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Students, Workers Occupy The Millbank Tower In London

From afed.org.uk

A report on the demonstration and attack on the Tory headquarters by students and education workers against cuts.

One of the largest and most vibrant protests in London in recent history took place on Nov. 10. More than 50,000 education workers and students took to the capital not only to protest against the rise in tuition fees but reforms in education in general and to protest for a fairer, free higher education system. The Anarchist Federation was among them, forming a "radical workers' and students' bloc" which, along with London Solidarity Federation, argued that capitalism is the cause of this crisis; that the Left and the union leaders cannot be trusted to fight our battles (a point that the National Union of Students (NUS) president Aaron Porter later so aptly demonstrated); and that we need united, grassroots direct action as part of a sustained fight back.

Contrary to the corporate media commentaries, a significant portion of the march also involved itself in the

property destruction and occupation at Millbank Tower, home to the Conservative Party Headquarters. Direct action was not limited to this either, with the London School of Economics going into occupation shortly after the end of the protest, a sit-down protest in Parliament Square and some limited property destruction at Liberal Democrat Headquarters. Students and education workers have not only demonstrated their anger at the wave of attacks in store for a whole generation of young people, but their lack of faith in parliamentary democracy and the need to take the struggle into their own hands.

The media and official union response to this has hardly been surprising. Commentators were quick to denounce the actions at Millbank tower as that of a "militant minority," "the Socialist Worker Party" or "anarchists," who, to quote Harry Mount from the *Telegraph* "perhaps with a student card, from a third-rate institution they never visit, that cloaks their criminal violence with the fig leaf of principled protest." NUS President Aaron

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Photo: Henry Langston, libcom.org

More than 50,000 students and education workers occupy London's Millbank Tower on Nov. 10.

Port Shutdown Demands Justice For Oscar Grant



Community activists demand justice for Oscar Grant on Oct. 23. Photo: Judy Greenspan

By Judy Greenspan

The stage and steps of Frank Ogawa Plaza in downtown Oakland, Calif., shook and trembled with the strong unifying cry of "We are all Oscar Grant!" as over 1,000 people—Black, Brown, Native, Asian and white—came out to attend a rally that followed the dramatic shutdown of Bay Area ports by workers of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

The ILWU drill team opened the Oct. 23rd program in full uniform, marching to the beat of "What time is it? Union time!" and "We are the union—the mighty, mighty union!"

Clarence Thomas, long-time ILWU Local 10 member and labor activist who co-chaired the rally with Jack Heyman, another ILWU dockworker, proudly announced, "All of the Bay Area ports are shut down today in honor of the fight for justice for Oscar Grant."

This rally came just two weeks before the sentencing of Johannes Mehserle, the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) cop who shot and killed 22-year-old Grant, an unarmed Black man, as he was tightly restrained face down on a BART platform on Jan. 1, 2009. The labor and community protest was held to send a message to the court demanding the harshest possible sentence for Mehserle.

Mehserle was charged with second-degree murder, but he was convicted of only involuntary manslaughter. Grant's mother, Wanda Johnson, said immediately after the verdict, "My son was murdered. He was murdered and the law has not held the officer accountable" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, July 9, 2010).

Many speakers noted the incredible role played by the ILWU in supporting the rally. The union has a long history of supporting anti-racist and progressive causes with work stoppages. The dock and warehouse workers union has also,

since its 1934 general strike, developed a strong relationship with the Black community in West Oakland and other parts of the Bay Area.

Power of the Working Class

Richard Mead, president of ILWU Local 10, recalled that the shooting of two workers sparked the 1934 general strike led by the dock and maritime workers in San Francisco. "Oscar Grant's death was also murder," Mead said. "[A general strike]—that's where we need to go now."

Thomas put Grant's killing in a larger perspective: "The war on the Black community, particularly on the youth of color, always intensifies during times of economic crisis. Oscar Grant could have been any one of our sons, nephews or grandsons."

"We stopped international commerce today. We shut down all of the ports. That's the power of the working class," Thomas announced.

Cristina Gutierrez, a Latina activist representing Barrio Unido, a San Francisco-based organization for general and unconditional amnesty for immigrants, delivered a moving statement on the strength of the unity of all people against oppression. "Yo soy Oscar Grant, I am Oscar Grant, I am Mumia, I am Lynne Stewart, I am Black, I am Brown, I am Chinese, I am a worker," Gutierrez exclaimed.

"I am the one who came to this country to seek work. Unless we work hand in hand with our Black brothers and sisters, we cannot win," said Gutierrez.

BART workers from the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555, led by past president Harold Brown, stood together on stage and delivered a moving statement in support of justice for Oscar Grant. Brown, a train operator on the BART line which passes through the Fruitvale station, the site of Grant's killing, noted, "There's not a

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Cuban Group Knocking Down Walls

By Dalia Acosta

The wall had to be torn down anyway. Scrawled on its white surface had been the words “opportunism,” “mediocrity,” “bureaucracy” and similar words that were gradually fading under the force of sledge hammers and the beat of music.

This symbolic action, which took place in Havana in November 2009 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, was given direction by the youths of the Critical Observatory Leadership Network (*La Red Protagónica Observatorio Crítico*).

That spirit was also present in a forum held this past March in the Havana town of San Jose de Las Lajas. The group analyzed Cuba’s past and present, but not from the usual position of complacency or triumphalism; instead, they examined the island’s wide range of contradictions.

A few years ago, the Haydee Santamaria Critical Thought and Emerging Cultures Collective organized a forum titled “The Other Legacies of October.” In it they analyzed “the experiences of socialism in the 20th century, including Stalinism and the degeneration of the left,” explained researcher Dmitri Prieto.

Since 2005, the Haydee Santamaria Collective has been included as a socio-cultural project of the Criticism and Research Section of the Asociacion Hermanos Saiz (AHS), a national group of young creators. In turn, the Collective created the Critical Observatory in 2006 as an annual mechanism to allow for the confluence of research efforts and alternative proposals.

Since then, various socio-cultural self-management representatives and initiatives have built up the network, which has facilitated the exchange, coordination and the promotion of joint actions of social impact that break with those of the “dominant dynamics” existing in every society.

“We learned how to dialogue in a country where there’s no culture of dialogue. We were sharing and creating a common collection of readings, experiences and polemics. Gradually, the focus turned

from more universal issues to the specific problems of Cubans,” affirmed Ramon Garcia Guerra, one of the founders of the Haydee Santamaria Collective.

Citing another of the promoters, Garcia noted that “the observatory was becoming a setting that created other settings.”

“Youth are not lost, nor do they want to be lost. Youth are looking for their path in a context marked by a crisis of societal models at the global level and by a crisis of references that should give security to the next generation,” said Carlos Simon, a professor at the Superior Institute of Art and another founder of the initiative.

“We have to ask ourselves what we want for Cuba. There are traditions of the past that are not worth rescuing. I would never attempt it,” Simon added during a debate that emerged concerning two works about the loss of cultural traditions in an old batey (various facilities in a sugar refinery) and in the eastern province of Santiago de Cuba.

The issues of the rescue of traditions, memory and history arose on the first day of the Fourth Socio-cultural Forum of the Critical Observatory of Cuba (held on March 13 and 14 in San Jose de Las Lajas, 25 miles from the capital) with the participation of intellectuals from seven of the 14 provinces of the country.

In a relaxed and participative atmosphere, a wide variety of “urgencies” were tackled, such as university autonomy, the expansion of very limited opportunities for the creation of cooperatives, racism, ways of life respectful of nature, the center-periphery contradiction, diasporas and immigration.

The Observatory’s forum coincided with another one sponsored by AHS in the heart of Havana. Titled the “Pensamos Cuba (Thinking Cuba) theoretical-cultural forum,” it included round tables on participation and work, the art of criticism, the vision of the country in audiovisual work of the young generation and the writer in the face of social reality.

For Hiram Hernandez, a professor at



Photo: havanatimes.org

Network activists participate in the annual May 1st International Workers Day march in Havana. The banner reads: “Socialism is Democracy – Dump the Bureaucracy!”

the University of Havana and one of the coordinators of Pensamos Cuba, the coincidence in the timing of the two forums was not accidental. To her it was evidence that “we’re connected with reality, and that’s why we’re having similar events with similar audiences,” she said.

With the premise that reality has to be observed, thought about, criticized, and also constructed, the Critical Observatory Leadership Network concluded 2009 as a year of active presence at the community level, but also in different cultural forums and in debates that continue to be carried out concerning Cuba today.

“Down with the bureaucracy, up with the workers, more socialism,” could be read on a banner carried by Network members in the May 1st International Workers’ Day march. Members of the group also participated in a march against violence, and on Nov. 27, 2009, they were among those who paid homage to the five black heroes forgotten by history.

The network is comprised of a group

of initiatives and people who work in the community in a self-managed manner, generally as volunteers. Among the other initiatives are El Guardabosque, Socialismo Participativo y Democrático, El Tren-cito, Ahimsa (meaning “no to violence” in Sanskrit) and El Grupo de Estudios Culturales Nuestra América.

The participating initiatives offer free services for digital publications, free software, tree planting and reforestation, animal vaccinations, ecological monitoring and children’s recreation. The Haydee Santamaria Collective has a mini book library and a public media library in its central office in Havana.

At the culmination of the first theoretical Digital Media and Culture Forum, organized by the cultural initiative Esquife in December, a letter was drafted and presented to the Ministry of Culture rejecting certain “obstructions and prohibitions against social and cultural initiatives” that occurred in 2009 (the letter can be found here: <http://www.ainfos.ca/en/ainfos23464.html>).

The message, which was signed by several initiatives and 77 people, called attention to the “increase in bureaucratic-authoritarian control” and the need to counteract that trend through “promoting dialogue” and “respecting the autonomy” of initiatives and people that emerge in current Cuban society.

“It is not so much about demanding, it’s about us doing things for ourselves, contributing to Cuba. Although it’s legitimate, we don’t believe in the usefulness of a position that solely accuses and criticizes. In addition to pointing out the problems, it’s necessary to project toward future realities that have an emancipatory character,” summed up Dmitri Prieto.

Assistance is needed with translation and other forms of solidarity. For more information, contact libsolidaridadcubano@gmail.com. For further background, you may also visit <http://elblogdelacatedra.blogspot.com> and <http://observatorio-critico.blogspot.com>.

This story appeared in its original format in March 2010 on <http://www.havanatimes.org>.

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IWW Constitution Preamble

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

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

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

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

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

Join the IWW Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I agree to abide by the IWW constitution.

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



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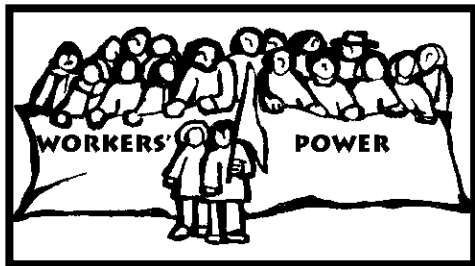
The Pamphlet As Passport

By Michael Edwards

Spain in June was hot. Not in the temperature sense, but in the “labor struggle is heating up” sense. The rhetoric in Europe isn’t about “recovery” the way it is here in North America: everything is “crisis,” “austerity,” and “we must all sacrifice.” “We,” of course, means “workers.” The first target was the militant public sector workers. This sector includes staff in hospitals, schools, and government offices. My first question upon arriving in Barcelona to my host was, “What’s going on, and how do I help?” His response was, “Come to our action.”

The action was an information picket at a university outside of Barcelona. We had a two-sided pamphlet in wordy and less-wordy form. There were multiple access points to the campus, but it was possible to occupy them all with about three groups. I was initially confused about the objectives, and clearly others were as well. Before arriving I thought we were doing a full blockade. Then I later thought we were just handing out pamphlets; later still I was informed that our objective was to ruin traffic around the university. We were to functionally block the university without announcing it. That didn’t require actually stopping every driver. This was an important distinction.

During the initial phase, when we were just handing out pamphlets, the drivers began treating the pamphlets as their passport to the campus. After a while we started getting cars that already had a pamphlet. It was almost cute the way the drivers would desperately wave it in order to get past us. What I realized was that this was an assent to our power.



Whether or not they acknowledged the legitimacy of our makeshift passport, they acknowledged our power. Legitimate or not, we controlled access to the campus. Not only that, we had a lasting effect with the “pamphlet as passport.” If these people planned on leaving campus and returning, they had to carry that pamphlet with them the entire day. All of a sudden a disposable piece of propaganda had acquired the status of one of those critical things you carry around with you every day, like your driver’s license.

Realizing the power we had and seeing how we could use it shocked me. We speak a lot about class consciousness, but we rarely talk about power. Raising class consciousness needs to have a component that acknowledges the fact that we are using and wielding power. We don’t really have the ability to be surgical with that power. Mostly it takes the form of “we can do a lot of economic damage if we don’t get what we want.” This is the core of the strike action. Recognizing this truth is critical. The “what we want” part can be fair and equitable, but it is utterly irrelevant without a foundation of “we can do a lot of economic damage.”

Class consciousness is not just “my buddy and I at work have the same grievances.” It is the acknowledgement of our collective power and our willingness to use it for our benefit. Exercising that power, even in small ways like pamphlet-as-passport, demonstrate the kind of class consciousness that is the bread-and-butter underpinning day-to-day class struggle. Without this experience and understanding of collective power we risk crippling our own class consciousness.

Football Players ARE Workers!

Continued from 2

There are myriad options if one is cut from a National Football League (NFL) franchise. They may not pay at such a rate as the NFL but there are other options available.

And last, but certainly not least, is the mention of the lack of solidarity. While the NFL Players Association (NFLPA) has not had the best record on solidarity issues, the same can be said of every major trade union. This fact, however, does not invalidate the entirety of the organizations, no matter how much FW X365465 wishes and wills it to be so. Under the current leadership of DeMaurice Smith, the NFLPA has been fairly proactive in getting involved with the struggles of other laborers. According to UNITE HERE’s website:

“Indianapolis Colts star Jeff Saturday and DeMaurice Smith, Executive Director of the NFLPA, have sent letters to the CEOs of three major hotel companies—Hyatt, Starwood and Host—expressing concern over the treatment of workers in non-union hotels in downtown Indianapolis.”

The letters affirm the NFLPA’s support for hotel workers organizing in Indianapolis, who are among the lowest paid hotel workers in North America. The letters state, “We believe that working people deserve living wages, dignity, respect and freedom to organize without employer intimidation.” Additionally, they warn that “the NFL Combine in Indianapolis [Editor’s Note: which will take place in February 2011] fills many rooms, and we will do business with hotel companies that treat employees with fairness.”

As for the idea that the NFLPA would not speak out about issues of racism in

Arizona, it is upon their footsteps that much of the current sports/politics work has been built. While the Major League Baseball Players Association has made a public statement against SB 1070 since the 2011 All Star Game may take place in Arizona, they acknowledged that it was the NFLPA’s and the NFL’s precedence that allowed them to make such a political statement. In 1990, the NFLPA and the NFL worked together to remove the 1993 Super Bowl from Phoenix as a punishment when Arizona refused to acknowledge Martin Luther King Jr.’s birthday as a federal holiday. So, the NFLPA does have a history of working for causes of racial justice in Arizona.

In conclusion, sports and politics are intertwined. Nobody speaks about the gains of the civil rights movement in the United States and does not mention Jackie Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. A person cannot speak about the anti-war and black liberation struggles of the 1960s without discussing “The Greatest”—Muhammad Ali.” People cannot talk about the success of the women’s rights movement without pointing to the successes that have come for women via Title IX sports programs and the prowess of Billie Jean King (not only in her “Battle of the Sexes” match but also for openly acknowledging on the cover of *Ms. Magazine* that she had an abortion and for her work to help the U.S. women’s team gain equal pay rights during the late 1990s).

FW X365465 can be willfully ignorant of the facts about sports and politics, how our names are spelled and a basic history of the NFLPA, but he should not be able to get away with spewing these ridiculous musings unchallenged.



WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY

Chapter 39 At the Dawn of the Century

As America moved toward the 20th Century, where did women work?



Most women worked in the home, although their labors extended beyond care of their family. In 1890 the U.S. Bureau of Labor found that one in five working-class families took in boarders to supplement their meager incomes – which meant additional work as cook, maid and laundress. Other women worked in the home as laundresses, dressmakers, cigar makers; some made caps and artificial flowers.

By 1900, one out of every five women worked for wages. Half of the workers in textile factories and tobacco factories were women. In garment shops, women outnumbered the men. According to historian Barbara Wertheimer, “women worked in the shoe industry, in food processing and canning, and in heavy industries such as foundries and tin-plate mills.”

Women could be found in the new electrical manufacturing industry, winding coils and doing heavier work. Says Wertheimer: “They shaped bolts and screws, braided and twisted cable in the cabling companies (at a starting rate of 50 cents a day).”

Graphic: Mike Kowopacki

Call For Submissions! Feminist Men In Solidarity With Women

By J.R. Boyd

As we build the new society in the shell of the old, feminism is an essential practice. All too often, however, the work of feminism is the work of women, not the shared goal of workers. In acknowledging this necessity, a new blog brings together male and male-identified Wobblies around the struggle



for feminism as part of the common struggle for humanity.

Feminist men and male-identified Wobblies, and other interested parties, are encouraged to read and contribute at <http://femenins.blogspot.com>. Please contact J.R. Boyd at lady Poverty@gmail.com for more information.

Workers Object To Manipulated Union Election

By Jimmy Johns Workers Union

MINNEAPOLIS – The Jimmy John's Workers Union has filed a 12-page Objection to the Oct. 22 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election at 10 Minneapolis sandwich shops, outlining a pattern of pervasive and systemic labor rights violations that prevented the possibility of a free and fair vote. The union election, a first in fast food in the United States, was as close as they come, with 85 votes in favor of the union, 87 against, and two challenged ballots.

"Franchise owner Mike Mulligan decided to go beyond the pale. His managers asked workers to wear anti-union pins, fired pro-union workers, threatened a mass firing, implemented an illegal wage freeze, tightened policies and retaliated against union members, offered bribes, and pressured workers to vote no. He broke the law repeatedly in order to win, and he just barely won. That's not right. We are calling on the NLRB to set aside the results of this election," said worker and union member Emily Przybylski.

In response to his employees' union campaign, franchise owner Mike Mulligan hired a third-party anti-union consulting firm, Labor Relations Inc., to prevent employees from winning an NLRB union election. According to documents obtained

from the Department of Labor, Mulligan spent over \$84,500 on an anti-union campaign intended to prevent workers from unionizing.

Tim Louris, of Minneapolis labor firm Miller O'Brien Cummins, is assisting the union pro-bono in navigating the tricky waters of labor law. Union spokespeople say the written objection to the election results will be available to the public within a few days.

While filing with the NLRB to have the election results nullified, the workers also plan to mount a campaign to win their demands without union recognition.

"Eighty-five yes votes, in spite of six weeks of vicious union-busting, is a mandate for change," said Ayo Collins, another worker and union member. "There are a thousand ways we can put pressure on Jimmy John's to win our demands for fair wages, sick days, consistent hours, and respect. We're fired up, this fight is just beginning."



Graphic: jimmyjohnsworkers.org

The Jimmy John's Election Is Only A Beginning

By FW b

On Oct. 22, the IWW Jimmy Johns Workers Union lost a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election at a 10-store Jimmy John's franchise by a single vote.

This election itself was of historic importance for the fast food industry as well as for American workers who are low on the food chain. It was also a huge step forward for the IWW—as a whole as well as for our Twin Cities GMB.

That being said, this moment is not without grief. All of us had to grieve, and the grieving will be a longer process for some of us than others. Even still, poor

Jimmy John's workers made bureaucratic labor union history.

When we met afterwards, it started out as a pretty sad gathering. However, while we may have started low, we did not stay there. As time crept on, it became more and more apparent that low is not really the place we are at.

We're realizing that we are stronger now. We can continue to build this up because there are a lot of ways towards achieving our goal of being a majority union at Jimmy John's.

We lost a battle but we're in a war, and we're not going to lose unless we give up and stop fighting—whether it be in this struggle at Jimmy John's or in this society which systematically attacks and undermines the power and livelihood of working people.

Our lives are not a game. We are not going to let winning or losing a government game, however close it may be, determine whether or not we're going to continue to fight to improve our lives.

Votes do not make our bills, kids or dreams disappear.

We continue to meet every Sunday, as we have been doing for nearly two years. Please keep an eye out or contact us for ways that you can help. When we stand together in solidarity, we make history. Fast food workers need a new future—so does our society and so do we.

Get involved. Organize with your co-workers or peers. Join the IWW. Stand up, make history. We have a whole world to win.

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

Bristol Wobblies Defend Public Services



Photo: © The Invisible Photographer

Members of the recently-formed Bristol IWW demonstrate to defend public services at a rally on Oct. 23 in the City Centre of Bristol, U.K. The demonstration was called by the Bristol & District Anti-Cuts Alliance.

Solidarity With Peace Activists Raided By The FBI

By the Chicago IWW

At the October meeting of the Chicago General Membership Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World, the members voted unanimously to draft a Letter of Solidarity with the Peace Activists raided by the FBI on Sept. 24, 2010. We wish to show our support specifically for the three Chicago activists and one from Minneapolis, as well as all other activists who were raided by the FBI:

Stephanie Weiner
Joe Isobaker
Hatem Abudayyeh
Mick Kelly



Graphic: stopfbi.net

The Membership of the Chicago IWW GMB call on the U.S. Department of Justice to drop the Grand Jury proceedings against the Peace Activists, and for the FBI to cease spying on and raiding Labor and Peace activists, and to return all materials seized in the recent raids to the U.S. Citizens who were raided.

Students, Workers Occupy The Millbank Tower In London

Continued from 1

Porter quickly lined himself up behind his future employers joining the Labour Party in its denunciations. Prime Minister David Cameron, for his part, has been quick to criminalize the protesters, talking once more of ramping up policing in the capital—this is while the death of Ian Tomlinson at the hands of the Metropolitan Police lingers strong in the minds of many of us. None of the assessments of the Millbank protesters as a "militant minority," "the Socialist Worker Party" or "anarchist" alone is accurate. Such a claim is made even more ridiculous by the rolling 24-hour news coverage that not only showed a clear diversity of students and education workers (yes, we were there too) taking great pleasure in smashing windows, office equipment and scuffling with the police, but the interviews with the occupiers themselves who often admitted this had been their first protest.

Yes, the anarchists were also involved in this action: of course we were. But what is this notion of the "apolitical" student and education worker that is being promoted by the media? Does the fact that we are anarchists preclude us from being "normal people," from acting in solidarity with our fellow workers and students? We reject such a paralyzing construct. It is designed to suffocate us, to force us into the image of the respectful, peaceful and, ultimately, obedient and ineffectual protester. We, like many of our fellow students and workers, recognize that only direct action will bring about meaningful change. That in order to fight the cuts we need to be not only fighting on the streets but building

communities in our campuses, pushing for occupations, sit-ins, walkouts and the inclusion of those often excluded and marginalized in these struggles (the cleaners, porters, administrative and security staff who quietly labor in our universities for less than the minimum wage).

Media pundits and politicians have also argued, and continue to argue, that students are somehow privileged or self-interested. This is the same divisive tactic being used against all public sector workers. In reality, as many students explained through TV interviews, this protest was not so much for themselves but for their younger brothers and sisters or even for their future children who otherwise wouldn't be able to go to university. This is similar to the concern that many public workers have for service users, who will undoubtedly also suffer from cuts to services. We cannot allow these strong ties of solidarity, across generations and between service providers and service users, to be undermined. The rhetoric that certain workers/students are a privileged group implies they should not be supported by others. We need to recognize this for what it is—divide and rule.

We also affirm our commitment to supporting all those who were victimized and arrested as the result of their actions at Millbank Towers. We encourage all education workers and students to do the same.

The action on Nov. 10 was a sign of things to come. The students and education workers have been the first to speak in response to the austerity attacks, and we encourage the rest of the working class to follow (see page 12).

Port Shutdown Demands Justice For Oscar Grant

Continued from 1

day that goes by that I don't think of Oscar Grant. This should never have happened."

The impetus for the justice rally came from members of Oscar Grant's family, who went to the ILWU seeking their support. The highpoint of the event came when a large group of Grant's family and friends took the stage.

The atmosphere on the plaza became electrified when Grant's six-year-old daughter Tatiana was introduced to the crowd. A moving letter to the sentencing judge demanding the maximum sentence for Grant's killer was read by Tatiana's aunt.

Other speakers at the gathering included Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, former leaders of the Black Panther Party, and representatives from several unions including the Service Employees and the Oakland Education Association/California

Teachers Association.

Throughout the afternoon, rally organizers reminded the crowd, "We cannot let this movement end today." Plans are underway to keep the momentum of this coalition going.

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Editor's Note: Former BART police Officer Johannes Mehserle was sentenced on Nov. 5. He received a two-year sentence but, with credit for time he has already served behind bars, Mehserle will be eligible for release in about seven months. His attorney, Michael Rains, said he will appeal the involuntary manslaughter conviction and in the meantime will try to win Mehserle's release on bail.

100 Donors For The Organizing Fund!

From the Organizer's Notebook

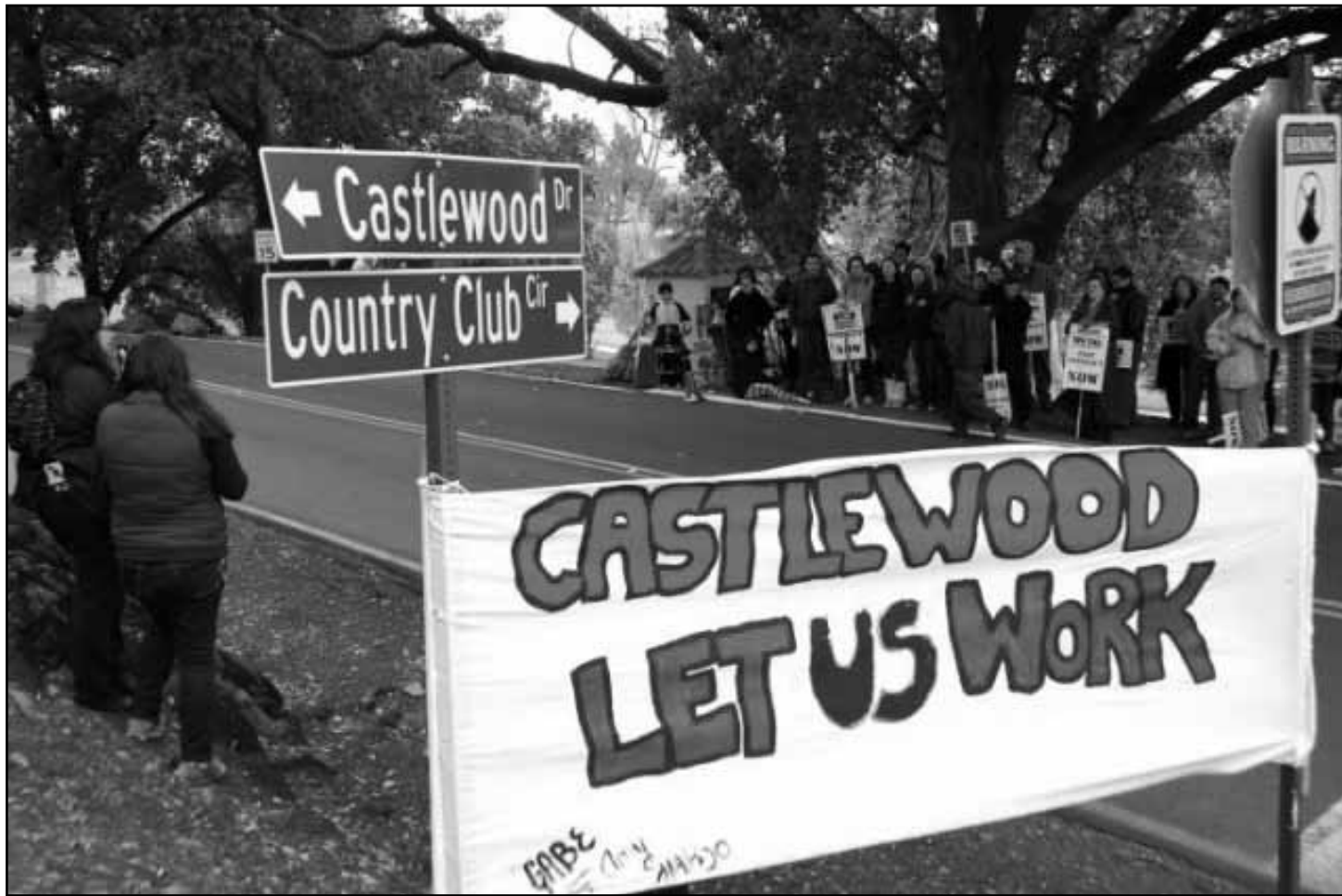
The Organizer's Notebook is proud to spearhead an effort to secure 100 donations to the Organizing Department Fund Drive.

There can be no doubt that the Organizer Training Program has been instrumental in all of the IWW's recent campaigns and in the creation of the national organizing committees in the construction, courier, education, freight trucker, and foodstuffs industries. Fellow Workers, we need to build on this success! The first step to achieving this is to go into your own workplace and keep plugging away at the organizing. The second is to go to <http://pledgie.com/campaigns/11822> and make a donation to the Organizer Training Fund so that the union can develop the training program further and make sure that our trainers continue to travel around the country and help workers in need.

Do not delay, let's make it a group goal to get 100 donations to the fund before the time the next Organizer's Notebook is published! Five minutes and \$10 is all that it takes to ensure the IWW continues to grow as a force for working-class power. Check out the "donate" button on the left-hand side of <http://www.iww.org> for more info.

Special

Observations On The Struggle At Castlewood:



Workers picket outside the Castlewood Country Club in May.

Photo: Brooke Anderson, indybay.org

By James Robert Porter

We got five miles into California before I started gagging.

“Gah!” I gasped, stumbling out of the car before dropping to the ground, retching. “What the hell is this stuff?”

Jackie was in the passenger seat, coughing spasmodically.

“It’s...I think it’s fresh air,” she said.

A lifetime of living in Nevada means not being ready for the actual trees that create actual air. Our lungs aren’t designed for something that isn’t 95 percent dust and five percent poison.

“Aw, Gawd!” I said. “It’s horrible!”

Jackie didn’t answer. She was busy coughing up 28 years’ worth of dust out of her lungs. It took a while.

Besides the fact that California is not the howling radioactive wasteland Nevada is, there’s another reason why we don’t go there, and that’s the traffic. As a resident of Reno, I’m more used to the apathetic kind of traffic we get here. Nobody is in a hurry because there’s no place worth going to. We’re an island in the middle of an honest-to-God Wild West movie, only none of us have guns and everyone’s too tired to kill someone anyway.

Compare that to California, which is full of irritating go-getters who get up in the morning to be places, and oh my God I’m already exhausted just describing it. Since everyone is in a hurry to be everywhere all at once, you wind up with some

kind of shiny version of Lord Humongous’s army from “Mad Max,” and since I left my hockey mask and gimp slave in my other chariot, I was woefully under-equipped.

So why would I leave the safety of Mother Desert, with her sandstorms and soothing radiation, to brave the untamed capitalist wilds of California? The only things California has are rich people and the ocean, and I hate one of those and am terrified of the other.

Well, almost a year ago, the Castlewood Country Club in Pleasanton found their contract with the workers’ union running out. Most of the time this is no big deal. Usually management and the union leaders get together, address any issues either party has, and then hammer out a contract that usually sounds an awful lot like the last contract, because the last one was working, damn it. Nine times out of ten, nobody gives a damn.

However, this is an unusual climate. Since the intellectual elite had the utter gall to elect a “black liberal communist Nazi socialist demon-worshiping secret Uhuru devil God” to office, the right-wing crazies have suddenly crawled out of the holes they’ve been sitting inside all this time, penning manifestos. Someone gave them all the mistaken idea that they have something resembling legitimacy, and they started throwing their outdated ideas to each other like it was the World’s Softball Tournament for Fools.

“Hey, wait a second,” one of them said. “What’s all this union shit about, anyway? Isn’t this America? Don’t we have the right to pay our workers whatever we want? Who’s the government to say that we can’t pay them 11 cents an hour if the market will bear it?”

That’s what was going through the Castlewood owners’ minds as they pondered the unique situation they were in. Suddenly, it was okay to start screwing workers again. And since they pretty much resemble every evil 1980s movie villain all wrapped up, they were totally cool with that.

The previous contract, admittedly, was pretty sweet. It provided free health care to all employees, a guaranteed \$1 raise every year, guaranteed hours regardless of full-time or part-time employment and seniority recognition when considering management openings, among other things. Also admittedly, the economy was and is kind of going through a rough patch. The owners most likely HAD to drop something. I understand that.

But they cut EVERYTHING.

Healthcare for employees with families went from zero to \$739.08 a month and became available only to full-time employees, of which there were now none thanks to the new decision to scramble up the schedule to make sure nobody got enough hours to get there. Seniority, always more of an abstract concept rather than an actual thing, was now just completely gone. No one had seen their \$1 pay raise in a while. Rumors that the owners were also trying to put Delta House on academic probation and attempting to steal Christmas also began circulating.

In addition to this, the management began putting up signs telling the staff not to speak to the guests at the golf course. The housekeeping staff found themselves replaced by non-union contractors, pushed out of a job with no warning at all. When the workers protested this, they came to work one day to find themselves locked out.

A few days later, the owners invited all locked out Castlewood staff to a breakfast on the company’s dime, all on the clock and paid, which immediately set off alarm bells. Undoubtedly they expected management to seal them all in there and set the place on fire, which would be in keeping with their business practices thus far. But they went anyway, and were greeted with the only proposal the owners of the place have been willing to give since the contract expired.

They were told that they were going to vote on whether they still wanted their union or not. If they voted against the union, then the bosses promised them their jobs back the very next day. If they voted for the union, they would remain locked out and their jobs would be replaced.

At this point, most of the staff had no idea that they even had a union. They

Continued on next page



Kids & parents against injustice. Photo: endthelockout.org

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Special

Solidarity With Locked-Out Country Club Workers

Continued from previous page

had never spoken to any union representative, had never gone to any union events, and had only the vaguest idea of who ran the damn thing. Regardless of this, and in the face of losing their jobs and their livelihood to a bunch of 1980s villain caricatures, they courageously voted to keep their union in a near-landslide vote.

They've been locked out of their jobs for more than nine months now, since Feb. 25. They've been bravely soldiering on for what's right, picketing every morning and evening, six days a week. They've caused the golf course to lose thousands of dollars, to hire a union-busting lawyer which costs the company approximately \$500 a day, and to miss out on the majority of events they were counting on.

Still, the owners haven't budged. Ben Atteberry, a man who invited us to a protest in support on Sept. 18, summed it up perfectly by saying that it's a battle of ideology. The owners are ideologically opposed to unions. It has nothing to do with money. Not really. They want their workers to know their place in the world, which is as far down as possible.

Ben met us at the golf course shortly after we arrived. He's a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and is a lot like you'd imagine—a clone of Terry Pratchett to be if you took away the "Discworld" books and replaced them with a seething hatred for the ruling class. As he liked to say, the ruling class and the working class will never have anything in common.

The workers' morale was high when we arrived. The picket line was set up across from the country club parking lot, overlooking the lines of gleaming new cars and pasty white people in summer clothing. The locked out Castlewood workers had a drum circle set up, with chanting go-

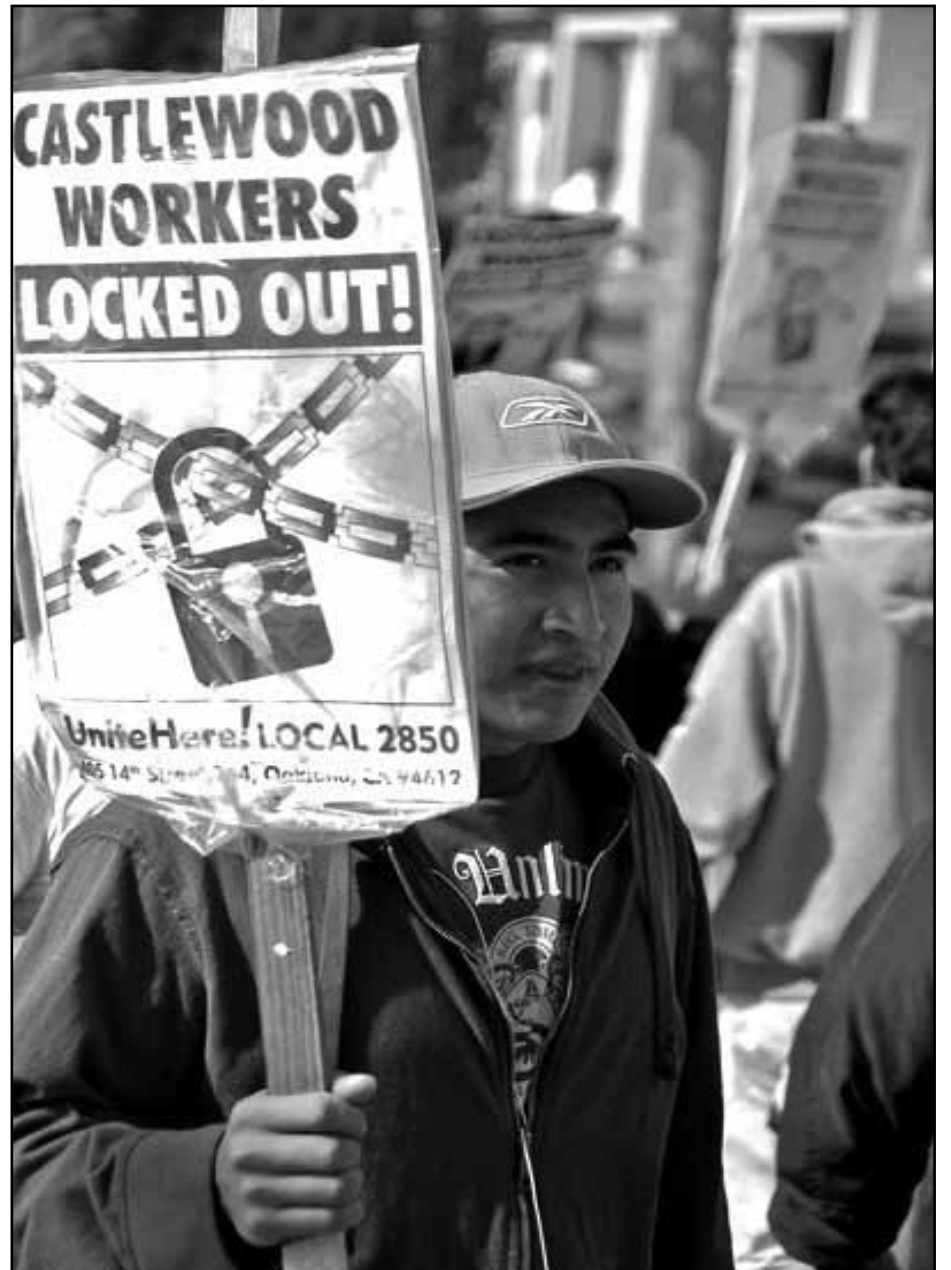
ing over the megaphone courtesy of Sergio, who was an unofficial spokesperson for the group. After conversing with Lian, the official spokesperson, and assuring him that, despite our wheezing and gasping we were more than qualified to picket, we grabbed our signs and got to work.

Protesting like this just makes you want to mess with people, but we were guests there, so we tried our best to behave. I restrained myself to simply raising my fist at approaching cars and making direct eye contact, which was pretty effective for a while. Then I did it at the old black guy who started laughing at the skinny white kid raising what looked like a Black Panther salute, and that fairly took the wind out of my sails. We resorted to simply waving.

We were dealing with a hostile atmosphere. Apparently, unions are as communist as collective farms and tractor plants. And, really, how dare the workers try to make things better for themselves. It's not like we live in a democracy or anything.

After the picket we all got together for a barbeque, which was great. Everyone had gotten their fill and we all circled up and heard about the headway the workers were making. The news was impressive to say the least. As I stated before, the strike had caused many of the club's usual customers to pull out of their events. Castlewood went from holding at least one wedding a week to maybe two per month. They were hemorrhaging money, and were forced to hire a lawyer that so far wasn't doing jack except counting the huge pile of money he was accruing. The workers, despite what others would have you believe about this sort of thing, were winning.

Ben and I had cornered Sergio and several workers, trying to nail down the exact chain of events that had led up to this, when we noticed that there was an



The workers are part of UNITE HERE Local 2830. Photo: Brooke Anderson, indybay.org

awful lot of attention going towards the other side of the railroad tracks.

Apparently, Jackie had tried waving to the wrong person, who was cruising around on his little golf cart, just seething at the fact that there were liberals doing communist things on his precious golf course. After glaring at her, Jackie upped the ante by asking "And how are you today?"

"Fine, until you spoke to me!" He snarled, stopped the cart across the tracks and got out.

"Oh." Jackie cast around for a topic of conversation. "Um...I'm sorry?"

And with that, the man lit into a frothing rage, screaming about how the club didn't want the workers back, how even if the workers came back, he certainly didn't want them back.

Sometime around then Sergio got involved, saying that all he and his friends wanted was a living wage and something resembling dignity in the workplace. This was at odds with the old white guy's views,

who seemed to want everyone to dress up as bears and to ride around on unicycles while he threw beer bottles at them or something of that nature. I don't know, I couldn't really follow his line of reasoning after the vein in his forehead started bulging.

At some point, Castlewood had called the cops. The officer, who had to come all the way from Stockton, was less than enthused at having to come over when absolutely nobody was breaking the law. He watched the argument for a while, which must have depressed the old guy because he ended with "BUT...that's just my opinion," and driving off before we could point out all the things he said which totally weren't opinions. The officer just nodded, wished us a nice day, and left.

What I want people to get out of this is that unions work.

James Porter is a freelance author and dabbler in social protests. He currently resides in Reno, Nevada.



Pay \$739.08 per month for healthcare? I think not! Photo: Brooke Anderson, indybay.org

Background On The Lockout At Castlewood Country Club

By Alessandro Tinonga

PLEASANTON, Calif. — Management at the Castlewood Country Club has locked out 65 food-beverage and maintenance workers on Feb. 25.

The workers, represented by UNITE HERE Local 2850, have been in negotiations with management since November 2009, but General Manager Jerry Olson, under the direction of board President Jim Clouser, has proposed that employees pay \$739.08 a month, out of pocket, for family health insurance.

"I would no longer be able to afford to cover my family on my health care," said Marisol Gil, a banquet server who's worked at Castlewood for five years. "I fear that because I only work when there are parties, I might not get enough hours to qualify for my own coverage."

Most Castlewood workers can't afford the increase, which comes out to more than 35 percent of a full-time maintenance worker's gross wages. Affordable health insurance is the most important factor in employees' compensation, especially since the average wage is \$12.50 an hour.

Furthermore, the state of California is slashing funding for public benefits and is considering capping or eliminating the Healthy Families children's insurance program. So if Castlewood workers lose their benefits, they can't count on a safety net, and their children may go without health care entirely.

"I don't want to go on welfare programs when, for 20 years, I have been able to take care of my family," said Martin Tostado, a pantry cook at the club. "We are willing to pay something reasonable

but locking us out is not right."

During negotiations, the union offered many concessions in order to strike a deal with management. Workers offered to pay \$175 per month for family medical on a cheaper plan with lower benefits, which would reduce the club's labor costs by 5 percent. In addition, workers agreed to a one-year wage freeze and an extremely low wage increase (10 cents an hour) for the following year.

Despite these concessions, management is committed to force through their proposals by threatening a lockout. According to a letter by the club's board of directors in the Pleasanton Weekly, "[Management's] choices in reacting to the current union negotiating situation appear to boil down to two options—either (1) continue indefinitely according to the union's

current contract negotiations approach, or (2) lock out the current employees."

The letter goes on to say, "if [the club] instead take the second option, we can attempt to impose at least some economic leverage on the union's negotiating position and avoid the union's apparent belief that its threats of continuing delays, opposition and future job actions will change the club's own good-faith economic positions."

Community pressure and labor solidarity is needed to pressure the company. We must give support and solidarity to the workers in their struggle for justice. For more information, visit <http://endthelockout.org/>.

This story appeared in its original format on Feb. 26, 2010 on <http://socialistworker.org>.

Reviews

Understanding Zionism, Judaism And 'Mythistory'

Sand, Shlomo. *The Invention of the Jewish People*. New York: Verso, 2009. Hardcover, 332 pages, \$34.95.

By Mike Ballard

Schlomo Sand is employed as a professor of contemporary history at the University of Tel Aviv. "The Invention of the Jewish People" was originally published in Hebrew in Israel. Translations of his work are now being published throughout the world in many languages, including English.

Sand is the son of a World War II era veteran of the Polish Communist Party. He is also the son-in-law of a Spanish anarchist who fought Franco nationalists in the streets of Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War. Sand would probably describe himself as an apple, fallen somewhat distant from those trees, perhaps as a cosmopolitan liberal. His view is that Israel would be better off giving up being an "ethnocracy"—Sand's term for the ethnobiologically defined Jewish political state. Sand's preference is for Israel to become a secular capitalist democracy like France or the United States.

Sand gives his readers many insights into the general intellectual foundations of the modern era's nationalist ideological project, and of the Zionist nationalist project in particular. In this reviewer's opinion, "The Invention of the Jewish People" is worth reading for these critical observations alone, as nationalism has been and continues to be a strong ideological force in our time.

Sand makes the case that class societies up until the 18th century were made up mostly of sedentary peasants and nomadic herdsmen. Sand effectively argues that there was no official ideology of nationalism embedded in the consciousness of the people who lived within these pre-industrial societies. Historically speaking, these agrarian formations were dominated by classes of aristocrats, landlords and slave owners. The nomadic and peasant majorities of this ancient world had no notion of being part of a nation. Comprehending this insight is fundamental to grasping Sand's arguments about how nationalism, and in particular Jewish nationalism, was an ideological invention. As opposed to modern day nationalist consciousness—based on self-regulated "patriotism," schooled with "pledges of allegiance," ubiquitous posters of "our fearless leader" and "hats off at the sports match in honor of the national anthem"—ancient rulers relied on keeping the mostly peasant producers of wealth in a constant state of fear of the absolute power of the sovereign. There was no sense of being a part of a national political state amongst the general populace. At best, the sovereign only had to "secure the loyalty of the state's administration in order to preserve the continuity and stability of the government, but the peasants were required simply to pass along the surplus agricultural produce and sometimes to provide the monarchy and nobility with soldiers. Taxes were of course collected by force, or at any rate by its constant implicit threat, rather than by persuasion or efforts at consensus," writes Sand.

Capitalist rule erupted out of political revolutions against these ancient expressions of absolutism. The revolutions of modernity—from Cromwell's Puritans in the mid-17th century to Colonial America's yeoman farmers and private property owners, to the overthrow of monarchy in France by its citizens and in country after country well into the 19th and 20th centuries—all resulted in the establishment of national political states. All nationalisms were political expressions of the rapidly changing social relations of the producers of wealth. From peasant subjects to wage-laboring citizens, the producing classes were united, after nationalist revolt, as citizens with the ruling capitalist and landlord classes in one

big political state. These conditions were accompanied by new political notions; primary amongst them, the rule of law and the classless identity politics which proclaimed that sovereignty was no longer the king's, but for the "people" of the nation. From these material circumstances sprang the ruling class's need for legitimation of their system of political dominance, thus the impetus for public intellectuals to invent and spread the gospel of the various and sundry nationalist brands. One of the first tasks these amplified intellectual voices had to confront was to define who "the people" were.

Sand contends that modern public intellectuals invented all nationalist ideologies, thus all "peoples." Most of these intellectuals mixed history with cultural myths in order to fashion their nationalist ideologies passing for history, "mythistory." More than a few of these nationalist mythistories were combined with the pseudo-scientific invention of "race"—an ideology originating in the 18th century:

"In the 19th century, national cultures often tied the soft term, 'people,' to the rigid and problematic 'race,' and many regarded the two words as intersecting, supporting, or complimentary (sic). The homogeneous collective origin of 'the people'—always, of course, superior and unique, if not actually pure—became a kind of insurance against the risks represented by fragmentary, though persistent, sub-identities that continued to swarm beneath the unifying modernity. The imagined origin also served as an efficient filter against undesirable mixing with hostile neighbouring nations."

However, by 1945 the horror of the Nazi holocaust, especially its connection with "Aryan" racist mythistory, prompted world leaders and public intellectuals to officially renounce "race" as having any scientifically-based, genetic substance. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) statements on race in the early 1950s explained "race" as a social myth and the 1998 American Anthropological Association statement on "race" proclaimed it to be a pseudo-scientific concept. Still, the "common sense" notion that there are "races" has persisted and is present to this day in public discourse even though, as Sand observes, pre-WWII notions of "race" have more and more morphed into the bourgeois intellectually acceptable concept of "ethnicity."

To be sure, the oppressive force of racism persists. Not only that, but it is often legitimized, Sand would argue, by continuing to legitimate an ethno-biological linkage with nationalist ideological concepts defining "the people."

The Nazi extermination of "inferior races" during WWII threw a spanner in the ideological works of those attempting to link "race" with "nation." However, as Sand points out, it was particularly problematic for Zionist ideologists. Since its inception in the mid-19th century, Zionism's legitimacy was based on the notion of a genetic connection between ancient and modern peoples of the Jewish faith and culture. According to this mythistory, modern-day Jews were genetically linked to those people who inhabited that portion of the Middle East known as Israel, Judea and Palestine in the early 1st century C.E. A fusing of Biblical stories with actual history had long become part of the Zionist ideological project. As the nationalist ideological story goes (Sand writes a much more detailed account in a chapter he titles "Mythistory"), the Jewish people were deported from their homeland after much of Jerusalem, along with the Second Temple, was destroyed in 70 C.E. by the Roman soldiers under the command of Titus. As the story went, this came as punishment for an unsuccessful revolt against the Roman Empire by the Jewish people. According to

this mythical tale, the whole of this Jewish people then wandered the Earth in exile from their homeland. The Zionist nationalist project was designed to bring the Jewish people home to "Eretz Israel" from their long exile.

What Sand demonstrates, in his meticulously researched book, is that great mass of the people who lived in what was then the Roman province of Palestine in 70 C.E. were not exiled. As he conclusively shows, conquerors of that era, including the Babylonian conquerors related in the Biblical story of the destruction of the First Temple and the Romans who destroyed the Second Temple, never exiled whole peoples because those peoples were the peasant producers of wealth; and obtaining that wealth, along with the power that goes with it, is what being a ruling class is all about. Peasants are generally tied to their land and most people living in Roman Palestine were peasants. Peasants don't move around—they're sedentary. Ancient ruling classes always liked it that way. As Sand points out, conquering rulers of ancient times would routinely enslave defeated elites from the ruling class whom they had conquered, but they would leave the great mass of the people (mostly peasant farmers) on the land to continue to produce wealth, as these peasants had done for various other ruling classes for centuries before. The implications of this revelation for the current relation between peoples identifying themselves as Palestinians and those identifying themselves as Jews, both inside and outside the immediate borders of Israel, are pretty obvious in this reviewer's opinion. The classless nationalist identity politics, which keep rank-and-file Palestinian and Israeli workers at each other's throats, is based on a series of invented fictions. Of course, this is true for all the world's nationalisms, for all are ideological inventions which assume that the working class and the employing class have interests in common.

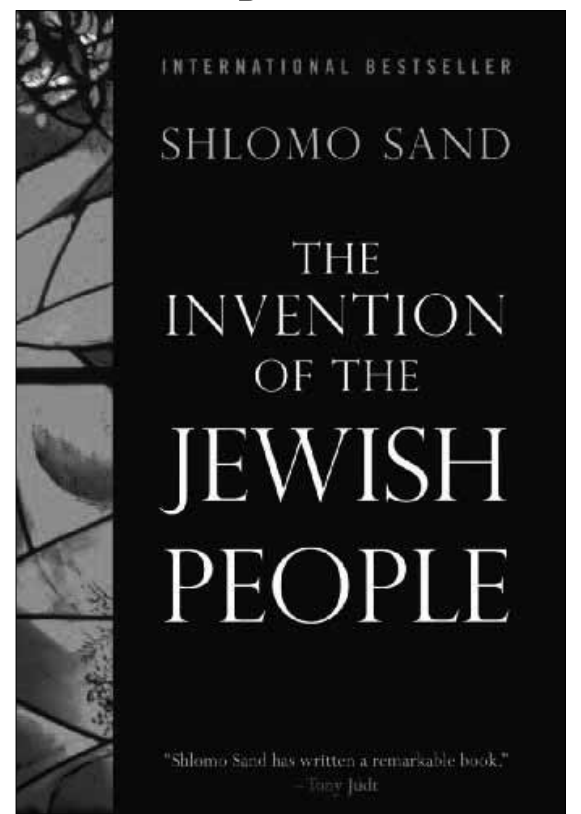
So, where do most of the people of the Jewish faith in the world come from, if not from an ethno-biologically connected people who were exiled from their homeland by the Romans in 70 C.E.?

Sand's answer is that most come from "proselytizing." Sand demonstrates that the first great monotheistic religion, Judaism, was spread to eager pagan converts throughout the Mediterranean basin a long time before the competing monotheistic religions of Christianity and Islam arose.

The question which came to this reviewer's mind was, "Why would polytheists find this monotheistic religion, with its invisible deity so attractive?" Shorter work time is one of Sand's fascinating insights. The weekly day of rest, the Sabbath, turned the practice of Judaism into a way of legitimizing free time, much to the consternation of the slave owning ruling classes of the ancient, polytheistic world.

As Sand relates, a great victory for the proselytizers of the Jewish faith came with the conversion of the Punic Carthage was not a Hebrew-speaking city-state. It was located in what is today the political State of Tunisia. After the defeat of Carthage by the Roman Republic in 146 B.C.E., the Jewish religion continued to be practiced amongst the peasant people of this region. The faith also spread to nearby nomadic Berbers, who were later to accompany the Arabic Muslim conquerors of Spain as soldiers in 711 C.E. The implications here are enormous, especially considering what happened to Jews who refused to convert to Christianity during Ferdinand and Isabella's reign in Spain, circa 1492 C.E.

Sand presents historically document-



Graphic: londonbookclub.co.uk

ed evidence of the many other conversions to Judaism within the confines of the heavily used trading routes of Mediterranean, in the late B.C.E. and the early C.E. of the Roman Empire. He shows that this proselytizing tendency was more or less suppressed with the rise of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the 2nd century C.E. and of Islam after the 8th century C.E.

"Proselytizing Jews were driven from the arena of rival monotheisms, Christianity or Islam, to the land of paganism, with immigrants who convinced the pagans that their faith was preferable. The great mass proselytizing campaign that began in the 2nd century B.C.E., with the rise of the Hasmonean kingdom, reached its climax in Khazaria in the 8th century C.E."

As Sand shows, the conversion of the Kagan of Khazaria, a kingdom located above the Black Sea, helped create a great mass of people of the Jewish faith. Many of these Jewish religionists spread out into what is now Eastern Europe after Khazaria was overrun by the Mongols under Genghis Khan in the early 13th century C.E. Sand writes, "The Khazars were a coalition of strong Turkic or Hunnic-Bulgar clans who, as they began to settle down, mingled with the Scythians who had inhabited these mountains and steppes between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, which was known for a long time as the Khazar Sea. At its peak, the kingdom encompassed an assortment of tribes and linguistic groups, Alans and Bulgars, Magyars and Slavs. The Khazars collected taxes from them all and ruled over a vast landmass, stretching from Kiev in the northwest to the Crimean Peninsula in the south, and from the upper Volga to present-day Georgia."

As Sand demonstrates time and again, actual history profoundly conflicts with the "mythistory" of the Bible which forms the very foundation on which Israeli nationalist ideology and, ultimately, the Israeli political state rests. For example, the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel of 1948 states: "After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their Dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom."

"The Invention of the Jewish People" is a work which will be useful to any Wobbly interested in making sense of the social relations of power and current political conflicts arising from them in the modern day Middle East. Schlomo Sand's work should be helpful to those eager to grasp the conceptual intricacies of nationalist ideology and how it has come to distort political judgments amongst and between workers of the world today.

Wobbly Arts

What Shall We Do With The Jimmy John's Bosses?

Inspired by Joe Grim Feinberg's "What Shall We Do with the Starbucks Bosses" (2007)

By Sean Carleton, X364847

This song is dedicated to the fighting spirit of the Jimmy John's workers. The close vote on Oct. 22, 2010 may be disappointing, but the fight continues. Abolishing the wage system is not just about winning or losing elections—it is about impassioned struggle. In carrying on this struggle, the inspiring workers of the Jimmy Johns Workers Union must know that fellow workers from all over the world are with them in love, struggle, and solidarity! As Ralph Chaplin would say, all hell can't stop us!

Tune: "What Shall We Do with a Drunken Sailor?"

Am
What shall we do with the Jimmy John's bosses,
G
What shall we do with the Jimmy John's bosses,
Am
What shall we do with the Jimmy John's bosses,
Em Bm Am
Earl-eye in the morning?

CHORUS (same chords as verse):
Hey, ho, up we rise now x3
Em Bm Am
Jimmy John's Workers Union!

Smack 'em in the face with subs till they listen...

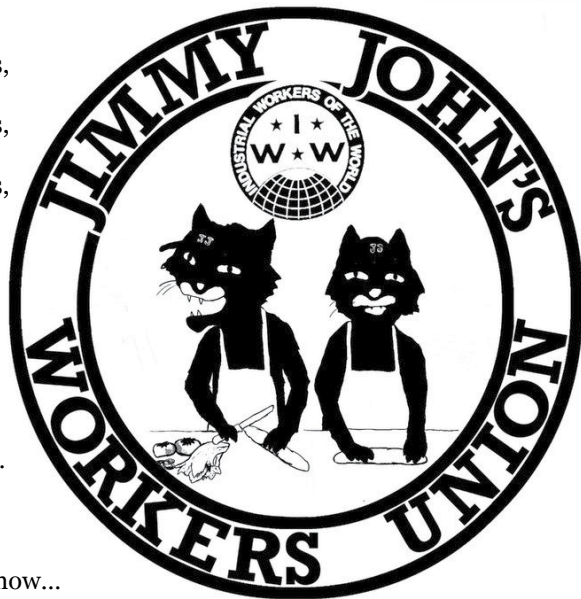
Picket their stores on our bikes together...

Server 'em rotten meat till they give us a raise, now...

Put up tip jars on "Dollar Sub Day"...

Sing this song till they can't take it anymore...

That's what we'll do with the Jimmy John's bosses...
Late until the evening!



Remembering Miners' Struggles, Past And Present

From David Douglass

So, while I wish to take nothing away from those lads who were trapped in the Chilean mine, their families and their rescuers, I have reproduced below a sobering thought or two in the shape of a poem by Scottish miner Joe Corrie who died in 1968. Anyway, I'd like to share the poem.

Women Are Waiting Tonight Poem by Joe Corrie (1894-1968)

Women are waiting tonight on the pit-bank,
Pale at the heart with dread,
Watching the dead-still wheels
That loom in the mirky sky,
The silent wheels of Fate,
Which is the system under which they slave.
They stand together in groups,
As sheep shelter in storm,
Silent, passive, dumb.
For in the caverns under their feet,
The coffin seams of coal
'Twixt the rock and the rock,
The gas has burst into flame,
And has scattered the hail of Death.
Cold the night is, and dark,
And the rain falls in a mist.
Their shawls and their rags are sodden,
And their thin, starved cheeks are blue,
But they will not go home to their fires,
Tho' the news has been broken to them
That a miracle is their only hope.
They will wait and watch till the dawn,
Till the wheels begin to revolve,
And the men whom they loved so well,
The strong, kind, loving men,
Are brought up in canvas sheets,
To be identified by a watch,
Or a button,
Or, perhaps, only a wish.
And three days from now,
They will be buried together,
In one big hole in the earth.
And the King will send his sympathy,
And the Member of Parliament will be there,
Who voted that the military be used
When last these miners came on strike
To win a living wage.
His shining black hat will glisten over a sorrowful face,
And his elegantly shod feet will go slowly behind the bier.
And the director of the company will be there,
Who had vowed many a time
That he would make the miner eat grass.
And the parson, who sits on the Parish Council,
Starving the children and saving the rates,
Will pray in a mournful voice,
And tear the very hearts of the bereaved.
He will emphasize in godly phrase,
The danger of the mine,
And the bravery and valour of the miner.
And the Press
That has spilled oceans of ink
Poisoning the public against the 'destroyers of industry',
Will tell the sad tale,
And the public will say, 'How sad.'
But a week today all will be forgotten,
And the Member of Parliament,
The coal owner,
The parson,
The Press,
And the public,
Will keep storing up their venom and their hatred,
For the next big miners' strike.
Women are waiting tonight at the pit-bank,
But even God does not see
The hypocrisy and the shame of it all.



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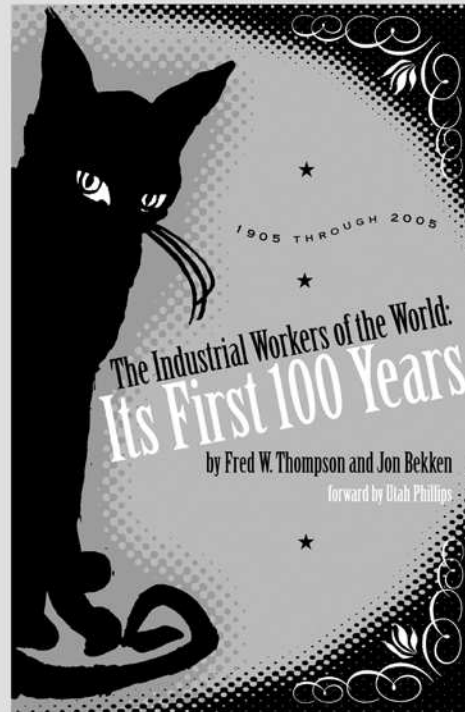
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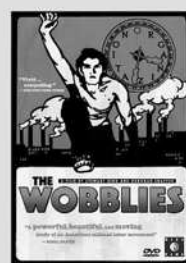
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The Industrial Workers of the World: Its First 100 Years
 by Fred W. Thompson & Jon Bekken
 forward by Utah Phillips

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 IWW, and for an understanding of its ideas and tactics.

255 pages, \$19.95



The Wobblies DVD

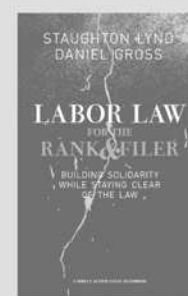
This documentary from 1979 takes a look at the IWW's early days, with a combination of interviews and archival footage.

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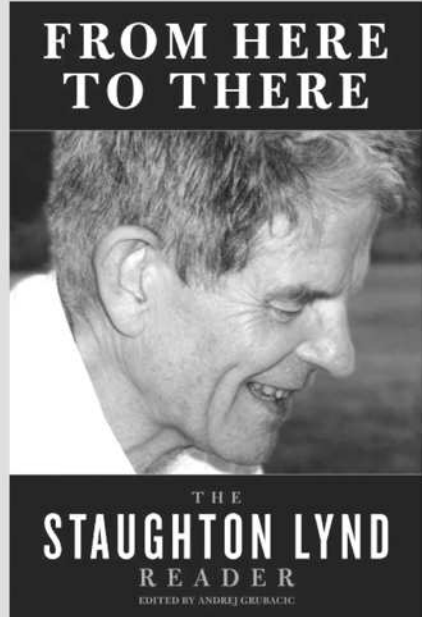


Labor Law for the Rank and Filer: Building Solidarity While Staying Clear of the Law

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? *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-invigorating the labor movement. Illustrative stories of workers' struggles make the legal principles come alive.

110 pages, \$10.00



From Here To There: The Staughton Lynd Reader
 Edited by Andrej Grubacic

From Here To There collects unpublished talks and hard-to-find essays from legendary activist historian Staughton Lynd.

The first section of the *Reader* collects reminiscences and analyses of the 1960s. A second section offers a vision of how historians might immerse themselves in popular movements while maintaining their obligation to tell the truth. In the last section Lynd explores what nonviolence, resistance to empire as a way of life, and working class self-activity might mean in the 21st century. Together, they provide a sweeping overview of the life, and work—to date—of Staughton Lynd.

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further exploration, it is bound to educate, enlighten, and inspire those new to his work and those who have been following it for decades.

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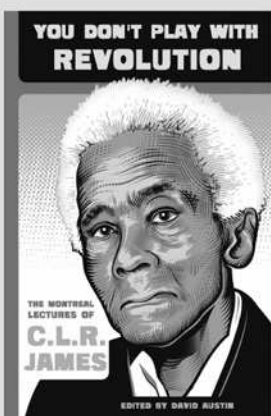


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Editor David Austin contributes a historical introduction to James' life and work. The book also includes two

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Getting to Know Fellow Workers

An Interview With Wobbly Howie Hawkins

This interview was conducted by IWW member Brendan Maslauskas Dunn at the Syracuse, N.Y. Green Party office on Aug. 28, 2010. Hawkins is a co-founder of the U.S. Green Party, a Teamster, a Wobbly and recently ran as a Green for Governor of New York state, where he received much rank-and-file labor support. For the full transcript and audio recording of the interview, visit: <http://howiehawkins.com/2010/interviews/399-interview-by-brendan-maslauskas-dunn.html>

Brendan Maslauskas Dunn: I understand that you spent some time in the Bay Area growing up. What were you politically involved with back then?

Howie Hawkins: Well, Willie Mays was a San Francisco Giant and he was my hero and this was in the Bay Area during the 1960s. I cut school one day when they were holding “Ban the Draft” week and was on the periphery of one of those demos that week. The next year the big thing was the San Francisco State [University] strike so I went to some of those activities which were basically trying to get autonomy for the Black studies program so they could serve the community better. I learned a lot from that and got familiar with a lot of the different tendencies in what was being called the “New Left” back then. One of the things that influenced me was something called “Ecology Action West,” which I later learned was written by Murray Bookchin. So that post-scarcity anarchism with an ecological orientation and libertarian socialism was probably one big influence on me back then. I also ran into Hal Draper’s “Socialism From Below” pamphlets that the independent socialists were circulating and understood the distinctions between State socialism, which was authoritarian and socialism from below, and was democratic. I was in high school and new to all of it. They sure were not teaching us much about this in school.

I remember in 1970, I organized Earth Day at my school and wrote up a sort of handbook on the issues. I called for corporations to basically be run as public utilities without the profit motive, but instead to serve production for use and not try to grow endlessly like capitalism forces companies to do endlessly in order to survive. I sort of came to the conclusion without understanding the whole analysis of how to get to it. There were also demonstrations going on over at Berkeley at the time. I went over to one when the People’s Park was breaking up and I was there the day before that kid was shot to death. I cut school and went there so I was absorbent of a lot of this stuff as sort of a truant who was really going to political protests which were sometimes at the library across the railroad tracks from the high school. High school was kind of slow and there were a lot of antiwar demos in the Bay Area that I went to, so I absorbed a lot from the movements there.

BMD: I also understand you’re a socialist. Given the dark history of what was done in the name of socialism, why do you call yourself one?

HH: Well, any word is contested. I mean you have democratic republics that are dictatorships so democracy? Do you want to abandon that word? Do you want to abandon the idea of a republic? I think we need an alternative to capitalism, which most people understand to be profit-oriented enterprise and appropriation of surplus by the owners. So what is socialism? It is democratic appropriation and allocation of economic surplus by the people. I would say I’m a little different from some socialists because in any economy, at any one time at most you have about 40 percent of the people actually working. You have young people and children. You have old people, you have injured people. Everyone

should have some say in how the surplus is distributed. The forms that those socialist economic institutions take can be public in the sense of a municipal power utility, they can be cooperatives where the users (the people that contribute to the enterprise) dispose of the net income and you have consumers. You have producer or worker, you have marketing co-ops and you can have hybrids of producers and consumers. The point of what is produced is how you dispose of it. It is the democratic decision. It’s not just decided by those who happen to own the property. I think that that’s an important idea—that the United States, out of all the countries of the world, has just sort of erased from discussion. So I think it’s important to keep that on the table. Now when I campaign I don’t campaign for an ideology—socialism or even ecologism or green—“green” is a label we use but I campaign for concrete reforms that more people can understand on their own terms. Now a lot of those reforms, for example, the right to a job and a living wage which requires direct public employment to ensure everyone there has full employment, is not compatible with a capitalist economy. This is not because you could not, with government help, have a market to get everyone employed between public and private employment, but because the vested interests who own the capital in the capitalist sector want unemployment to discipline the workforce and keep wages down. So, for me socialism is an extension of democracy into the economic realm.

BMD: I was wondering if you could speak a little bit about maybe one or two movements you’ve been involved with in your life that have really had an impact on you.

HH: Well, I think the anti-Vietnam War movement, in particular the GI movement. When I got drafted, I did enlist in the Marine Corps before the draft letter got to me. My number came up—it was the last call for Vietnam in July 1972 and the U.S. Defense Secretary Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird called up numbers 35 through 70 and I was number 65. I had looked at my options and decided rather than going into exile or underground I would go into the service. The first thing I did was join the American Serviceman’s Union, which was actually the front for Workers World Party, you know they really ran it, but it was an effort to unionize and resist imperialist war. By the time I did it, I wasn’t sticking my neck out so much. I mean I can remember one of the things that I saw, when I think I was a freshman in high school, was the Presidio 27 refusing to go to Vietnam out of San Francisco and they really paid a price for that. There was also the GI Coffee House movement. Anyway, by the time I was in the resistance was around when Nixon had to “Vietnamize” the war as they called it: bring the troops home and let the Vietnamese fight with our funding because our soldiers—particularly in the Army—weren’t fighting, they were refusing. They didn’t like the war. It even affected the Marine Corps. I went in officer training when I was in college and it was an off-campus program. Actually, the veterans who had been there as grunts and then came back to college on the GI Bill and were coming back into the Marines to be officers were pretty opposed to the Vietnam War. It was amazing. The “gung ho” Marines were the kids that were just came straight out of college and wanted to be Marines. You know the whole image around that. I just think that’s an underestimated but powerful movement that’s a more working-class movement than a lot of the movements of the 1960s. It was made up of working-class people who tended to get drafted, go fight and then resist.

That was something that really stuck with me and made me understand the importance of building a strong labor move-

ment. So what I ended up doing after college was working in construction up in northern New England. None of the jobs were union, except really big projects and those guys came in from out of state. You know, nuclear power plants, big college dorm construction, projects like that. I did some of that work but it was a non-union shop. I joined the IWW just so I had an affiliation. There were no other Wobblies anywhere around, except a couple of other guys. We had a worker coop for a while—we were all Wobblies but I wanted some affiliation, at least in spirit.

I’ve kept that affiliation since then. I’ve been involved in a lot of labor support struggles; the JP Stevens textile struggle in the South, the Phelps Dodge struggle, the miners in Arizona. The same thing happened today as what happened to miners in Namibia, owned by the same company—Phelps Dodge. They struck when the company was in Namibia. This actually happened a long time ago in Arizona. In both cases, they just put the workers on a train and sent them out to the middle of the desert and just dropped them off. I got involved with that because the Chairman of the Board of Trustees at Dartmouth was the President, CEO and Chairman of the Board of Phelps Dodge. We did a lot of work around that and even the AFL-CIO national office came in. We did a whole corporate campaign around that. There were United Farm Workers (UFW) grape and lettuce boycotts. Since I’ve been in Syracuse, there have been labor actions. There was one recently at Coyne Textile Services a couple blocks from where I live. I’ve also been out at the Mott’s strike in Williamson and out at the Momenta Processed Materials rally back in June. It [was] a big part of my campaign for governor. So, I think I’ve been inspired by the labor movement. Not so much the official labor movement but the real labor struggles that people have when they get attacked by employers. We haven’t won a lot, but before I came to the United Postal Service (UPS) and became a Teamster, I was really supportive and glad to see they had won that strike in 1997. It was one of the few big strikes that the labor movement won in a generation, dating back to the 1960s.

BMD: What exactly attracted you to the Wobblies and how has an IWW analysis of the labor movement and the economic system we live under had an effect on your outlook?

HH: The Wobblies are an inspiration, given their history. I mean, they organized people that the AFL wouldn’t organize; the migrant workers, the minority worker, the workers in dirty, dangerous jobs like mining. They were relatively anti-racist in a time when racism was really strong in this country, during the early 20th century. This is when they were strong and they’ve kept that spirit alive. They also are very big on democracy at a time when the mainstream labor movement is bureaucratized. The “Preamble,” the Wobblies’ classic document, is inspirational to this day. So, all those things attracted me to it and have informed me. I have not really been engaged in any Wobbly activities because they have not been prominent where I live. I think that construction is an industry where Wobblies can make really big inroads because there is a lot of small

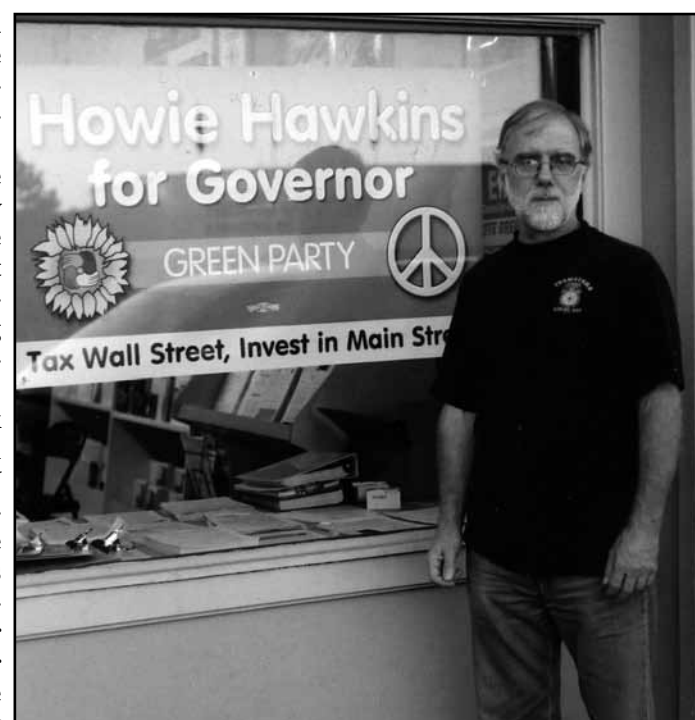


Photo: Brendan Maslauskas Dunn

Howie Hawkins at the Green Party office in Syracuse, N.Y.

construction, such as home construction, that’s being done. Even in New York City, which is a union town, a lot of the rehab work is being done by immigrants who are being paid less than minimum wage and that’s been going on for decades. I did some construction work down there in the 1970s and 1980s and most of it was rehab stuff. It was disheartening, but in the organized building trades, they have a tradition in this country of sort of being exclusive and trying to keep their numbers small so they can keep their wages up. It’s not a class movement, it’s a movement for their members. So, I think there’s a lot of room there for the Wobblies to organize and I wish them all the best luck. There are other sectors like that where the IWW is organizing right now, like Starbucks. Even with the nonprofits, they were trying to organize. Some people criticize that and there may be some merit in some of the criticism from some of the real small groups. On the other hand, I know Service Employees International Union (SEIU) organizers here in upstate New York were really overworked and underpaid by SEIU Local 1199. They tried organizing a staff union and they got fired right away. So, I think there’s definitely a role for the IWW. For me, it’s more of inspiration and, you know, I pay my dues out of solidarity.

BMD: Do you think there’s an upsurge in the labor movement with undocumented workers in particular, but with workers in this country in general?

HH: Well, certainly undocumented workers and even the documented immigrants are in solidarity with each other. They’re coming from countries where there’s real change going on; Venezuela and Bolivia for example. At least the Latin American Spanish-speaking countries inform a lot of those people and have an understanding of what’s going on. So, I think that could have a much broader influence and I think the AFL is in a lot better position than it was, say, 15 or 20 years ago, in its relation to those workers. I think that’s going to be a source of renewal for the labor movement. The workers centers that are organizing those folks, such as Jobs with Justice and other community-labor alliances vary from town to town and place to place, but I think those are all areas where renewal of the labor movement will come from. The reform caucuses in different unions, such as Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), is probably the largest and it has had its ups and downs, but those kinds of things are popping up. I think the potential is there and the need is there and we just have to try to make it happen.

Editor’s Note: This interview is for informational purposes only. The Industrial Worker does not endorse political parties or candidates.

World Labor Solidarity

A COLUMN BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMISSION

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

By **Matt Antosh**

The ISC continues to go strong as we receive communiqués from workers' organizations in Brazil, Chile, and South Africa.

Solidarity with S.A. workers occupying their factory!

A call has been made by Metal Workers Union of South Africa (MEWUSA) on behalf of our members in Mine Line/TAP Engineering in support of the Mine Line/TAP workers who began an occupation of their factory in Krugersdorp on Wednesday, Oct. 20. These workers are refusing to add another 107 job casualties to the more than one million jobs lost since the onset of the recession, and are fighting back to save their jobs and keep the factory running under democratic workers' self-management.

The ISC released the following statement in solidarity:

"The International Solidarity Commission of the Industrial Workers of the World sends our full support and solidarity with our brothers and sisters of the MEWUSA who are occupying their factory in Krugersdorp, South Africa.

"Like the workers at Republic Windows and Doors in Chicago, who refused to accept the status quo and through solidarity vowed to stand up for their rights, the workers of the MEWUSA show that radical action can be a solution to exploitation in times of recession. As the slogan goes, in Chicago, in Krugersdorp and all across the world, we won't pay for their crisis!

"The ISC-IWW joins the call for the ownership to be transferred to the workers to enable them to run it as a cooperative under workers' control and management, in the hope that their struggle, which is also a struggle for workers everywhere, may continue and succeed. The IWW aims to lend our support, by action in solidarity, where it is within our grasp to do so, in our firm knowledge that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

Solidarity with Chilean Construction Workers - A call for a delegation to Chile

The IWW has been in correspondence with a union for construction workers in Chile, the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Construcción (SINTEC).

SINTEC first organized in 2007, and is working on organizing the most difficult



Graphic: anarkismo.net

industry of all in Chile to get organized, where collective bargaining is not allowed, the norms and rules of health and safety are never respected and pensions are non-existent. All this while trying to develop a class struggle-based, autonomous and libertarian form of unionism.

SINTEC is asking for donations of solidarity to help them fund their continuing organizing campaigns. The ISC hopes to have an online donation button up on the IWW website within the month; until then, Fellow Workers wanting to donate should email solidarity@iww.org.

As well, SINTEC has invited the IWW to attend a national conference in January 2011. Any Fellow Workers who have the ability to travel and want to be a part of a delegation to Chile should write to us at the aforementioned address as soon as possible.

Elect an ISC liaison NOW!

Of course, we are always looking for a little extra help on the ISC. So, we ask branches and interested individuals to volunteer to be ISC liaisons in order to develop branchlevel and workertoworker international solidarity.

Every month, ISC liaisons will get an update and an action to bring to the branch level.

We would like to invite every branch to select an ISC liaison to help spread the word about the solidarity activities in other parts of the world and to help develop our campaigns.

We ask all Fellow Workers to please continue sharing your international contacts and expertise. The ISC can be reached at solidarity@iww.org.

Riot Police Attack Workers In The Acropolis

By "taxikipali," libcom.org

The moment was acutely symbolic for a country that brags about itself as the cradle of democracy and indicative of the Greek government's loss of measure in face of the popular discontent over its austerity measures.

Contract workers of the Ministry of Culture staged a protest in mid-October inside The Acropolis demanding no less than their wages—a demand which is becoming increasingly utopian in the current economic reality of Greece. The state owes these workers 24 months of back wages and seems in no hurry to have its debt settled. The workers also demand the cancellation of 350 layoffs which were planned for the end of October.

Instead, the Greek *satrapy* ("protectors of the land") decided to pay back with force. Living up to the standards of the fastest growing tyranny in Europe, the Greek government sent its *Praetorian Guard*—the MAT (riot police) forces—to deal with the workers. The riot police entered the space of the Sacred Rock by a back door, effectively desecrating the asylum for the first time since the Nazi occupation.

The riot police forces threw tear gas at the workers, beating them back with batons and handcuffing anyone who tried to stay in their working space. One *Associated Press* journalist was injured due to the habitual police brutality.



Photo: libcom.org

The Association of Archaeologists announced: "It is a dishonor for our country that its image of civilization is the MAT inside The Acropolis using tear gas against workers who have been for years offering their services for the promotion and protection of civilization, staying often for many months unpaid. The Association of Archaeologists supports its contract-based colleagues of the Ministry of Culture in their just demands. It condemns the raw use of violence within a space which is a symbol of civilization, and demands to intervene and guarantee the abolition of the 24 months unpaid labor and the resolution of the burning issues of the Ministry of Culture employees who have led the workers to a blind end."

The attack of the MAT seen from the main entrance of the Acropolis can be seen here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1dC18rUCNhw&feature=player_embedded

University Occupations Follow London Protests

By **Mike Harman**, libcom.org

Students at Manchester and Sussex Universities have staged occupations following the actions against tuition fees and cuts on Nov. 10 (see "Students, Workers Occupy The Millbank Tower In London," pg. 1).

On Nov. 16, more than 170 students occupied the lecture theatre in the Fulton building at the University of Sussex in protest of the trebling of tuition fees and the attack on their education system.

In a statement which appeared on <http://defendsussex.wordpress.com>, students write:

"In light of [the Nov. 10] demonstration, which saw 52,000 people come out in opposition to the government's proposed cuts to education and raising of fees, we feel it is necessary for further action to consolidate the efforts made so far and push on in the opposition to these ideologically motivated cuts to both education specifically and public services as a whole.

"We reject the notion that these cuts are necessary or for the benefit of society. There are viable alternatives which are not being explored. While the government has suggested that 'we are all in this together,' we completely reject this and are insulted that these cuts are being pushed through alongside reductions in corporate tax. We feel these cuts are targeting those who are most vulnerable in our society.

"Furthermore, not only are these cuts

damaging our current education, but are changing the face of the education system as we know it. The hole in finances left by government cuts will inevitably be filled by private interest. This marketization of education will destroy the prospect of free and critical academic enquiry, on which universities should be based. The trebling of tuition fees will further exclude another swathe of society and make university accessible only to the rich."

On Nov. 11, almost immediately following the protest in London, more than 50 students occupied the John Owens building at Manchester University to demand that the books be opened. The university is in the process of starting a voluntary redundancy process, while denying any actual cuts are planned. The occupation was decided at an anti-cuts

meeting that afternoon, while it ended the same day, students at the meeting reported that it had forced the issuing of a statement by the vice chancellor, and was used as an opportunity to plan further action.

At Royal Holloway University in London, students staged a short protest when Conservative MP and Secretary of State Philip Hammond and Lord Chancellor Ken Clarke visited the university shortly after the protest in London.

Prior to the London protests, students at Goldsmiths in London occupied Deptford Town Hall, also in protest against cuts.

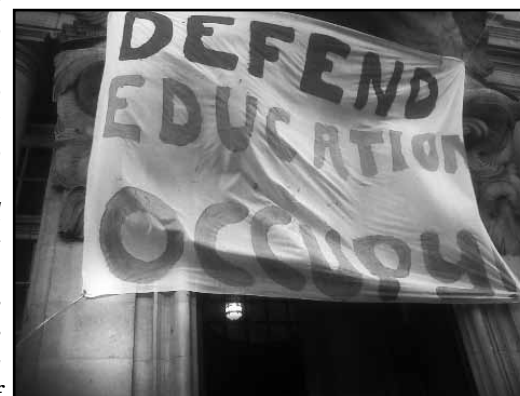


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HAPPY HOLIDAYS!

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the Industrial Worker



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