



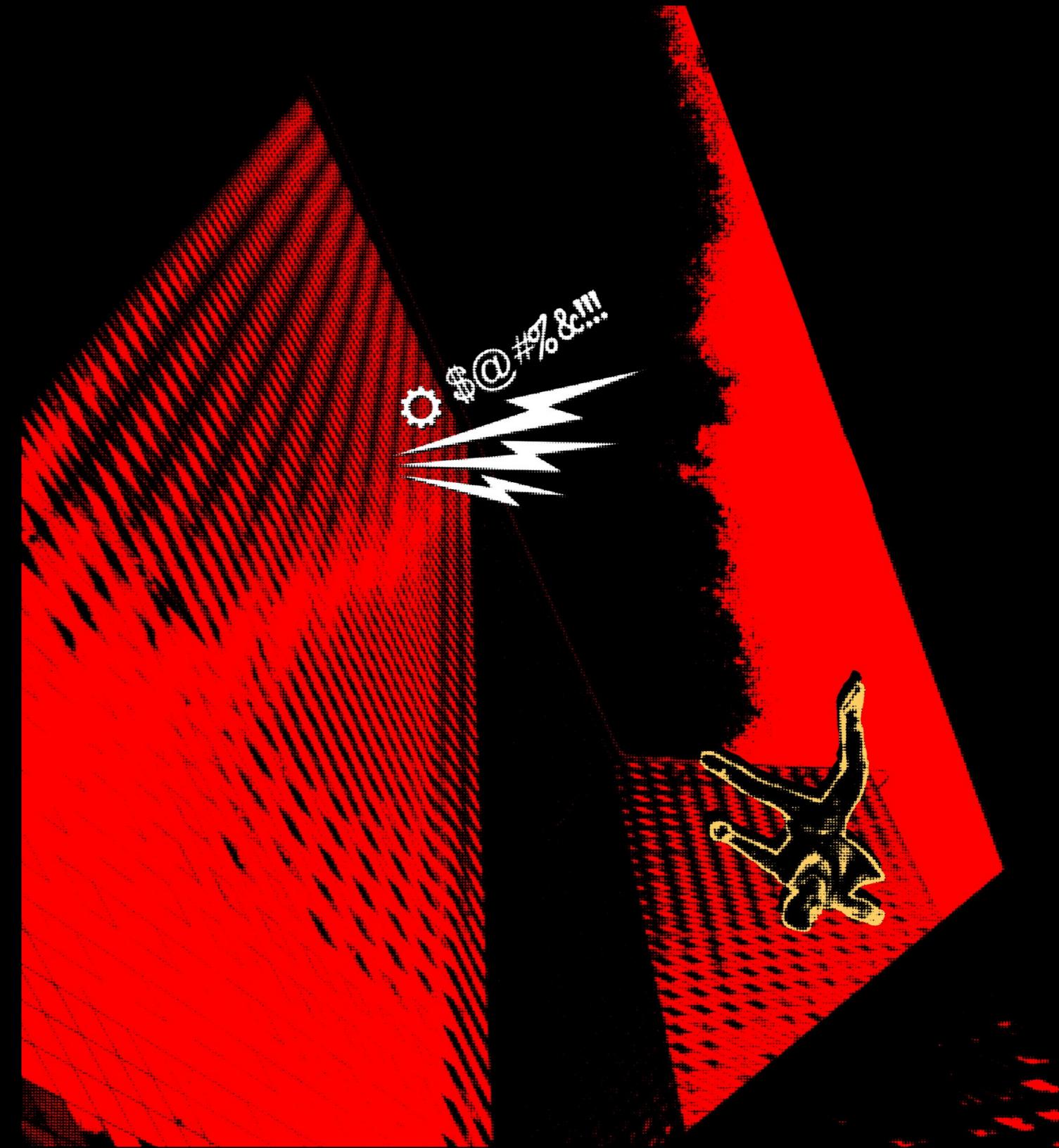
# PAANO SISANTEHIN SI BOSSING

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Bossbusters



Magkaisa. Lumaban. Manalo.





Bandilang Itim  
Magkaugnay ang ating Pakikibaka  
Towards Anarchy in the Archipelago  
Para sa pagpapalawig ng kaisipan ng kalayaan



# Paano Sisantehin si Bossing

How to Fire Your Boss

BossBusters

BossBusters  
Paano Sisantehin si Bossing  
How to Fire Your Boss  
2022

*Bandilang Itim*

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2022



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**Editor's Note:** This pamphlet was initially published by BossBusters, a project of the Bay Area IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies). This pamphlet has been localized for a Filipino audience.

**Disclaimer:** None of the tactics outlined are guaranteed to achieve their intended results. There are many variables to any given situation and it is best for you and your fellow workers to carefully and thoroughly assess each possible tactic before using it. None of these tactics are particularly useful in the long run without stable organization to support them. Direct Action without organization may yield short term gains, but long term results tend to be negligible. It is essential that you and your fellow workers join and/or form stable organizations before using any of these tactics.

# **Paano Sisantehin si Bossing**

**Isang Gabay ng mga Manggagawa para sa Direct Action**

BossBusters

2022

## **Afterword: Self-Directed Militancy**

This pamphlet is an old manual circulated among workers belonging to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in North America. In the original, there included instructions to contact the IWW for newly organized workers to receive support and solidarity. The IWW does not operate in the Philippines (yet), so this is not possible. There are other unions in the Philippines, but some Filipino unions are not worker-controlled and are rather controlled by a bureaucracy or a party. A bureaucratic or cadre-run union may not work in the interests of workers.

Instead of following leaders approved by the state, parties, or bureaus, what workers can do instead is to work among yourselves and direct your own militancy towards your own aims and goals. This is the theory of self-directed militancy where it is workers themselves who conduct their direct actions. Where no sympathetic union exists you can organize among yourselves to build your own militancy. You can organize the tactics and strategies outlined in this pamphlet without going through union bureaucracy which may work to frustrate your efforts.

In many countries workers' militancy is channeled through bureaucratic means such as arbitration courts or convoluted legal procedures that classifies strikes as legal or illegal. These procedures are purposeful in that it diverts militancy away from the workers' control towards legal courts, lawyers, and union bureaucrats. The history of workers' organizations throughout the world has shown that unions can have an effect of mitigating rather than agitating for workers' interests by divesting power from workers themselves onto union bureaucrats or some other power.

Remember that the tactics outline in this pamphlet may be illegal. To fight for a better world is never a legal task. The laws of the land are the laws of the state and capital who funds it. But, the only illegal strike is the strike that loses. Striking itself was once illegal along with unions, but through struggle these were forced to be recognized by the state and capital. If you struggle and win, you may achieve similar gains.

In lieu of contacting the IWW which does not exist in this country, reach out instead to fellow workers both in this country and in neighboring ones. It is through solidarity that you gain allies and comrades. You may also try to contact the International Confederation of Labor (ICL-CIT), which the IWW is a part, to receive public and clandestine support.

## Solidarity

The best weapon is, of course, organization if one worker stands up and protests, the bosses will squash them like a bug. Squashed bugs are obviously of little use to their families, friends, and social movements in general. But if all the workers stand up together, the boss will have no choice but to take you seriously. Bosses can fire any individual worker who makes a fuss, but they might find it difficult to fire their entire workforce.

All of the tactics discussed here depend for their success on solidarity, on the coordinated actions of a large number of workers. Individual acts of sabotage offer little more than a fleeting sense of revenge, which may admittedly be all that keeps you sane on a bad day at work. But for a real feeling of collective empowerment, there's nothing quite like direct action by a large number of disgruntled workers to make your day.

"Wala akong ibang maisip na pwedeng isagawa na mas makakapagbigay ng ligaya sa iyo, at mas makaka-hassel sa amo niyo, bukod sa kaunting sabotahe sa tamang lugar at sa tamang oras."

— "Big" Bill Haywood, Industrial Workers of the World.

Alam ng manggagawang-uri ang pagkakawalang-dignidad ng pagtrabaho para makapamuhy. Basta-basta na lamang kinakalimutan ang demokrasya, ang daki-lang prinsipyong kung saan diumano itinatag ang lipunang Pilipino, pagka-time-in sa trabaho. Tayo, na walang "say" sa kung anumang produktong ating ginagawa, o kung paano ito ginagawa, na katiting lamang ng halaga ng produktong iyon ang ating isinusuweldo, ay may bawa't karapatang mabwisit sa mga amo natin.

Syempre, sa bandang huli, kailangan natin makalikha ng lipunan kung saan ang mga manggagawa ang may hawak sa lahat ng desisyon ukol sa paggawa at pamamahagi ng produkto at serbisyo. Ang mga industriyang nakapipinsala o walang saysay, tulad ng paggawa ng armas at kemikal, o ang mga banking at insurance na iskam, ay maisasawalang-bahala. Ang tunay na pangangailangan, tulad ng pagkain, pamamahay, at kadamitan, ay kayang i-produce ng mga manggagawa sa loob lamang ng iilang oras sa bawa't linggo.

Subalit sa ngayon, kailangan natin makabuo ng strategy na huhulma sa paraisong ito HABANG kinokontra ang pang-araw-araw na paghihirap na dulot ng modernong wage slavery. Paniniwala ng mga BossBusters, isang proyekto ng Bay Area Wobblies, na ang susi sa pagkamit ng mga layuning ito ay ang direct action. Pero ano nga ba ang ibig sabihin ng direct action?

Ang direct action ay ang kahit anong uri ng guerilla warfare na pinipilayan ng kakayanan ni bossing na kumitâ, nang wala na siyang magawa kundi bumigay sa mga demanda ng manggagawa. Ang pinakakilalang uri ng direct action ay ang welga, kung saan ititigil ng manggagawa ang kanilang paggawa ng produktong pagkakaitaan ng kanilang amo, hanggang sa makuhila nila ang kanilang gusto. Mas kumpiyansa dito sa taktikang ito ang mga "business unions" tulad ng AFL-CIO sa USA o TUCP sa Pilipinas, pero isa ito sa mga pinaka-hindi mabisang paraan para makipagtunggalian sa mga amo.

Ang mga amo, dala ng kanilang malalaking puhunan, ay mas may kakayanang tiising ang mahaba-habang welga kumpara sa mga manggagawa. Sa iilang mga kaso, hararangan o kukumpiskahan ng korte ang pondong pang-welga ng unyon. Ang masaklap pa, ang mahabang pagtutunggali ay nagbibigay lamang sa amo ng oportunidad na palitan ang mga nagwewelgang manggagawa ng mga eskirol (ang tinatawag na "scab" o "strike breaker").

Mas mabisa ang mga manggagawa kapag nagsagawa sila ng direct action habang nagtrabaho. Kapag tuluyan kang sumuweldo habang binabawasan ang kitâ ng iyong amo, maaari siyang pilayin nang hindi binibigyan ng oportunidad na palitan ka ng eskirol. Sa kahulugan pa lamang ng direct action, pwedeng umaksyon ang

manggawa mismo nang hindi nangangailangan ng tulong ng ahensya ng gobyerno, burokratang unyon, o mga mamahaling abogado. Angkop man minsan ang pagdulog sa Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) at ang kanilang National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC), pero hindi ito isang uri ng direct action.

Ang mga sumusunod ay iilan sa mga pinaka-popular na mga uri ng direct action na nagamit na ng mga manggawa upang makamit ang kanilang layunin. Subalit kung tutuusin, halos lahat ng taktikang ito ay ilegal. Bawat tagumpay ng Labor taun-taon ay nakamit sa pamamagitan ng militant direct action na, sa panahong iyon, ay ilegal at pwedeng sumailalim sa police repression. Sa bagay, ang mga batas ukol sa labor union hanggang noon 1930's ay simple lang dahil walang ganitong batas. Karamihan sa korte ay itinuturing ito na ilegal na conspiracy na pinipigilan ang malayang kalakaran, at ang mga nagwewelga ay kadalasan binubugbog o binabaril ng kapulisan, CAFGU state militia, AFP troops, at pribadong seguridad.

Ngayon ay opisyal na kinikilala na sa batas ng Pilipinas ang karapatan ng mga manggawa na mag-organisa, pero mahirap pa ring makamit ang mabisang aksyon dahil sa napakaraming paghihigpit. Dahil dito, ang sinumang manggagawang pinag-iisipang magsagawa ng direct action habang nasa trabaho—iiwasan ang legal system at titirahin ang amo kung saan sila ay mahina—ay dapat na may kaalaman sa labor law, paano ito iniaapply, at paano ito ginagamit laban sa mga labor activists. Bukod pa rito, dapat alam ng manggawa na ang pagtutunggali ng amo at ng manggawa ay hindi isang laro lamang ng patintero, kung hindi isang digmaan. Sa ganitong sitwasyon, dapat gamitin ang anumang mabisang paraan, ke gusto man ito ng amo (at ng korte) o hindi.

Heto na ang mga pinakamabisang uri ng direct action:

## Monkey-Wrenching

Monkey-wrenching is the generic term for a whole host of tricks, devility, and assorted nastiness that can remind the boss how much he needs his workers (and how little the workers need bosses). While all these monkey-wrenching tactics are non-violent, most of them are major social no-nos. They should be used only in the most heated of battles, where it is open wholesale class warfare between the workers and the bosses.

Disrupting magnetically-stored information (such as cassette tapes, floppy discs and poorly-shielded hard drives) can be done by exposing them to a strong magnetic field. Of course, it would be just as simple to "misplace" the discs and tapes that contain such vital information. Restaurant workers can buy a bunch of live crickets or mice at the neighborhood pet shop, and liberate them in a convenient place. For bigger laughs, give your local sanitation office an anonymous tip.

One thing that always haunts a strike call is the question of scabs and strike breakers. In a railroad strike in 1886, the scab problem was solved by strikers who took "souvenirs" from work home with them. Oddly enough, the trains wouldn't run without these small, crucial pieces, and the scabs found themselves with nothing to do. Of course, nowadays, it may be safer for workers to simply hide these pieces in a secure place at the jobsite, rather than trying to smuggle them out of the plant.

Use the boss' letterhead to order a ton of unwanted office supplies and have it delivered to the office. If your company has a toll-free telephone number, have all your friends jam the phone lines with angry calls about the current situation. Be creative with your use of superglue. The possibilities are endless.

## Dual Power (Ignoring the Boss)

The best way to get something done is to simply organize and do it ourselves. Rather than wait for the boss to give in to our demands and institute long-sought change, we often have the power to institute those changes on our own, without the boss' approval.

The owner of a San Francisco coffeehouse was a poor money manager, and one week the paychecks didn't arrive. The manager kept assuring the workers that the checks would be coming soon, but eventually the workers took things into their own hands. They began to pay themselves on a day-to-day basis straight out of the cash register, leaving receipts for the amounts advanced so that everything was on the up-and-up. An uproar ensued, but the checks always arrived on time after that.

In a small printing shop in San Francisco's financial district, an old decrepit offset press was finally removed from service and pushed to the side of the press room. It was replaced with a brand new machine, and the manager stated his intention to use the old press "for envelopes only." It began to be cannibalized for spare parts by the press operators, though, just to keep some of the other presses running. Soon enough, it was obvious to everyone but the manager that this press would never see service again.

The printers asked the manager to move it upstairs to the storage room, since by now it merely took up valuable space in an already crowded press room. He hemmed and hawed and never seemed to get around to it. Finally, one afternoon after the printers had punched out for the day, they got a moving dolly and wrestled the press onto the elevator to take it upstairs. The manager found them just as they got it into the elevator, and though he turned livid at this blatant usurpation of his authority, he never mentioned the incident to them. The space where the press had been was converted to an "employee lounge," with several chairs and a magazine rack.

## Slowdown

Ang Slowdown ay may mahaba at magiting na kasaysayan. Noong 1899, inayawan ng mga amo ng organisadong dock worker ng Glasgow, Scotland ang kanilang demanda ng 10% na taas ng sahod. Nag-welga ang mga manggagawa, kaya naman ipinasok ang mga eskirol na galing agrikultura. Sila'y napasuko at nanumbalik sa pagtatrabaho sa ilalim ng kanilang oriinal na sahod. Pero bago pa man sila makabalik sa kanilang trabaho, narinig nila ito mula sa sekretarya ng kanilang union:

"Babalik kayo sa inyong lumang trabaho sa inyong lumang sahod. Lilang beses nang sinabi ng amo na masaya sila sa trabaho ng eskirol na pumalit sa atin nang iilang linggo habang tayo ay nagwewelga. Pero nakita natin kung paano sila magtrabaho. Nakita natin na hindi nila alam kung paano lakarin ang bapor, at na nahuhulog nila ang kalahati sa mga panindang kanilang binubuhat; sa madaling salita, hindi matatapatan ng dalawa sa kanila ang trabaho ng isa sa atin. Datapwat, masaya diu-mano ang ating amo sa kanilang trabaho. Puwes, wala tayong ibang magagawa kung hindi gayahin ang kanilang gawi. Magtrabaho kung paano magtrabaho ang mga eskirol."

Malugod na sinundan ang kautusang ito. Matapos ang ilang araw, pinakiusapan ng mga contractor ang union secretary na pagsabihan ang mga manggagawa na magtrabaho nang tulad ng dati, at na sila'y pumapayag na taasan ang sahod nang 10%.

Sa isang panibagong siglo, sinabihan ang isang gang ng section men na nagtrabaho sa riles sa Indiana ukol sa pagbawas ng kanilang sahod. Agad-agaran dinala ng mga manggagawa ang kanilang shovel sa blacksmith, at binawasan ng 2 inches ang mga scoop nito. Pagkabalik sa trabaho, ika nila sa amo, "kapirangot na trabaho, para sa kapirangot na pasweldo."

O isipin mo 'to. Pinahihintulutan ang mga train operators ng San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit na humingi ng "10-501s" (bathroom breaks) saan man sa mainline, at hindi ito pwedeng ipagkait ng Central Control. Sa katotohanan,bihira naman ito mangyari. Pero anong magagawa ng management kung bigla na lang humingi ng pinahabang "10-501s" kada biyahe sa Bay?

## **Work-to-rule**

Sa dinami-dami ng mga alituntunin, mga regulation, standing order, atbp. sa halos lahat ng trabaho, marami dito ay mahirap gampamanan at hindi rin naman binibigyang-pansin. Nilalabag madalas ng mga manggagawa ang kautusan, nang-wawais na lamang, at isinasawalang-bahala ang awtoridad para lang makamtan ang layunin ng kumpanya. Kadalsan, may unspoken na kaugnayan, kahit pa man sa mga manager na siya mismong dapat nagpapatupad ng alituntunin, na kailangang gamitin ang mga shortcut na ito upang maka-quota sa tamang oras.

Pero ano kaya ang mangyayari kung susundin nang maigi ang mga alituntunin ito? Malamang ay magtatapos ito sa kaguluhan-babagsak ang production at morale. At maganda pa sa lahat, hindi mapeperwisyo ang mga manggagawa dahil, kung tutusin, sumusunod lang naman sila sa alitununin.

Sa ilalim ng nationalization, ipinagbabawal ang railroad strikes sa France. Subalit, nakahanap ang mga manggagawa ng paraan na iparating ang kanilang hinanakit. May French law kung saan kailangan siguraduhin ng engineer ang safety ng tulay na dadaanan ng tren. Kung pagkatapos ng pagsusuri ay hindi pa rin siya sigurado, dapat lang na mangonsulta ng ibang miyembro ng train crew. Syempre, lahat ng tulay ay isinuri at lahat ng crew ay ikinonsulta nang naaayon sa batas na ito, at walang tren na tumakbo sa tamang oras.

Para makapag-demanda nang hindi isinasakripisyong trabaho ng mga Austrian postal worker, sinundan nila nang maigi ang alituntunin na dapat timbangin lahat ng mail para siguraduhing tama ang selyong nakadikit. Dati, pinapasa lang nang hindi tinitimbang ang lahat ng mga sulat at parcel na halata namang underweight, kaya pwede rin namang sabihing naaachieve ang layunin ng alituntuning ito, kahit na hindi naman mismo sinusunod. Pero, sa pag-hawi at masuring pag-timbang sa bawa't sobre bago ito ibalik sa tamang pwesto, matagumpay ang postal workers sa pagpuno ng office gamit ang mail na hindi pa natitimbang sa loob ng dalawang araw.

## **Sick-In**

The Sick-In is a good way to strike without striking. The idea is to cripple your workplace by having all or most of the workers call in sick on the same day or days. Unlike the formal walkout, it can be used effectively by single departments and work areas, and can often be successfully used even without a formal union organization. It is the traditional method of direct action for public employee unions, which are legally prevented from striking.

At a New England mental hospital, just the thought of a Sick-In got results. A shop steward, talking to a supervisor about a fired union member, casually mentioned that there was a lot of flu going around, and wouldn't it be too bad if there weren't enough healthy people to staff the wards. At the same time—completely by coincidence, of course—dozens of people were calling the personnel office to see how much sick time they had left. The supervisor got the message, and the union member was rehired.

## **Whistle Blowing (The Open Mouth)**

Sometimes simply telling people the truth about what goes on at work can put a lot of pressure on the boss. Consumer industries like restaurants and packing plants are the most vulnerable. And again, as in the case of the Good Work Strike, you'll be gaining the support of the public, whose patronage can make or break a business.

Whistle Blowing can be as simple as a face-to-face conversation with a customer, or it can be as dramatic as the PG&E engineer who revealed that the blueprints to the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor had been reversed. Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* blew the lid off the scandalous health standards and working conditions of the meatpacking industry when it was published in 1906.

Waiters can tell their restaurant clients about the various shortcuts and substitutions that go into creating the faux-haute cuisine being served to them just as Work to Rule puts an end to the usual relaxation of standards, Whistle Blowing reveals it for all to know.

## **Good Work Strike**

Para sa mga service industry workers, isa sa mga pinakahadlang sa ilang uri ng direct action tulad ng Slowdown ay ang katotohanang mas nakapipinsala ito sa consumer (na kadalasa'y manggagawa din) kaysa sa amo. Para solusyonan ito, maaaring magbigay ng mas maganda o mas murang serbisyo galing mismo sa pitaka ni bossing.

Kinatakutan ng mga workers ng Mercy Hospital sa France na baka hindi gamutin ang kanilang mga pasyente kung sila'y magwelga; sa halip nito, hindi na lang nila finile ang billing slips ng mga gamot, lab test, at therapy. Dahil dito, mas gumanda pa ang arugang nabigay sa mga pasyente (dahil dito ginugol ng mga manggagawa ang kanilang oras, kaysa sa pag-file ng papeles), nang libre. Nangalahati ang kitâ ng ospital, at bumigay ang natatarantang administrator sa mga demanda ng manggagawa sa loob ng tatlong araw.

Noong 1968, nagbigay ng libreng sakay ang bus and train workers ng Lisbon, para protestahan ang pagtanggi ng taas-sweldo. Dumating pa din naman ang mga konduktor at mga driver, pero hindi naningil ang mga konduktor. Hindi na siguro kailangan sabihin, pero mariing sinuportahan ng publiko ang mga nagwewelgang ito.

Sa New York City, nakabawi ang IWW restaurant workers matapos sa isang welga sa pamamagitan ng pakikinig sa payo ng IWW organizers na "ipile up ang mga plato, bigyan sila ng doble-dobleng serving, at babaan ang bill."

## Sitdown Strikes

Hindi kailangan pahabain ang isang welga para maging mabisa. Kapag naorasan at nagawa ng tama, kaya itong panalunin nang iilan lamang minuto. Ang tawag sa mga welgang ito ay “sitdown”, kung saan titigil lang ang lahat sa pagtrabaho, o “mass grievances” kung saan aalis ang lahat sa trabaho upang maghinaing sa office ng amo.

Mabisang nagamit ng Detroit IWW ang Sitdown sa Hudson Motor Car Company sa pagitan ng 1932 and 1934. Anila, “umupo ka lang at panooring umakyat ang sweldo mo” ang mensaheng ikinalat sa assembly line sa pamamagitan ng mga sticker na nakadikit sa mga parte. Sa patuloy na paggamit ng sitdown, naidoble ang sahod ng mga manggagawa (mula \$.75 kada oras, naging \$1.50) sa gitna ng depresyon. [editor’s note: mula ₱1290 kada oras, naging ₱2580 kung ikukumpara sa 2022 Philippine peso, adjusted for inflation]

Ang mga IWW theater extras na nanganganib mangalahati ang sahod naman, naghintay para sa tamang oras na magwelga. Nangangailangan ang dula ng 150 na extrang nakabihis ng pang-Roman soldier upang buhatin ang Reyna paakyat at pababa ng entablado. Noong binigyan na sila ng cue para sa entrada ng Reyna, pinlibutan ng mga extra ang Reyna at hindi nagpatinag hanggang hindi lamang ibalik ang dating sahod, kung hindi itinriple.

Makapangyarihang sandata pa rin ang mga sitdown occupation. Noong 1980, ina-nunsyo ng KKR Corporation na isasara na ang Houdaille plant sa Ontario at ililipat ito sa South Carolina. Bilang ganti, inokupa ng mga manggagawa ang planta nang 2 linggo. Napilitan ang KKR na makipagkasundo para sa fair terms sa pagsara ng planta, kasama na rito ang full pension, severance pay, at bayad para sa health insurance premiums.

## Selective Strikes

Unpredictability is a great weapon in the hands of the workers. Pennsylvania teachers used the Selective Strike to great effect in 1991, when they walked a picketline on Monday and Tuesday, reported for work on Wednesday, struck again on Thursday, and reported for work on Friday and Monday.

This on-again, off-again tactic not only prevented the administrators from hiring scabs to replace the teachers, but also forced administrators who hadn’t been in a classroom for years to staff the schools while the teachers were out. The tactic was so effective that the Pennsylvania legislature promptly introduced bills that would outlaw selective strikes.

## **Sitdown Strikes**

A strike doesn't have to be long to be effective. Timed and executed right, a strike can be won in minutes. Such strikes are "sitdowns" when everyone just stops work and sits tight, or "mass grievances" when everybody leaves work to go to the boss' office to discuss some matter of importance.

The Detroit IWW employed the Sitdown to good effect at the Hudson Motor Car Company between 1932 and 1934. "Sit down and watch your pay go up" was the message that rolled down the assembly line on stickers that had been fastened to pieces of work. The steady practice of the sitdown raised wages 100% (from \$.75 an hour to \$1.50) in the middle of a depression [editor's note: from ₱1290 an hour to ₱2580 an hour in 2022 Philippine Peso, adjusted for inflation].

IWW theater extras, facing a 50% pay cut, waited for the right time to strike. The play had 150 extras dressed as Roman soldiers to carry the Queen on and off the stage. When the cue for the Queen's entrance came, the extras surrounded the Queen and refused to budge until the pay was not only restored, but tripled.

Sitdown occupations are still powerful weapons. In 1980, the KKR Corporation announced that it was going to close its Houdaille plant in Ontario and move it to South Carolina. The workers responded by occupying the plant for two weeks. KKR was forced to negotiate fair terms for the plant closing, including full pensions, severance pay, and payment towards health insurance premiums.

## **Selective Strikes**

Sa kamay ng mga manggagawa, mahusay na sandata ang unpredictability. Mabisa itong ginamit ng mga guro sa Pennsylvania ang Selective Strike noong 1991, kung saan nagwelga sila noong Monday at Tuesday, nagtrabaho noong Wednesday, nag-welga muli nong Thursday, at nagtrabaho noon Friday at Monday.

Dahil sa pasundot-sundot na tactic na ito, hindi nakayanan ng administrator na mag-hire ng eskirol para palitan ang mga guro; pero bukod pa dito, napilitan din ang mga administrator na ilang taon nang hindi nakapasok sa silid-aranan na maging tauhan habang wala ang mga guro. Sa sobrang bisa ng taktikang ito, mabilisang nag-sagawa ang Pennsylvania legislature ng panukalang magbabawal ng selective strike.

## **Whistle Blowing (Alam Mo Ba...)**

Minsan, sa simpleng pamamahagi lamang ng katotohanan sa pangyayari sa trabaho, kaya nang maka-pressure sa amo. Pinakamarupok ang consumer industries tulad ng mga restaurant at mga packing plant. At tulad ng Good Work Strike, makakakuha ka ng suporta mula sa publiko, kung kanino nakadepende ang negosyo.

Ang whistle blowing ay pwedeng kasing simple ng face-to-face na usapan kasama ang customer, o pwede itong kasing-dramatic ng isang PG&E engineer na inibunyag na ipinasawalang-bisa ang blueprints ng Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. Ibinunyag ng nobelang *The Jungle* ni Upton Sinclair ang katotohanan tungkol sa iskandalosong health standard at mga working condition ng meatpacking industry noong naisapubliko ito noong 1906.

Pwedeng kwentuhan ng mga waiter ang kanilang mga customer tungkol sa iba't-ibang pagtitipid na ginagamit sa paggawa ng high-class cuisine kuno na ihinahain sa kanila. Kung saan itinitigil ng Work to Rule ang pagpapaubaya ng mga alituntunin, Whistle Blowing naman ang nagpapaalam nito sa lahat.

## **Good Work Strike**

One of the biggest problems for service industry workers is that many forms of direct action, such as Slowdowns, end up hurting the consumer (mostly fellow workers) more than the boss. One way around this is to provide better or cheaper service—at the boss' expense, of course.

Workers at Mercy Hospital in France, who were afraid that patients would go untreated if they went on strike, instead refused to file the billing slips for drugs, lab tests, treatments, and therapy. As a result, the patients got better care (since time was being spent caring for them instead of doing paperwork), for free. The hospital's income was cut in half, and panic-stricken administrators gave in to all of the workers' demands after three days.

In 1968, Lisbon bus and train workers gave free rides to all passengers to protest a denial of wage increases. Conductors and drivers arrived for work as usual, but the conductors did not pick up their money satchels. Needless to say, public support was solidly behind these take-no-fare strikers.

In New York City, IWW restaurant workers, after losing a strike, won some of their demands by heeding the advice of IWW organizers to “pile up the plates, give ‘em double helpings, and figure the checks on the low side.”

## Work-to-Rule

Almost every job is covered by a maze of rules, regulations, standing orders, and so on, many of them completely unworkable and generally ignored. Workers often violate orders, resort to their own techniques of doing things, and disregard lines of authority simply to meet the goals of the company. There is often a tacit understanding, even by the managers whose job it is to enforce the rules, that these shortcuts must be taken in order to meet production quotas on time.

But what would happen if each of these rules and regulations were followed to the letter? Confusion would result—production and morale would plummet. And best of all, the workers can't get in trouble with this tactic because they are, after all, "just following the rules."

Under nationalization, French railroad strikes were forbidden. Nonetheless, railroad workers found other ways of expressing their grievances. One French law requires the engineer to assure the safety of any bridge over which the train must pass. If after a personal examination he is still doubtful, then he must consult other members of the train crew. Of course, every bridge was so inspected, every crew was so consulted, and none of the trains ran on time.

In order to gain certain demands without losing their jobs, the Austrian postal workers strictly observed the rule that all mail must be weighed to see if the proper postage was affixed. Formerly they had passed without weighing all those letters and parcels which were clearly underweight, thus living up to the spirit of the regulation but not to its exact wording. By taking each separate piece of mail to the scales, carefully weighing it, and then returning it to its proper place, the postal workers had the office congested with unweighed mail on the second day.

## Sick-In

Ang Sick-In ay isang magandang paraan ng pagwelga nang hindi nagwewelga. Sa pamamagitan ng sabay-sabay na "pagkakasakit", maaaring pilain ng mga manggawa ang workplace. Hindi tulad ng pormal na walkout, kaya itong gawin ng isang hamak na department o work area, at kadalasan pwedeng epektibong magamit kahit na walang pormal na unyon. Ito ang nakaugaliang paraan ng direct action ng mga public employee unions, na legally na ipinagbabawal mag-welga.

Ang banta lamang ng Sick-In sa isang New England mental hospital ay nagdulot na ng mga resulta. Habang kausap ang isang bisor tungkol sa isang nasisanteng miyembro ng unyon, nabanggit ng shop steward na maraming tinatrangkasos, at kawawa naman kung walang natitirang empleyado para magbantay sa ward. Nang yari lang din na noong panahon din na iyon, dose-dosenang manggawa ang tumatawag sa personnel office para icheck kung ilan pang sick leave ang meron sila. Na-gets ng bisor ang mensaheng ipinaparating, at binalik ang nasisanteng miyembro ng unyon.

## Dual Power (Huwag Pansinin si Bossing)

Kung meron tayong gustong makamit na pagbabago, kaysa hintayin si bossing na bumigay sa ating mga demanda, kaya nating mag-organisa at simulan sa sarili ang pagbabago, nang walang pahintulot ng amo.

May owner ng isang coffeehouse sa San Francisco na hindi kagalingan sa usapang pera. Isang linggo, hindi na lang dumating ang sweldo. Todo panigurado si bossing sa kanyang mga manggagawa na dadating din ang kanilang sahod, pero ang kinalauhan, ang mga manggagawa na mismo ang kumilos. Sila-sila na lang din ang nagpasahod sa kanilang mga sarili gamit ang pera sa cash register, at nag-iiwan na lang din sila ng mga resibo kung saan nakadetalye ang mga cash advance nila, para malinaw. Nagkaroon ng tunggalian, pero matapos noon, palagi na silang pinapasahod nang tamang oras.

Sa isang maliit na printing shop sa financial district ng San Francisco, may pinaglumaang offset press na sa wakas ay inout-of-service at itinabi na lang sa sulok ng press room. Pinalitan ito ng panibagong makina, at pinahiwatig ng manager ang kanyang intensyon na gamitin ang lumang press "para sa mga sobre lang." Unti-unti, kinuha ng press operators ang iilan sa mga parte ng lumang press para tuloy-tuloy na mapagana ang iibang press. Ang nangyari, nagets na ng lahat maliban na lang sa manager na hindi na magagamit muli ang press na ito.

Nag-rekves ang mga printer kay manager na iakyat ang lumang press sa storage room, dahil sa puntong iyon, kalat na lang ito sa isang masikip na press room. Nagpaliguy-ligoy siya at tila walang oras gawin ito, hanggang sa isang hapon, noong nag-time out na ang mga printer, nilagay nila ang lumang press sa isang trolley at pahirapan itong isinakay sa elevator para iakyat. Natsamabahan sila ng manager pagkasakay nila sa elevator, at kahit nagalit ito dahil sa pagsasawalang-bahala ng kanyang awtoridad, hindi na niya binanggit ang pangyayaring ito. Ginawang "employee lounge" na may maraming upuan at magazine rack ang lugar kung saan dati naroroon ang lumang press.

## Slowdown

The Slowdown has a long and honorable history. In 1899, the organized dock workers of Glasgow, Scotland, demanded a 10% increase in wages, but met with refusal by the bosses and went on strike. Strike-breakers were brought in from among the agricultural workers, and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work under the old wages. But before they went back to work, they heard this from the secretary of their union:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural laborers who have taken our place for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work. We have seen that they could not even walk a vessel and that they dropped half the merchandise they carried; in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted with the work of these fellows. Well, then, there is nothing for us to do but the same. Work as the agricultural laborers worked."

This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the union secretary and begged him to tell the dockworkers to work as before, and that they were willing to grant the 10% pay increase.

At the turn of the century, a gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to work they told the boss "short pay, short shovels."

Or imagine this. San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit train operators are allowed to ask for "10-501s" (bathroom breaks) anywhere along the mainline, and Central Control cannot deny them. In reality, this rarely happens. But what would management do if suddenly every train operator began taking extended 10-50ls on each trip they made across the Bay?

cally speaking, illegal. Every major victory won by Labor over the years was achieved with militant direct actions that were, in their time, illegal and subject to police repression. After all, until the 1930's, the laws surrounding labor unions were simple — there were none. Most courts held labor unions to be illegal conspiracies in restraint of "free trade," and strikers were routinely beaten and shot by police, CAFGU state militias, AFP troops, and private security goons.

The legal right of workers to organize is now officially recognized in the Philippines, yet so many restrictions exist that effective action is as difficult as ever. For this reason, any worker contemplating direct action on the job—bypassing the legal system and hitting the boss where they are weakest—should be fully aware of labor law, how it is applied, and how it may be used against labor activists. At the same time, workers must realize that the struggle between the bosses and the workers is not a game of *patintero*—it is war. Under these circumstances, workers must use what works, whether the bosses (and their courts) like it or not.

Here, then, are the most useful forms of direct action:

## Monkey-Wrenching

Ang monkey-wrenching ay isang generic na term para sa iba't-ibang uri ng kalokohan na pwedeng paalalahanin kay bossing na mas kailangan niya ang mga manggawa, kaysa ang manggagawa ang may kailangan sa kanya. Kahit na ang mga tak-tikang ito ay hindi gumagamit ng karahasan, karamihan dito ay hindi socially acceptable at dapat na ginagamit lamang sa mga matitinding pagtutunggalian kung saan all-out war na sa pagitan ng mga manggagawa at mga bossing.

Kayang sirain ang magnetically stored information (tulad ng mga cassette tape, floppy disk, at hard drive) sa pag-expose nito sa malakas na magnetic field. Aba syempre, ang dali namang "mawala" ang mga disc at tape na ito.

Madali lang makabili ang mga restaurant workers ng kuliglig o ng daga sa pet shop diyan sa tabi-tabi, at pakawalan ang mga ito kung saan convenient. Para mas benta, tumawag sa local sanitation office para magbigay ng anonymous tip.

Isang bagay ng palaging kinakatautan kapag may pag-anyaya ng welga ay ang mga eskirol at strike breaker. Sa isang railroad strike noong 1886, madaling nasolusyonan ng mga nagwewelga ang problema ng eskirol sa pamamagitan ng pag-uwi ng mga "pasalubong" mula sa trabaho. Sa 'di malamang kadahilanan, hindi mapatakbo ang mga tren dahil sa mga nawawalang parte, at wala namang magawa ang mga eskirol. Syempre, ngayon, mas mabuti sigurong itago na lang ang mga parteng ito malapit sa pinagtatrabuhuan, kaysa sa i-smuggle ang mga ito palabas ng planta.

Gamitin ang letterhead ni bossing para bumili ng kung anu-anong mga office supplies at ipadala ang mga ito sa office. Kung may toll-free na telephone number ang kumpanya, gayakin ang mga kaibigan na tawagan ito para mag-reklamo tungkol sa kasalukuyang sitwasyon. Maging malikhain sa paggamig ng superglue. Maraming posibilidad.

## Pagkakaisa

Syempre, ang pinakamabisang sandata ay organisasyon. Kung isang manggagawa lamang ang tumindig, madali silang tirising parang kuto ng mga bossing. Ang natiris na kuto ay wala namang silbi sa mga pamilya, mga kaibigan, at mga social movement. Pero kung sabay-sabay tumindig ang lahat ng mga manggagawa, walang magagawa ang mga bossing kung hindi seryosohin kayo. Pwede silang magsisante nang paisa-isa, pero malamang mahihirapan silang sisantehin ang buong workforce.

Nakadepende ang bisa ng mga tactics na naidiscuss dito sa pagkakaisa, sa mga coordinated ng action ng maraming mga manggagawa. Kung gusto mo lang namang hindi tuluyang mawalan ng muwang, makakapagbigay ng panandaliang ginhawa ang tingi-tinging sabotahe at paghihiganti. Pero kung ang nais mo ay ang tunay na pakiramdam ng sama-samang pagtindig, walang mas nakaka-GV pa kaysa sa malawakang pag-sanib pwersa ng mga galit na manggagawa para magsagawa ng direct action.

"I don't know of anything that can be applied that will bring as much satisfaction to you, and as much anguish to the boss, as a little sabotage in the right place at the right time."

— "Big" Bill Haywood, Industrial Workers of the World.

The indignity of working-for-a-living is well-known to anyone who ever has. Democracy, the great principle on which Philippine society is supposedly founded, is thrown out the window as soon as we punch the time clock at work. With no say over what we produce, or how that production is organized, and with only a small portion of that product's value finding its way into our paychecks, we have every right to be pissed off at our bosses.

Ultimately, of course, we need to create a society in which working people make all the decisions about the production and distribution of goods and services. Harmful or useless industries, such as arms and chemical manufacturing, or the banking and insurance scams, would be eliminated. The real essentials, like food, shelter, and clothing, could be produced by everyone working just a few hours each week.

In the meantime, however, we need to develop strategies that both prefigure this utopia AND counteract the day to day drudgery of contemporary wage-slavery. BossBusters, a project of the Bay Area Wobblies, believes that direct action in the workplace is the key to achieving both these goals. But what do we mean by direct action?

Direct action is any form of guerrilla warfare that cripples the boss' ability to make a profit and makes them cave in to the workers' demands. The best-known form of direct action is the strike, in which workers simply walk off their jobs and refuse to produce profits for the boss until they get what they want. This is the preferred tactic of the "business unions" like the AFL-CIO in the USA or TUCP in the Philippines, but is one of the least effective ways of confronting the boss.

The bosses, with their large financial reserves, are better able to withstand a long drawn-out strike than the workers. In many cases, court injunctions will freeze or confiscate the union's strike funds. And worst of all, a long walk-out only gives the boss a chance to replace striking workers with a scab (replacement) workforce.

Workers are far more effective when they take direct action while still on the job. By deliberately reducing the boss' profits while continuing to collect wages, you can cripple the boss without giving some scab the opportunity to take your job. Direct action, by definition, means those tactics workers can undertake themselves, without the help of government agencies, union bureaucrats, or high-priced lawyers. Running to the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) and their National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC) for help may be appropriate in some cases, but it is NOT a form of direct action.

What follows are some of the most popular forms of direct action that workers have used to get what they wanted. Yet nearly every one of these tactics is, techni-

## **Afterword: Spontanyong Pagkikilos, o Self-Directed Militancy**

Ang pamphlet na ito ay isang lumang manual na ikinakalat sa mga manggagawang kasama sa Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) ng North America. Sa orihinal na kasulatan ay may instructions para kontakin ang IWW para sa mga bagong organisadong manggagawa para masuportahan at makiisa. Sa ngayon, wala pang IWW sa Pilipinas, kaya hindi pa ito posible. Merong ibang unyon sa Pilipinas, pero ilan dito ay hindi kontrolado ng mga manggagawa, kundi ng burokrasya o ng partida; posibleng ang mga ito ay hindi umaaksyon nang naaayon sa interes ng mga manggagawa.

Imbis na sumunod sa mga lider na aprubado ng estado, mga partido, o ng burokrata, maaaring kayo-kayo na lamang mga manggagawa ang mag-usap-usap at mag-direkta ng spontanyong pagkikilos tungo sa inyong mga pangitain. Ito ang prinsipyo ng self-directed militancy, kung saan ang manggagawa mismo ang nagsasagawa ng direct action. Kung saan walang kakamping unyon, kaya ninyong mag-organisa nang kayo-kayo para itaguyod ang sarili ninyong karapatan. Pwede kayong mag-organisa ng mga tactic at mga strategy na tinukoy sa pamphlet na ito nang hindi dumadaan sa union bureaucracy na maaaring ikainip ninyo pa.

Sa maraming bansa, ang militancy ng mga manggagawa ay idinidirekta sa pamamagitan ng burukratikong pamamaraan, tulad ng arbitration courts o ng napakakomplikadong legal procedures na cinaclassify ang welga bilang legal o ilegal. Sinasadya ng mga procedure na ito na tanggalin mula sa kamay ng mga manggagawa ang militansya, at ilagay ito sa mga legal na korte, abugado, at burokrata. Sa kasaysayan ng manggagawang organisasyon sa buong mundo, makikita na ang unyon mismo ay maaaring kumitil (sa halip na paigtingin pa lalo) sa interes ng manggagawa, sa pamamagitan ng pagtanggal ng kapangyarihan mula sa manggagawa papunta sa mga burokratang unyon o iba pa.

Tandaan na ang taktikang nakadetalye sa pamphlet na ito ay maaaring ilegal. Ang pagtindig para sa mas magandang mundo ay kadalasan hindi legal. Ang batas ng mundo ay ang batas ng estado at ng kapital na pinopondohan ito. Pero welgang talunan lang ang welgang ilegal. Ang pagwelga mismo ay dating ilegal, kasabay na ng mga unyon, pero sa pamamagitan ng pakikibaka, napilitan ang estado at ang kapital na kilalanin ito. Kapag ikaw ay magwagi sa iyong pakikibago, maaaring makamit mo din ang mga ito.

Sa halip na kontakin ang IWW, maaaring mag-reach out sa kapwa manggagawa, maging sa bansa mang ito o sa mga karatig-bansa. Sa pamamagitan ng pagkakaisa pwedeng makahanap ng kapanalig at kasama. Maaari mo ring subukang kontakin ang International Confederation of Labor (ICL-CIT), kung saan parte ang IWW, upang mabigyan ng publiko at pribadong suporta.

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**Note ng mga Tagasalin:** Ang pamphlet na ito ay orihinal na ipinapublish ng BossBusters, isang proyekto ng Bay Area IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, o Wobblies). Ito ay isang translation ng kanilang pamphlet at nilocalize para sa mga Pilipino.

**Disclaimer:** Hindi garantisadong mangyayari ang gusto mong ipatupad gamit ng mga taktikang ito. Maraming puwedeng magbagk sa mga sitwasyong iyong kinabibilangan. Mas mainam na ikaw at kapwa mong manggagawa ay mag ingat at pag-isipan ng mabuti ang iyong plano bago ito gawin. Samakatuwid, hindi makakatulong ang mga gawaing ito kung walang matatag na organisasyong sasalo sa kanila. Madalian lang ang magagawa ng direct action na sari-sarili lamang. Kailangang kayo ng iyong mga kasama na sumali o bumuo ng matibay na samahan bago gawin ang mga taktikang ito.

# How to Fire Your Boss

A Workers' Guide to Direct Action

BossBusters

2022