect” you, dear daughter, or die.
But the word came down from the gov'ment men, and their truckling corporate whore,
“Make an example, cut out a weak one. It will break their Solidarity for evermore, to the core.”
Cruel, insane, injustice!

I didn't mean to break your bones or spill youth's innocent blood.
I'm sorry that I beat your face with my leaded, loaded club of law into the mud.
Ask your mother to forgive me,
ask your father for the same.
Tell your brother: “Don't be angry”
it's just a country's coward game.
Tell your sister: “Don't lose courage”
when injustice rants and rages,
wields its gutless, greedy gun.
Tell your children that “I'm sorry” for the evil that I've done.

To one, and so to all, and everyone.
What, all, have we done in the name of filthy money?
And can't you, won't you “please” now “please” forgive me?
And in divine forgiveness, your battle's truly won,
True Lady of Liberty.

Alexandra, let me see you smile again, True Lady of Liberty, now the battle's won,
Alexandra, you beat the drum for freedom, you woke up freedom again.

Union leadership: the ability to move people

By Phinneas Gage, *Wobbly Dispatch*

Miguel was charismatic—middle-aged yet still handsome, a principled family man, an open communist and refugee from Chile. He was part of the left-of-the-left: those who desperately argued that the working class had to defend themselves even as Allende, their socialist president was murdered. As an entire generation was exterminated or disappeared, buried beneath soccer stadiums and dropped into volcanoes, Miguel managed to make it to Canada, and like an entire generation of Chileans, he vowed not to give up the fight. He was a survivor, a militant and a leader.

So a leader is what my union decided to make him. When Miguel was on the shop floor he held more power than any of the bosses. I remember being a nervous, inexperienced shop steward dealing with a possible firing; the stakes were high—the sister in question had gotten into an accident, her third in the last month. Three accidents for a driver in one year is enough to get someone fired. On top of all this, she was still a temp and nowhere near the end of her probation and, as one supervisor recently found out, she was pregnant. I asked Miguel to help me represent the sister as the stakes were too high for me to responsibly handle on my own.

To say we came out on top in that interview would be an understatement. Miguel simply walked into the room beaming and sat down, leaning far back in his chair. The two young supervisors were obviously caught off guard; they were visibly nervous. There is a stereotype of what the labour militant should look like: yelling at the boss, defiant, a person who lives and breathes direct action. No doubt there were times when Miguel fit the stereotype exactly; however, the quiet power he held was stronger. In this case he merely told the supervisors that if they fired this sister it would be an injustice that could not be overlooked by the workers. He never once mentioned the union, all he said was the workers would not tolerate this injustice.

That quiet power, the leadership in that man, and his skills as an organizer did not come from him alone. Those supervisors did not fear Miguel, they

feared the respect he had earned from his peers; the bosses feared the workers' ability under Miguel's leadership to make their lives miserable. Miguel believed in his co-workers and his co-workers believed in him.

A union officer does not need to have the backing of the workers on the floor. He—and it is usually he—only needs to have the backing of the workers who bother to turn out to vote. A working class leader can only exist with the tacit support of the workers. The problem lies in the relationship that the officer has to the workers represented and with whom they used to work beside. This is why a union officer is not necessarily a working class leader.

When leadership comes from the floor, there is little distance between a working class leader and her supporters. Quiet chiding and maybe a bit of teasing about status going to their head can serve to bring a leader in line if they are acting out of step with the workers. This discipline, conducted by the workers on their leadership informally is part of a normal work environment.

When one is a union leader, one "visits the workforce." You are no longer at home on the job; you become a guest in the workers' space. This creates a distance, a relationship that makes an officer likely to view their role as a professional one: as an expert who comes in from the outside. Even the most progressive unions say in one instance "you are the union" to the membership yet say in another that we must "service our members." These two conceptions of workplace activism are fundamentally at odds with each other. The idea that "the membership is the union" acts as a smokescreen for the union turning itself into a third party—above and beyond the workers' own self activity on the job. Much like employers trying to call work groups teams or subordinates "partners," unions mask their bureaucracy by conflating the ability to mobilize and inspire with the position in the union hierarchy.

Two years earlier Miguel was president of the local; he served two terms before returning to work in the plant. During a wildcat action in his former

workplace, Miguel was stuck in a tough position. Stoppages get people fired. Miguel had already been fired once for leading a job action several years earlier. This time, he advised the workers to return to work. He was afraid someone might lose their job as had almost happened to him.

No doubt some people keep their militancy up while in office. There are courageous labour leaders and I've met my fair share; Miguel was definitely one of them. It isn't enough that a leader is brave and principled though. The important question is: why was Miguel willing to incite job actions to the point of getting fired when it was his risk to take, but advised others not to take the same risk? The reason is that his relationship to the struggle, and to the workers he was leading, had changed.

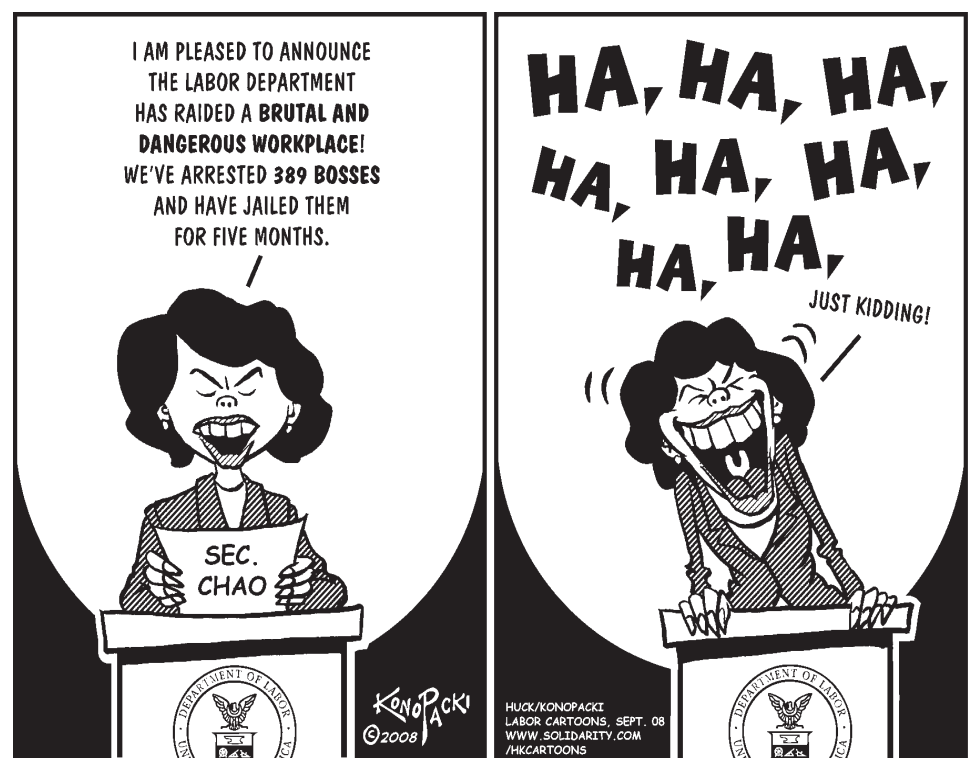
This relationship is destroyed by institutionally removing the leadership from the workplace and placing them in an office: the pronoun changes from "we" to "you." The means of disciplining the leadership then becomes voting them out, in effect saying that when you screw up, your punishment is to become just

another worker. The focus of activity is no longer at work but rather at the union office. A good militant who would be perfectly willing to stick their own neck out on an action with their co-workers is afraid to have others take that risk. This instinct is a noble one; they want to protect their people.

The desire to not incite others to take big risks, even if one would take those risks themselves as a rank-and-file member, is a good quality in a person. The problem is not with the caliber of working class leadership; the problem is with the leadership's relationship to the rank-and-file.

The key is to build working class leadership that can stay on the job. This means organizing in a manner that does not rob the rank-and-file of on-the-job leadership, and organizing without resorting to full-time paid leaders.

True leadership is not an office or a title but the ability to move people. This way, when workers decide to take risks and take on a fight, we do it in full knowledge of what we are getting into without asking others to take risks we are not taking.



Mentally ill workers an 'indicator species' for fairness on the job

By Anonymous

Ever wonder what it is like to be a mentally ill worker? Let me tell you.

Most of the mentally ill in America live in society, thanks to effective medications. I had an "acute psychotic episode" in 1979.

My work ethic was very strong in those days. I had trained to be a machinist at the local technical school. Right after a three-month stay at a "half-way house" I found a job at what I thought was going to be an apprentice machinist position. I was paid minimum wage, half of which was paid by the government as an incentive to hire me. The employer put me to work dragging small trees through the mud and throwing them through a chipper. After two days, I quit. That employer should have been put in jail for defrauding the government.

What other workers may not understand is how hard it is to find work after you've been receiving disability payments for a thing like schizophrenia. My own brother said to me once, "Have you really tried?" My mom said to me, "Someone in the family said that if you really wanted to work, you could find a job." It was my uncle.

I applied for a janitor job out at the mall. The interviewer gave me a little brochure to read and left the room. In the brochure, I read "Be pleasant to our valued customers—smile!" At the time, I was taking Prozac for depression. The

interviewer came back and asked me, "Are you good with people?" I said, "No."

The toughest thing about getting a job for the mentally ill (at least me) is the lack of work history. I used to be really into photography. I read a lot about it. So I thought I'd apply for a job at a camera store. Not having a work history, I gave them a two-page typed example of what I knew about photography. A month went by: no call for an interview. I went to the store and saw a pretty young girl working behind the counter. I asked her if they ever stocked mirror lenses. She said, "What's a mirror lens?" Geesh!

I was told by a friend that a janitor job was open at the public library. A couple weeks after I applied, I went back to the library to see what was up (as employment counselors say to do) and I asked them what they thought of my application. The guy said he couldn't find it, so he must have thrown it into the garbage.

Mentally ill folks, the ones living in our communities, have what are known as "case managers" that come by once a week or so. I had a case manager that happened to be on the board of directors of a local food co-op. I was absolutely delighted to get a job at such a righteous place. I am certain they would have never considered me otherwise. After working there a while, I wondered

where all my money was. I figured it out. With the decrease in my HUD housing subsidy, and the decrease in my Supplemental Security Income (SSI), I would have come out ahead financially if I had just quit working there.

So I asked the general manager if I could work just two days a week, instead of the four I was working. I made more money working two days a week than four. So much for a "work incentive"! My parents came down with life-threatening illnesses and had to be hospitalized one after the other. I was just weak from worry and couldn't work. I asked the general manager if I could have a week off. He said, "Well now, I've been wondering about your ability to do this job, what with your medication changes and all..." I quit.

I have often thought that the mentally ill are what is known in biology as an "indicator species" such as the frogs that die before other animals because they're more sensitive to pollution.

A lot of people are afraid of the mentally ill. The fact is they're no more dangerous than other people if they're taking medication. The media never say that a diabetic murdered some people or that someone with arthritis killed someone.

What the IWW means to me: The city recently built some low-income housing three blocks from me. With

a Wobbly system, I could have asked them, "Can I bang some nails?" and they would have handed me a hammer. Not, "We have no jobs open at this time," etc. Or if I got a job at the mall or wherever, I'd only have to smile if I felt like smiling.

Note from the editor: I encourage Anonymous and other IW contributors who are mentally ill to identify themselves by their membership number, if they fear stigma within and without our ranks. Thank you for your article, A.

JOE HILL NIGHT

CELEBRATING THE LIFE AND SPIRIT OF THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 9:30 pm
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With LEN WALLACE and FRIENDS

for more info: 519 973-3981
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The IWW: Literature Review 2008

By Jon Bekken

We continue our annual review of recent historical writings on the IWW, with works touching on the IWW's organization of immigrant steelworkers, our opposition to militarism, several pieces examining repression against the union, and some recent work that treats the IWW as a blank canvas upon which the authors can sketch their own imaginings.

Louis Martin's "Tin-Plate Towns, 1890-1910" (*Pennsylvania History* 74, Autumn 2007, pp. 492-528) focuses on the slow death of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Workers. Of particular interest for Wobblies is his discussion of the 1909 strike against U.S. Steel in New Castle, Pennsylvania, in which the IWW (representing unskilled workers) joined with a Socialist-led Amalgamated local (representing craft workers). During the strike, local IWWs launched *Solidarity*, which soon became one of the union's official weekly newspapers. However, the Amalgamated and the AFL refused to spread the strike to other US Steel plants, and it was ultimately crushed by state police.

The IWW's successful steel strike in nearby McKeesport is discussed by Holger Marcks in his co-edited German-language volume *Die Großen Streiks* (Unrast, 2008), which also includes my chapter on the IWW and immigrant workers and Heiner Stuhlfauth's chapter on IWW organizer William Trautman. The book looks at several major strikes from around the world, offering a historical overview of the strikes, the underlying social and industrial conditions, and some leading figures involved in them. Also of relevance is James Koshan's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "We hold the center of the line of battle: The IWW, immigrant labor, and industrial unionism in the Pittsburgh district, 1909-1913" (Kent State University, 2005), which notes that the IWW and its ideas remained vital forces long after the strikes that first brought the union to prominence there.

Rejecting the bosses' slaughterfest

Elizabeth McKillen's "Pacifist Brawn and Silk-Stocking Militarism" (*Peace & Change* 33, July 2008, pp. 388-425) discusses the IWW and Socialist Party responses to the US government's attempt to drum up support for World War I by presenting war as manly and virile. Given the IWW strength in agriculture, mining and timber, and the ways employers were stripping these workers of their skill and independence on the job, the IWW developed an imagery and rhetoric that portrayed solidarity and industrial direct action as masculine virtues, while deriding those who meekly followed orders or put their faith in politicians. "Don't Be a Soldier!" one IWW silent agitator exhorted, "Be a Man!"

The fierce repression that our resistance to capitalist slaughterfests (and to the bosses' more routine violence on the job) evoked is well-known. Michael Cohen reprises this history in "The Ku Klux Government: Vigilantism, Lynching and the Repression of the IWW" (*Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 1, 2006, pp. 31-56). Cohen performs a useful service in stressing the very "respectable" character of the vicious extralegal terrorism directed against our members (and even their young children), resulting in several deaths and merging into the government terror of the sedition and criminal syndicalism prosecutions that railroaded thousands of IWWs to prison.

"The Wobblies fully understood," Cohen concludes, "the role of vigilantism in guiding and shaping state policy. So, too, did the IWW come to recognize, sadly after it was too late, their necessary solidarity with African Americans and

the continuities between their experiences of repression and the horrors of southern lynching." It is more than a little ironic that a professional historian can publish such an article without being aware of the IWW's record of solidarity with (and organizing of) African-Americans from our very inception—a policy acknowledged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (among others) at the time, and since treated at length in several articles and books.

The Wobblies fully understood the role of vigilantism in guiding and shaping state policy.

—Michael Cohen

Clemens Work's *Darkest Before Dawn: Sedition and Free Speech in the American West* (University of New Mexico Press, 2005) has just come to our attention. The bulk of the book is about the repression of the IWW under criminal syndicalism and other laws, focusing on Montana, though it also explores prosecutions of Communist and Socialist Party members in a concluding chapter titled "The Dawn of Free Speech" focusing on the judicial evolution of the idea that workers had free speech rights between 1919 and 1927. Oddly, it ignores the landmark 1925 case (the first in which a conviction was ever overturned on free speech grounds) in which the US Supreme Court ruled that mere membership in the IWW was not sufficient to sustain Fellow Worker Fiske's criminal syndicalism conviction.

The Espionage Act prosecution of IWW supporter Marie Equi is the subject of Adam Hodges' "At War Over the Espionage Act in Portland" (*Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, 2007, pp. 474-486). Equi was prosecuted for a speech on economic conditions she gave in an IWW hall in 1918, and served a year in prison. Hodges appends a defense campaign pamphlet and reports by two government spies on the case. As the wartime repression drew to a close, Portland's embattled radicals formed a Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors, bringing together socialists, Wobblies and trade unionists before it was suppressed by criminal syndicalism arrests. Hodges examines this history in "Thinking Globally, Acting Locally: The Portland Soviet and the Emergence of American Communism" (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 98, Summer 2007, pp. 115-129).

The IWW figures briefly in John Jackson's "Losing the Plot: Lloyd George, F.E. Smith and the trial of Alice Wheeldon" (*History Today*, May 2007, pp. 40-47) on trumped-up charges because of her involvement in a circle of IWW seamen and British and Irish radicals who assisted those fleeing the government's concentration camps for war resisters. Her son, arrested at her funeral soon after she was released from prison, was murdered by Stalin's secret police after moving to Russia following his own release from a British prison.

Kenneth Clarke and B.R. Burg's "The Jerome Deportation" (*Journal of the West* 46, Fall 2007, pp. 72-80) recalls the July 1917 deportation of scores of IWW miners from the town of Jerome, Arizona, after they refused to accept a strike settlement reached by the larger Mine, Mill, Smelter union (the reorganized Western Federation of Miners). Loyalty League vigilantes herded 70 or so Wobblies into cattle cars and sent them to Needles, California. Residents there promptly returned them to Arizona. The authors stress the "good cheer" of the vigilantes, who refrained from murdering any of our fellow work-

ers in this assault, and give no attention to the fate of these Wobblies following the failed deportation.

The IWW is mentioned briefly in David Berman's *Radicalism in the Mountain West, 1890 - 1920* (University Press of Colorado, 2007), which despite its subtitle, "Socialists, Populists, Miners, and Wobblies" is primarily about Populist and Socialist electoral efforts. Oddly, Berman believes in the face of all evidence that the Socialist Party's opposition to World War I destroyed its

more as a metaphor for grassroots resistance movements than in its own right. Also of interest to Wobblies will be the new edition of *Labor Law for the Rank & Filer* (PM, 2008), which Lynd co-authored with IWW organizer Daniel Gross and which discusses some recent IWW campaigns.

Post-modern IWW?

An IWW that many members might have difficulty recognizing is the subject of Stephen Shukaitis' "Dancing Amidst the Flames: Imagination and Self-Organization in a Minor Key" (*Organization* 15, 2008, pp. 743-764), an article deeply entangled in post-modernism. Shukaitis discusses the IWW's development of a resistance culture that uses humor and parody, imagination and song. In this modern age, copy editing is, of course, unnecessary (or, more precisely, contracted out to the lowest bidder), and so amongst the sentence fragments we learn that the first *Little Red Songbook* was issued in 1904, before the IWW was even founded!

The IWW exists less in the material world than in its stories and songs that transcend the "tyranny of the visible." Shukaitis discusses the IWW's Starbuck Workers Union as an exemplar of "tactical frivolity," focused largely on an instance of street theater done in conjunction with Billionaires for Bush in August 2005 (though an IWW contingent in Sydney's May Day parade is also mentioned). "Oh, a sigh for the poor tyrants," he concludes; "how their power crumbles when no one takes it seriously anymore." And so he urges revolutionists to leave old-fashioned organizing behind, and focus more on revelry.

Finally, labor folklorist Archie Green offers an anecdote of a 1965 quarrel with *Industrial Worker* editor Carl Keller in "Perambulating Scrapbooks and Saloon-Sawdust Sifters" (*Western Folklore* 65, 2006, pp. 31-46), a meditation on the role of artifacts (buttons, badges, tools) in preserving our memory of the past. Keller is one of the veteran Wobblies who kept the union alive during very difficult years, long after most had written us off as dead. He deserves to be remembered, even if he is here used as a foil to justify the author's life work, rather than on his own terms.

popular appeal. The Western Federation of Miners, which campaigned for politicians, gets substantial discussion, the IWW, which did not, is mentioned on several pages—most notably in regard to the failed Haywood-Moyer-Boyce frame-up.

Voices of dissent

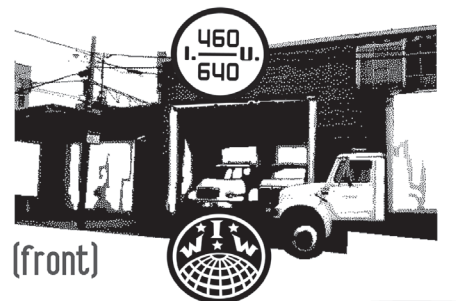
Bud and Ruth Schultz's *We Will Be Heard: Voices in the Struggle for Constitutional Rights Past and Present* (Merrell, 2008) features striking full-page photographs of nearly 100 activists targeted for their dissent, accompanied by short interviews with the subjects on the facing pages. Among them are criminal syndicalism prisoners Phil Mellman and Fred Thompson, Everett Massacre survivor Jack Miller, and Redwood Summer bombing victim Darryl Cherney (whose IWW affiliation goes unmentioned). Also featured in this handsome book are scores of anti-war, civil rights, communist and socialist activists who suffered attacks ranging from assaults and murder attempts to prison to blacklisting.

Staughton Lynd and Andrej Grubic's *Wobblies & Zapatistas* (PM Press, 2008) takes the form of a wide-ranging conversation on movement organizing and tactics, capitalism and nationalism, anarchism and Marxism, and the history of and prospects for resistance. Despite the title, the IWW appears only briefly,

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THE HAYMARKET MARTYRS

Harry Siitonen, Bay Area GMB

Pakistani women need rights respected every day

By Simy Gulzar, General Secretary, Working Women Organization of Pakistan

The woman was carrying an infant in her lap. Accompanying her were two little girls, four and five years old. Her spouse rested behind them across three vacant seats.

The take-off was delayed for more than an hour. During this time the woman cared for the children while their father did not bother to help. The flight took almost two hours to reach Lahore from Karachi. Throughout, the woman fed the infant and the girls, took a morsel or two, while adjusting her headscarf, which would slip down every now and then.

The husband moved only once—to admonish the girls. This made me wonder why the woman was not asking her spouse to help. Is she afraid of him or does she think that her husband has no obligation to help her?

This situation is a reflection of the overall attitude of our society towards women. She is considered as a creature created to serve as a mother, a sister and a wife. Yet, it does not matter how they treat her in response.

The birth of a girl is not welcomed in our society. This discriminating behavior is well reflected in the report about crimes against women in the northeastern province of Punjab during the past five years. At least 9,679 women were killed, among them 1,638 killed by their fathers, brothers or husbands. Around 8,041 of them were slain over property issues, family disputes and dowry issues. The report also revealed that 3,379 victims were burnt alive or fell prey to acid throwing.

There is no mention of the thousands of women that are sacrificed under the societal norms of *karokari* (so-called “honor killing”), *watta satta* (exchanging brides between families), *vani* (child marriages designed to end feuds), and the infamous Hudood Ordinance, which charges raped women with the crime of extramarital sex under Shari’a religious law. Of the total women languishing in various prisons of the province, 60 per cent are facing trial under the Hudood Ordinance, most of them the victims of sexual abuse. Instead of getting justice

for the crimes committed against them, they were put behind bars.

An investigative report of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) claims that one woman in Pakistan is raped every hour, while another is killed on the pretext of *karokari*.

According to a Human Rights Watch report, 95 per cent of women in Pakistan are the victims of domestic violence. Under pressure from male relatives, the decaying concept of family honor, and economic dependence, the victims seldom raise their voice against the cruelty.

If the men and women of the ‘have-nots’, who form an overwhelming majority, get united, they would become a threat to the affluent minority who enjoy all the perks and privileges.

If someone dares to speak out, her voice is suppressed either by the family elders or police and other law enforcement agencies, including the flawed judicial system. So many hurdles are created in her way that she decides to endure the humiliation at home instead of facing the turmoil of an uncertain process to seek justice.

Various tactics are employed to maintain negative societal attitudes against women. They are deprived of their basic right to education and are harassed, both physically and mentally, when they step out of their homes.

Character assassination faces those who work outside their homes. Women are portrayed as their own enemies. In almost all genres of literature and media, especially on television, women are assigned roles of hatching conspiracies, lying and cheating.

Religion is used as a weapon to prove that women are inferior to men. Religious misinterpretations are used as a cover-up against all injustices and abuses.

The most lethal tactic applied against women is robbing them of their self-

confidence and self-esteem. Mothers, sisters and daughters are facing adverse conditions and abuse only because they perceive that they deserve whatever they are going through. They are forced to believe that the major threat for them is only another woman, whether inside or outside the house.

This propaganda hurts the status of women in society. Why is it that the life of a woman is considered so cheap that she is killed before birth, when she is just a fetus? Once she is born, a girl is burdened with family norms, socio-

economic compulsions and religious commandments, or killed in the name of honour. She is often exchanged like a commodity as a payoff to settle family feuds and property disputes.

The responsibility for all this falls on the flawed system, where all the resources are accumulated in few hands. These few employ every tactic and strategy to exploit these resources without giving anything to the needy. They keep frightening the ‘have-nots’ with instability and uncertainty, so that they do not question this exploitation.

This system originating from the higher authorities trickles down to towns, villages, localities and homes where men, after suffering bitterness, failure and deprivation all day long, return home to unacceptably vent their feelings by shouting and beating their spouse, offspring, mother and sisters.

In our society where people have been divided in the name of caste, creed, region and language, another divide perhaps the greatest one, is in the name of gender. If the men and women of the ‘have-nots’, who form an overwhelming majority, get united, they would become

a threat to the affluent minority who enjoy all the perks and privileges. The most important question is how to revert this situation. The answer is that it is only possible when the women start believing that they are lesser to none and realise their rights by raising their voice. They can change the situation they are in.

Men from the deprived classes also need to understand that their socio-economic compulsions would lessen only when their women would be safe both inside and outside their homes. Their mothers, sisters and daughters must be free to decide about education, employment and their lives.

Once a year, International Women’s Day is celebrated with fervor both by the government and the media. However, the enthusiasm must not remain restricted to one day only. The government must be forced to ensure education for all, both boys and girls, as our society’s collective duty.

There must be equal employment opportunities while abusers of women must be taken to task by granting them exemplary punishments. To make the deterrence more effective, the criminal should also be subjected to a social boycott.

To make justice accessible to women, the legal system should be simplified and free of charge. The law enforcement agencies must be required to investigate crimes against women as a top priority and they should be held responsible for any lapse in this duty.

Although, an increasing number of women are now working outside their homes, the fact is that they are doing so due to economic compulsions. Creating an atmosphere where women can work with peace of mind is the need of the hour. This will help the families realize that their daughters, like sons, can accept their economic burden and feed themselves as well as their families.

Giving a practical form to these measures is the actual celebration of women’s day, every day.

Contact the Working Women Organization of Pakistan by email wwo@brain.net.pk.

ISC delegation to Haiti appeal for donations to help recovery

By Cody Anderson, Joseph Lapp, Nathaniel Miller, and Justin Vitiello

For two weeks in late April and early May 2008, four members of the Industrial Workers of the World traveled to Haiti to meet with labor leaders and document the plight of the Haitian working class. During our trip we encountered Haiti reeling from food riots which had gripped it just weeks prior. We found the workers and organizers that we met with to be competent and passionate, but almost completely immobilized by a severe lack of resources.

Now a new crisis grips the Haitian people in the form of over 1,000 dead and one million displaced out of a total population of nine million people, as a result of the two hurricanes which have battered the island.

Haiti’s government struggles to respond to what can only be called a humanitarian disaster, but no longer has the infrastructure after years of brutally enforced hollowing out as a result of neo-liberal economic policies. With the shell of the government unable to respond and profoundly corrupt and bloated NGOs unable to deliver aid to where it is needed, the best hope for Haiti lies in the response of citizens and organizers who live and work in the country.

Haitians themselves have the skills, the energy, and the organization to ac-

complish this task; what they lack are the resources. We are making this urgent appeal for aid in order to help those we met in Haiti, who hosted us in their homes, who fed us when we were hungry, who showed us that they have the know-how and the energy, they just need the resources to get the job done.

The International Solidarity Commission of the IWW has established a fund to help get money and aid to the people on the ground who need it most.

Please send your donations to: ISC Haiti Fund c/o General Headquarters PO Box 23085, Cincinnati OH 45223, USA.



Haitian workers and union activists struggle for justice in the midst of government corruption, lack of basic social services, and one of the worst food crises in Haiti’s recent history. A production of the IWW’s International Solidarity Commission. Produced by Diane Krauthamer, Nathaniel Miller and Justin Vitiello. All proceeds of the film support the rank-and-file organizing efforts of the CTH labor union in Haiti. ORDERING INFORMATION: A DVD copy is \$10. To order a DVD or request a screening, call 267-972-4120 or email solidarity@iww.org.



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

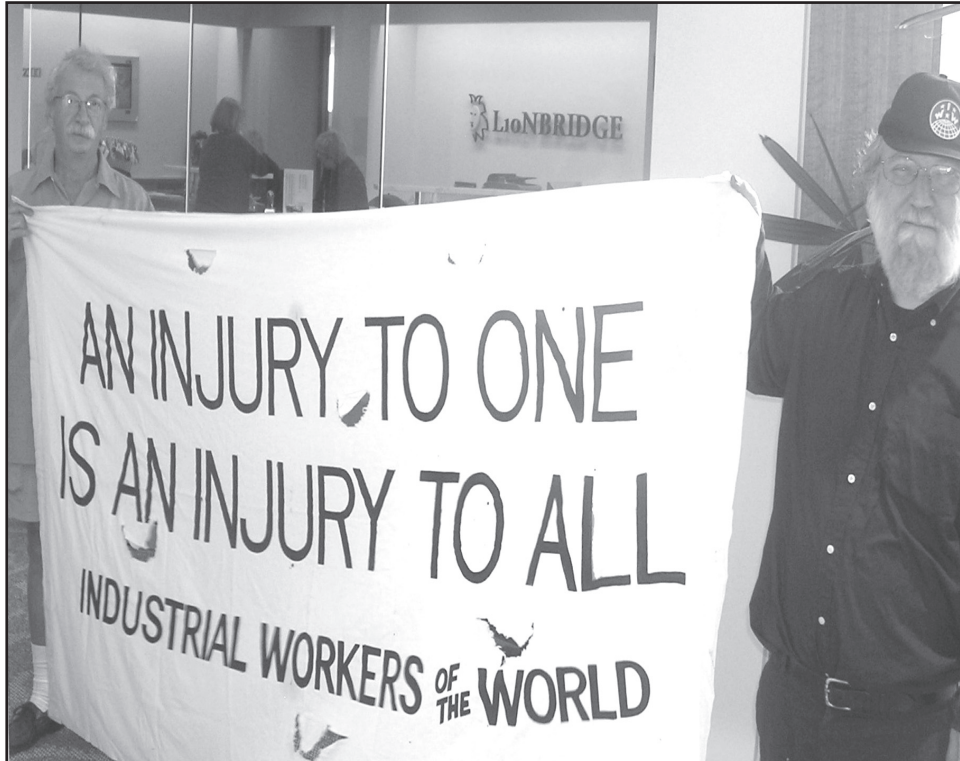


Photo: IWW Boston GMB

IWW members picket Lionbridge's global headquarters to demand reinstatement of Polish union activist.

By Mike Pesa

Boston IWW pickets Lionbridge's global headquarters

IWW members from Boston picketed the global headquarters of translation services provider Lionbridge Corporation in Waltham, Massachusetts on September 29.

The informational picket was an act of solidarity with Jakub G., a member of the ZSP labor union in Poland who was illegally fired by Lionbridge in February for his organizing efforts. Since the firing, Jakub and his supporters have fought it in the courts and in the media in order to hold Lionbridge accountable for its actions. On several occasions, unionists around the world have staged protests on his behalf. Now, with the recent action by the Boston IWW, this struggle has finally come home to roost at corporate headquarters, forcing company executives to take notice.

The informational picket was brief but effective. At one point, IWW members entered Lionbridge's offices with a banner bearing the IWW's motto: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Wobblies also picketed outside the building and at the main entrance to the industrial park in which Lionbridge's offices are located. Reports and photos have been sent to Jakub and his union, who was excited to hear of the action.

Although this action was not as large as some of the previous demonstrations in Europe, it nonetheless showed Lionbridge bosses that the global working class is united and the company cannot commit an injustice across the ocean without facing consequences back home.

Solidarity with disciplined CNT-F postal worker

The ISC sent a letter to the French Postal Service protesting disciplinary charges filed by management against postal worker Serge Renaud, a member of the Confédération Nationale du Travail (CNT). Renaud was summoned to appear before a disciplinary committee on September 10 in connection with alleged wrongdoing during a strike against the "Postman of the Future" program.

In its letter, the ISC urged management to drop all charges against Renaud. The letter said he had done nothing

wrong and that his actions during the strike were fully protected by French and EU labor laws. The ISC urged France's leaders not to give in to the temptation to adopt a cutthroat US-style management policy, warning that the consequences of such a move would carry over into future generations.

In closing, the letter expressed an openness to dialogue with postal officials, but resolved that the ISC's solidarity with Serge Renaud and his co-workers will not be compromised.

ISC delegate attends CNT-F Congress

The ISC authorized Fellow Worker Michael Ashbrook (GLAMROC) as an official representative to the Confédération Nationale du Travail (CNT-F) congress in Lille September 19th - 21st. At the Congress, Ashbrook extended the greetings and good wishes of the ISC and IWW, gathered information, and discussed possibilities for further cooperation between the CNT-F and IWW, particularly in regards to Starbucks worker organizing. Ashbrook will be writing a report on his meetings for the ISC.

Haiti video is now available

The ISC's highly anticipated documentary about our April-May 2008 delegation to Haiti is now available for screenings and individual purchases. The approximately 20-minute video, co-produced by wobbly film-maker Diane Krauthamer and ISC delegates Nathaniel Miller and Justin Vitiello, features interviews and direct footage of Haitian workers and union activists struggling for justice in the midst of government corruption, lack of basic social services, and one of the worst food crises in recent history.

All proceeds of the film go to support the rank-and-file organizing efforts of the CTH labor union in Haiti. To order the documentary on DVD or to request a screening in your community, email solidarity@iww.org. The ISC delegates who travelled to Haiti may also be available to speak or introduce the film. It will be screened for free at the Wobbly Art show in Baltimore, Maryland, October 25-26.

Zimbabwe unions condemn opposition deal with Mugabe

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has condemned a power-sharing deal between the party it backed and the one it sought to oust during the presidential and parliamentary elections earlier this year.

"The current temporary arrangement has not created a People's Government," said Wellington Chibebe, the union's secretary general, in a statement.

The union federation said it will treat the September 15 agreement between the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the ruling Zanu PF party of President Robert Mugabe as a "temporary measure, capable of dealing with outstanding demands from labour, in the absence of an elected government."

The new Zimbabwean Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai described the deal as a "compromise" that was not what he had hoped for.

The union's warning not to trust Mugabe is being borne out by experience. An October 11 press release from the MDC denounced an attempt by the Zanu PF under Mugabe to assign key ministries such as defense to its own partisans.

ZCTU President Lovemore Motombo called the deal as one that ignores "the welfare of the ordinary people" and is a "political settlement by the elite."

The ZCTU leadership is speaking out against the deal despite being under pressure from outside and inside the union federation. Both Motombo and

Chibebe face government charges of inciting the public to rise against the government, due to speeches they made at a May 1 rally. The Supreme Court has agreed to hear their objection that the charges are a fundamental violation of their human rights in December.

From within the ZCTU, the government-run newspaper, *The Herald*, reported that a new grouping calling itself the "ZCTU Concerned Affiliates", has backed the political deal. This declaration, while unconfirmed, may signal a new strategy to divide Zimbabwe's powerful union movement, a key component of the opposition to President Mugabe's rule.

South African unions to campaign

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has also denounced the deal. In October, it is planning a renewed Zimbabwe campaign for democracy and workers' rights. Previously, COSATU affiliates stopped a Chinese arms shipment from going to Zimbabwe during the presidential run-off elections.

"The agreement marks a dangerous spread of the Kenyan virus that sends a signal to dictators that they can defy the will of the people by force and then retain power through negotiations, brokered by other African leaders," said Patrick Craven, the union's national spokesperson in a statement. It opposes the deal because the "the loser has become the winner and the winner the loser" in the March 29 elections.

Spanish CGT protests union-busting

Spain's Telefónica suspended four workers for 45 days and fired five for their involvement with four unions at the company, said a statement by the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT).

All of the employees targeted were shop stewards or members of the works council, a consultation body with senior management. One of the fired workers was on the CGT negotiating team, who had opposed signing management's contract proposal because it included a double-scale salary clause that would have meant 30-40 per cent less pay for newly-hired staff doing the same work as existing staff with seniority.

During the final round of negotiations strike actions were called in Madrid. A crowd of 2,000 workers converged on the main office of Telefónica at Las Tablas to protest the proposed

contract and deliver a written protest to management.

When company guards blocked the entrance, tempers rose. In an effort to avert a confrontation, some of the colleagues who are now being sanctioned, negotiated a compromise with the head of security. They agreed to send just one representative of each of the four unions on strike into the building. Weeks after the protest, Telefónica fired these representatives on charges of being "provocateurs" despite their role in keeping the demonstration peaceful.

The CGT has denounced the company's action as "a cheap management manoeuvre to get back at those unions who refuse to sign a contract that discriminates against new hires at one of the world's leading telecommunication companies."

War protesters target UK arms factory

On October 15, 400 protesters gathered in the southern English town of Brighton for the Shut ITT! national demonstration at the EDO-MBM/ITT weapons factory, a subsidiary of United States-based EDO.

Police arrested ten but released them the following day. A photographer was injured in clashes with police. More than 110 people have been arrested and 40 failed criminal prosecutions brought to bear against the campaigners since they began to demand the factory's closure four years ago.

Before the protest, police delivered letters to perceived leaders calling for protesters to meet with them so they can plan a "proportionate response." However, organizers say that their movement

has no leaders and they have "the right to gather and protest without asking for permission."

The campaigners have argued that the police are allies of EDO managers, who have sought to get a blanket injunction against protests at the site.

The group's slogan is: "Every bomb that is dropped, every bullet that is fired in the name of this war of terror has to be made somewhere. And wherever that is, it can be resisted."

The Smash EDO campaign has demonstrated against the factory's complicity in the world's conflicts on a weekly basis for the past four years. One of the factory's clients is the Israeli army, which protesters say uses the weapons "in war crimes in Palestine."

Support international solidarity!



Assessments for \$3, \$6 are available from your delegate or IWW headquarters PO Box 23085, Cincinnati, OH 45223-3085, USA.

