

# PAY.BEV.

PROTESTS ARE YOUR BEST  
ENTERTAINMENT VALUE!

\$2.00 (plus postage)

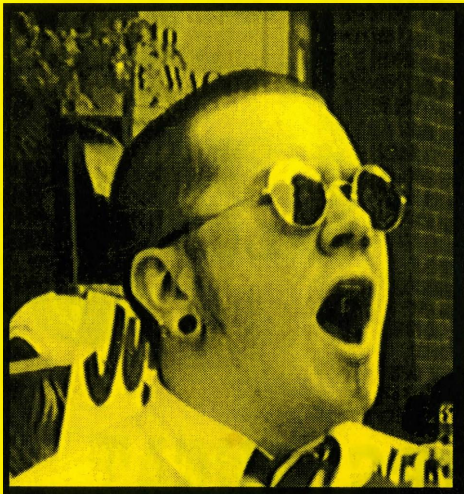
#1

## NIKE OPERATES SWEAT SHOPS WORLDWIDE



## AND ALL I GOT WAS THIS LOUSY T SHIRT





**INTRO:** When I was a little kid, I noticed two things about adults—that they were really into “entertainment”, which for them seemed to mean going out somewhere just to say that they went out somewhere; and they were really into complaining about the state of the world. I would ask what they did about all these bad things, and they would always tell me that there was never anything that they could do, since it would take too much time and effort to get anything accomplished. My

thought is that if people spent just a portion of the time they spent “going out” writing to officials, signing petitions, doing SOMETHING, they would be a lot happier in general. Even though this was placed in the “you’ll understand when you are older” file, I believe this even more strongly today. What makes me especially adamant about this is the number of peers that I have that feel the same need to “go out” because it is Friday, Saturday, a Holiday, etc. and so go to a club and hang out with people that they don’t really like, see a band they don’t really like, watch a movie that they really don’t care if they see. All this “entertainment” uses up a lot of time and money, but doesn’t seem to really entertain, it merely occupies time. Meanwhile, virtually everyone I know has at least one major gripe against some law, company, situation, but would rather bitch and moan than do something about it. At the same time, I see the few people who take to the streets via protest, guerrilla theatre, what have you, are not only making a statement, and feeling artistically fulfilled, they are having a great deal of fun while doing so. And this fun also makes you feel good, not just amused. A sense of accomplishing something beats killing time any day. Find out about issues that effect you and those around you—knowledge is power, and being powerful can feel pretty good. Think about what you spend your money on—is that \$8.00 movie ticket worth the time it took to earn the money? Was it 8 bucks worth of fun? Do you think that the theatre and movie company appreciate your money and put it to good use? Public property is free, after all, and the company that you enjoy at a party can also be enjoyed at a rally. Feeling social? Call some pals, have a sign making party, and take to the streets. You want to be outside on a nice day anyway, go out with a purpose! Protests are your best entertainment value!



Hello, my name is Rich Mackin, Consumer defense Corporate Poet. I have a couple problems with NIKE. A big problem is the fact that NIKE uses sweatshops in Asian countries to make most of its products. Details are included in article reprints contained inside. These factories are, at best, of Dickensonian conditions, and some are essentially slavery. The fact that the workers are predominantly female is sexist, the fact that the factories all are based in non-white countries is racist. The fact that NIKE spends millions on advertising but won't pay it's workers decent wages is just plain wrong. Nike is also charged with targeting poor, inner-city youth, who can't afford its high priced shoes, which are sold for as much as 100 times the price it took to make them. NIKE is also a major part of what has been called 'The GAPification of America', or, as Chris Chandler says, "the United States of Generica", with millions of people paying money to become living billboards. Finally, my own twisted mindset cannot get over the alarming connections between NIKE and the HEAVEN'S GATE suicide cult.

Given all these factors, I was dismayed to hear that a NIKETOWN (which is the also the name of the sweatshop factories) was opening right in my backyard. I was further alarmed at the happy free publicity that the local media was giving. When I found out that the opening day would be July 19, I knew what had to be done. many letters, flyers and phone calls later, I had organized a large, eclectic protest force. Those of us to first arrive were greeted by dozens of police officers and numerous barricades. While it was a bit intimidating, I must say that there was a feeling of power involved, to see that my humble flyering had caused such a need for police force.

On the following pages, you will find reprints about NIKE's activities from various media sources for background, flyers handed out at the protest, photos taken, and information regarding the lone arrest that occurred.





The NEW REPUBLIC Magazine August, 1997

## THE YOUNG AND THE FECKLESS

Stephen Glass

For the past year, the Nike athletic wear company has been the object of intense scrutiny, thanks to reports of widespread labor abuse by its subcontractors in Asia. In Vietnam, 800 laborers walked off the job to protest what they said were poor working conditions; in Indonesia, thousands of workers ransacked their factory this spring, claiming Nike hadn't been paying the \$2.50-a-day minimum wage. Tales of exploitation have also sparked demonstrations back home in New York, Los Angeles and Seattle. On February 22, hundreds of activists filled San Francisco's Union Square on the opening day of Niketown, a multi-floor Nike superstore. Outside the entrance, hundreds of protesters chanted, "Just don't do it!" and urged prospective customers to stay away.

Two days after the San Francisco incident, Nike CEO Phil Knight announced that his company was taking swift--and, it would turn out, savvy--action to shore up its meticulously maintained but suddenly threatened public image. Nike was commissioning an independent investigation of its Asian operations: it would make all facilities and internal documents available to a team of inspectors, and it would then allow the inspectors to make their findings public. "Nike has always been a business about excellence and achievement," Knight proclaimed. And, to prove it, Nike would hire not just any old corporate hack to lead the investigation into its overseas operations, but a man of famous independence and renowned stature--a man who had first gained recognition as a civil rights hero, who had won wide acclaim as the mayor of Atlanta, who had served his country as ambassador to the United Nations and who had co-chaired the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. The honorable Andrew Young, Knight said, would get to the bottom of this.

But Young was not just another pretty public servant summoned from an idyllic private life to answer duty's call. He was a businessman. And his fledgling business was to stimulate investment in developing countries--a mission statement that, it seems, includes helping companies deal with the p.r. messes that can come with such overseas endeavors. To conduct this business, Young had recently founded a firm in Atlanta called GoodWorks International. With Young at the helm, GoodWorks was perfectly positioned to take advantage of an emerging niche market: recently, Texaco, General Motors and Mitsubishi had all invited well-respected former government officials to serve as independent arbiters of complaints made by employees or consumers.

Nike was GoodWorks's first big client, its first chance to send corporate America evidence that GoodWorks did, from the businessman's point of view, good work. And when, four months after Knight's announcement, Young's firm published its seventy-five-page, full-color report on Nike's Asian operations, the client certainly had reason to feel it had gotten its money's worth. There was, Young had concluded, "no evidence or pattern of widespread or systematic abuse or mistreatment of workers" in the twelve operations he examined. To hammer home the point, GoodWorks packed the report with photographs--many taken by Young himself--of smiling workers playing a guitar on their break and relaxing around a television in their dorm. Young had a few criticisms, but his only substantive recommendations were that the shoemaker "consider" independent labor monitoring, that it establish better grievance procedures and that it distribute business cards with the company's "Code of Conduct" translated in the local language, so all foreign workers could read it. Nike wasted no time publicizing word of its vindication. It bought full-page ads in The New York Times and other major newspapers, touting the GoodWorks report. And the good news was hailed in the unpaid media, too. "In several ways," gushed The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Young's hometown paper, "the job is classic Andy Young--a man who ... has spent his life bridging the gaps between rich and poor, black and white, business, government and the international community."



But if the Nike report was "classic Andy Young," it was also a classic sham, marred not just by shoddy methodology but by frequent misrepresentations. The report lists consultants who were never consulted and includes photos of union representatives who, it turns out, were not union officials. Young deliberately avoided the most obvious and controversial question--whether Nike paid its employees fair wages--and, when gathering testimony, he relied almost exclusively on translators employed by the Nike factories. Phone calls to Young's office were referred to a GoodWorks spokesman, who insists Young did his best; he says that looking at these details misses "the big picture" of the report. Young, he notes, never claimed to be an expert on labor issues. But then Nike didn't need a labor expert. This was a public relations problem, and the world's largest sneaker company did what it does best: it purchased a celebrity endorsement. Andrew Young was happy to oblige.

The most obvious and important flaw in the GoodWorks report comes at the end, where there is a list of thirty-four "Non-Governmental Organizations With Whom GoodWorks Met or Spoke." This is the section that gives the publication intellectual credibility: it suggests that Young consulted with some of the leading minds in the field, who could have provided him with the context and guidance to judge whether Nike's operation was abusing workers. But, in a number of cases, Young did not consult with these experts at all. Anita Chan, a researcher who has studied China extensively at the National University of Australia in Canberra, appears on the list. Chan, interviewed by tnr, says she was never contacted by Andrew Young or anybody at GoodWorks. Logan Ide, a GoodWorks spokesman, explains that Chan was included accidentally because her name was on an internal office memo of people they should call. "It was just a simple mistake," Ide says, adding that GoodWorks has formally apologized to Chan and that she has accepted the apology. But that, too, is wrong, according to Chan. "I have never heard from them," she said. "No, they have never called me."

Maniza Naqvi, a child labor expert at the World Bank, did not even know that she was listed in the appendix until she was called by tnr. "My only connection to Nike is that I wear their shoes for running," she says. "I had nothing to do with this study. I wish I wasn't in there." Naqvi recalls but one communication with GoodWorks: she called on March 3 to ask if GoodWorks would send her the report when it was finished. The call lasted less than a minute.

Other experts cited say they, too, had only fleeting contact with the firm. Conrad MacKerron, the former director of social research for Progressive Asset Management Inc., says he had "just a courtesy call" with GoodWorks, and that it lasted less than ten minutes. "It seems a bit disingenuous to put me there," he says. Thuyen Nguyen, the founder of Vietnam Labor Watch, who has toured Nike's factories before, says someone from GoodWorks called him once, for a brief conversation, and that he was told that more substantive contact would follow, but no one ever called him again. Medea Benjamin, the director of Global Exchange, a San Francisco-based human rights group, says her lone phone conversation with GoodWorks was over in five minutes. She says she asked for a meeting with Young, but no one called her back.

Not that the conversations would have been so productive anyway. In a conversation that lasted less than fifteen minutes, Jeff Ballinger from Press for Change, a Washington-based labor rights group, says he realized that the folks from GoodWorks "had no idea what they were talking about. I mean they didn't know even the basics."

Logan Ide, GoodWorks's spokesman, says the organization is sorry that so many people feel the report overstates their contributions. GoodWorks was not, he insists, trying to create a false impression. "It surprises me that people will say that," Ide says. "The heading only says we spoke with them. Sometimes it just may have been very, very briefly."

Recently Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury" comic strip featured a series in which Kim, an Asian American character, visits a relative working in one of Nike's Vietnamese factories. In the series, the Nike translators manage to render the workers' pleas of mistreatment into joyous reports of a labor paradise. Just a case of Trudeau taking artistic license? No, more like art imitating GoodWorks.

In their field visits to Nike's factories, where they interviewed Nike workers about work conditions, Young was hampered by the fact that he wasn't fluent in the languages of the workers. No problem: Nike provided translators. And Young chose to use Nike's translators, although he could have easily hired his own. "We regularly provide translation for government officials and the media who visit," Nike's spokesman, Veda Manager, says. "By any standard those were acceptable translators."



Any standard? Not quite. In 1980, the International Law Association established the Belgrade Minimal Rules, to set common rules for the inspection of human rights conditions around the world. Rule Number 10, which most human rights groups consider essential, stipulates that analysts should provide all of their own experts. Diane Orentlicher, an international law professor at American University and author of *Bearing Witness: The Art and Science of Human Rights Fact-Finding*, says that rule certainly applies to translators: "Don't even worry about the Belgrade Rules, doesn't it just violate common sense?" she said. "How can you speak freely when your employer is listening or someone who might talk to the employer is literally in the room?"

Even journalists, who for the most part do not follow the same rigorous rules of inquiry as human rights organizations, and who work under much tighter time constraints, usually meet this basic requirement of fact-finding. Except when it is impossible--when, for instance, state or military authorities insist on providing official translators--experienced foreign correspondents hire their own translators, often at significant cost.

Ide says Young decided to use Nike translators when he was planning the trip with Nike officials; according to Ide, Young thought it would be the most convenient way. Ide concedes that Young had no way of knowing whether the translations were accurate. "We didn't follow [the Belgrade Rules] since we don't have all the technical expertise," Ide adds. "This was not designed to be a great academic study."

Another basic precept in labor and human rights investigations is to spend enough time at the job to really investigate. Young reports that his investigators spent, on average, up to three to four hours in each factory--a fact that prompts derision from veteran inspectors who have worked for manufacturers and unions in the past. Generally, these experts say, inspection teams on a tour will visit each factory at least ten times--for several hours at a shot. Graham Honiker, a consultant for two European apparel manufacturers, said he was "appalled" when he learned that Young spent only four hours in a factory. "You have got to be kidding me," Honiker said. "He might as well have been at Disneyland on a little factory [ride]. You know, where they can all sing, 'It's a small world after all.' You know, 'It's a world of laughter, a world of tears.'"

Some of the very labor rights experts whom GoodWorks listed as consultants say Young was told that he was not spending enough time on the ground to conduct a thorough study. One such consultant says he personally warned GoodWorks about this on five separate occasions. He was ignored, he says: "Young said he didn't really want to do the project anyway and made clear [that his attitude was] let's get in, get out, get the check and be done with the whole thing." (Young has said before that he was wary of taking the Nike contract: "I was reluctant to get involved with Nike in its Asian shoe conflicts because it would inevitably put me back into the 'reasonable moderate' role I agonized over throughout my civil rights career," he wrote in a letter to *The New York Times*.) "Let's not beat around the bush, it takes you two years on the ground in [a foreign country] before you understand what is really going on," says another consultant. "If you are superhuman, and Andrew Young is, you can do it in one year. You're not going to see or hear anything meaningful being [in a foreign country] for three or four days."

Throughout his trip, Young and other members of his research team took photographs of cheery workers; the glossies, reprinted in the report, show the workers flashing the peace sign or working busily at their jobs. But these photographs are somewhat misleading. On page ten is a picture of Young sitting at a table with a group of Vietnamese men and women. The caption says, "Andrew Young meeting with plant management and union representatives in Vietnam." One man and one woman from the photo appear again on page twenty-two, posing with Young in front of a sign that says "Trade Union." Here the caption reads: "Andrew Young with union representatives at Vietnamese factory."

This picture comes as something of a shock to the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, which represents workers at the Nike factory. Faxed a copy of the photograph, the confederation's officials said they do not know who the individuals are. When pressed, Veda Manager, Nike's spokesman, said they are Nike employees, who collect their salaries from the company, not the union or the government. "But they represent the workers," Manager says: although they have regular jobs in the factory, they are also supposed to look out for the workers' rights.



So, these workers were not exactly union officials, but they were, in Nike's account, still union representatives of a sort, the equivalent of shop stewards in a factory. And, by GoodWorks's own say-so, its investigators' process for identifying the appropriate union representatives was less than what you might call searching. GoodWorks spokesman Ide says the team simply allowed Nike to point out the appropriate union representatives with whom Young should speak. "Vietnam has a less developed understanding of organized labor and unions," Ide explains. "They don't have unions like we do. And these were the people."

Perhaps they were. And perhaps they did indeed give Young valuable information about conditions in the Nike factory from the union perspective. But, if they did, there is no evidence of this in Young's report. There is no quote, positive or negative, from any union representative; there is no account of how the management treats the union representatives or any information about whether the union representatives have any say in the factory's operation. And, while Vietnam may indeed have a different union structure from the West, a well-developed union system does exist there, and this system boasts union officials who are not paid by the company. Young and his team did not speak to these people.

One can understand why Nike might be reluctant to arrange a meeting with Hoang Thi Khanh, the union official who is in charge of the plant, since she has a reputation for being "tough as nails" when it comes to negotiating for better factory conditions; she also publicly criticized Nike earlier this year. Not only is Hoang Thi Khanh the vice chairman of the Vietnam Labor Confederation, she is also editor-in-chief of *The Laborer*, one of the best-selling local newspapers. Young could have met with Khanh--but, oddly, he declined repeated opportunities to do so. Thuyen Nguyen, the head of Vietnam Labor Watch, called Young's office two or three times to set up the meeting. At the time of the calls, Khanh was actually in the U.S. for several weeks, meeting with federal officials in Washington, D.C., and was anxious to visit Young; Khanh even offered to visit Atlanta if it was more convenient, Nguyen says. But Nguyen was told that GoodWorks wasn't interested.

And the photographs of would-be union officials aren't the only ones to raise questions about Young's examination of the factories. On page thirty-four appears a picture--also taken by Young--of several female workers, many with their arms crossed, sitting at a table. The caption says that these are the women who were "forced to run around Vietnamese factory." The reference is to a well-publicized event in which factory supervisors forced fifty-six Vietnamese factory workers to run laps around the factory because they had not worn proper shoes to work or had not met production quotas. The run was so strenuous that twelve of the women had to be hospitalized. After a wire story reported the incident, Vietnamese police arrested the supervisor.

At the time, the event was widely condemned in the media. But, in an interview with *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* earlier this summer, Young said the women were "laughing and joking about it" and were "pretty easy with the experience." Young added that he felt most sorry for the supervisor, who did not speak Vietnamese and who was facing court charges.

Young's decision not to consider questions about whether Nike pays its workers minimum wage also seems baffling--after all, that is the labor activists' primary complaint. While the human rights groups have filed scattered reports of worker abuse, activists say nearly all of their complaints are that Nike is not paying the local minimum wage. Nike denies that it is breaking the law.

In the report, Young writes, "I was not asked by Nike to address compensation and 'cost of living' issues which some in the human rights and NGO community had hoped would be part of this report." But was he really not asked? According to a January 15 letter from Phil Knight to Young, which was made public in the report, GoodWorks agreed to undertake an independent study of Nike's Code of Conduct, which outlines the basics of Nike's labor practices for its contractors, including prohibitions on child or forced labor and mandatory overtime. The code explicitly discusses wages: "Employers [meaning the subcontractors that run the factories Nike uses] shall pay employees, as a floor, at least the minimum wage required by local law or the prevailing industry wage, whichever is higher, and shall provide legally mandated benefits." Which means that looking at wages was in the code and was therefore well within the scope of Young's assignment. As if that were not enough, the January 15 letter gave Young plenty of room for expansive interpretation: it said he could look into anything he thought was important.



Young has a second explanation for his decision not to consider the wage issue. Determining what is a "fair wage" in a foreign country is a very complicated process," he writes. "Such an exercise was well beyond the technical capacity of our small firm." Yet, as Nike's critics rightly point out, salary compensation is the one area of foreign labor on which so much has been written that even a novice could quickly get a basic handle on what fair wage estimates are. Provided with a copy of the report, a pro-business economist from the University of Pennsylvania said, "That's idiotic. When I read that, I knew the author was doing a p.r. job, not a serious look. If he really believes it, then he can only be a truly stupid man."

Or a smart one. If Young had excoriated Nike, GoodWorks's first major client, GoodWorks might have had a tough time attracting the next client looking to cleanse its shaky reputation. Young's whitewash perfectly positions GoodWorks International as the public relations agent for future multinationals. But GoodWorks is better than a p.r. firm. The media naturally discount anything they hear from paid spokespeople. But praise from a civil rights leader--now that's something worth paying for.

Speaking of which, Nike and GoodWorks won't say how much the company received for the study. Young wrote in the report: "The total compensation I have personally received for this report is less than I am usually paid for one speech." Note the careful phrasing: Young says nothing about how much Nike paid to GoodWorks (as opposed to Young personally), through which Young, as co-chairman, would presumably profit. Manager, Nike's spokesman, referred all questions on compensation to GoodWorks; he declined to say whether Nike had paid GoodWorks as well as Young. Ide, GoodWorks's spokesman, also declined to comment on pay, referring tnr to what Young wrote in the report.

Sadly, Young appears to be aware that the truth about Nike's operations is more complex than his report indicated. After returning from Asia on May 14, Young held a meeting in Washington with some of the experts whom he actually did consult. By all accounts, Young was unusually candid throughout the meeting. Notes taken by three separate individuals indicate that Young was much more critical at the meeting than he would be one month later in his report. Each set of notes, for instance, quotes Young as saying he knew he had been "snowed" at Nike's Chinese factories.

William Conklin of the Asian American Free Labor Institute wrote in an interoffice memo the next

day: "On China, AY said he went in expecting the worst but saw relatively good working conditions in the factories. In fact he felt 'snowed' in China because the conditions were the best of all the factories." The notes said that Young thought Nike had difficulty recognizing problems in foreign countries.

Young's report makes no mention of these qualms. "I was surprised when I saw how fluffy the report was," said one of the people in the meeting. "That's not how Young was talking in May." Nike's spokesman Manager says the company can't comment on the meeting since its representatives did not attend; Manager stresses that Nike did not pressure Young to come to any specific findings.

Whatever the motivation, the document's physical character has the distinct feel of a public relations ploy--not a serious analysis. While the report weighs in at a hefty seventy-five pages, that's mostly due to the very large typeface and frequent use of boldface throughout. It's actually less than 7,000 words. Reduced to a more standard size of twelve-point text (which is actually 14 percent larger than the type you are now reading), and single-spaced, that comes to just thirteen pages of text. To pad the report even more, GoodWorks inserted photographs on every other page. That's "highly unorthodox," "bizarre" and "totally unprofessional" for a factory analysis, according to three individuals who have done similar analyses for other companies. They say the photographs of smiling, happy workers were inappropriate. (Young, if he had wanted to be critical of Nike, could have just as easily replaced his photos with news pictures of factory workers protesting low wages, which are widely available.)

Nike, meanwhile, remains as pleased as punch with the report. The company promises to "exceed his recommendations"--meaning it will do better than giving the workers business cards. Adds Manager, "Are you questioning the integrity of Andrew Young?"



by David Moberg

JAKARTA, Indonesia — As we hurtled down the toll way to Serang, a small town 55 miles west of Jakarta, Martha Benson and Joel Enderle spun a glowing account of the rise of their employer, Nike, to the position of global giant by marketing sports shoes. More prosaically and importantly, they also tried their best to dispel Nike's nagging reputation for mistreating the people who make those shoes. Benson, director of communications for Asia-Pacific, and Enderle, regional director of labor practices for the company, were taking me to Nikomas, or "Niketown" — the largest factory in the world making shoes exclusively for Nike. Sports fanatics themselves, decked out in Nike shoes and shirts, Benson and Enderle were a slightly older, affluent version of Nike's target market.

Multibillionaire Nike founder and CEO Philip Knight has made himself the sixth-richest man in America by coming up with the idea in the early '70s of producing athletic shoes in Asia for American — and now worldwide — consumption. Nike itself has never built a factory or made a single shoe: That's the task of transnational contractors, mainly Korean or Taiwanese. But by catching the crest of the running wave, and combining cheap labor, athlete-influenced design, and multimillion-dollar endorsement deals with figures such as Michael Jordan, Andre Agassi and Tiger Woods, Nike climbed to the top of the heap. Nike doesn't simply sell shoes, of course, but an image: It's irreverent, hip and progressive. Its ads tout women's empowerment; the company has signed on to a recent White House "no sweatshop" agreement.

That's why Nike's labor record has been like a disfiguring disease creeping across the image, one that Nike could cure if it were not so hooked on the profits from the firm's relentlessly hard-driving, low-balling treatment of the people who make its sports gear. Nike moves where the work is cheapest: Over the past decade, as labor costs rose and workers formed stronger unions in Korea and Taiwan, Nike and its contractors moved their production to Indonesia and China, which together now produce 70 percent of Nike shoes, and more recently to Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines. There have been repeated reports of Korean and Taiwanese contractors in China, Indonesia and Vietnam hitting, verbally abusing and humiliating workers. Nike contractors often have not paid already-inadequate minimum wages, provided mandated benefits, or allowed minimally humane breaks during long hours of overtime that can double the normal 40-hour week in Indonesia. One group of Indonesian contract workers who had to strike in 1992 just to win legally mandated minimum wages is still fighting to get its jobs back.

The search for the lowest wage doesn't figure prominently in the company's own account of its peregrinations. Benson claimed that Nike had come to countries like Indonesia simply because it needed "more production [and] more diversity." After a little prodding, she acknowledged, "Labor costs are important, but you can't forget materials costs, taxes. There are many factors to consider."

But the visit to Nikomas, as well as interviews with workers and nongovernmental organizations, confirms the view that, despite efforts to improve both its image and aspects of factory reality, Nike is a gratuitously tough boss, even by the hard-nosed standards of the competitive market. Its business practices still clash with the code of conduct it promulgated in 1992 to counter bad publicity. (At Nikomas, only half the code is on public display, omitting the provisos that lay the basis on which workers could protest.) In Indonesia, Nike has created about 115,000 jobs that pay near-subsistence wages, but even government officials grouse that such operations generate little self-sustaining economic development.



Twenty thousand workers, 90 percent young women, toil in the sprawling, attractively landscaped Nikomas complex of green-and-white buildings. Pou Chen Corp., a major Taiwanese transnational shoemaker, opened the factory in 1993 at a cost of \$100 million and produces more than a million shoes a month there exclusively for Nike. Many miles from the nearest big city, the factory provides housing for 12,000 workers. A walk through its vast open production rooms, with hundreds of workers bent over sewing machines, makes depressingly clear how much manual labor still goes into shoemaking, even though there are also sophisticated presses to mold shoe soles and a few computerized sewing machines. Some of the work seems dangerous: Young women wielding brushes work over open bowls of strong-smelling glue with no masks or ventilation (though Enderle said Nike had plans to shift to water-based glues). The Nikomas factory is more attractive than the typical needle-trade sweatshop found throughout the world, including the United States. Niketown seems to have gotten rid of the physical sweatshop, while leaving the particulars of sweatshop labor — low wages, unceasing work intensity, and discipline without meaningful worker representation — entirely in place.

Until recently, not all workers even earned the legal minimum — \$2.50 a day, which worker advocates contend falls a dollar short of being minimally adequate. Last year, for example, Pou Chen successfully petitioned the government to be excused from a new increase, and it requested a further exemption from this year's hike. It won its reprieve but agreed to pay the minimum anyway — a prudent decision. Half of the 10,000 employees of another Nike contractor plant near Jakarta walked out in late April over the contractor's refusal to pay the new minimum. Nike tried to play it both ways — insisting in interviews that contractors should pay the minimum, but refusing to pay more for the shoes. At the same time, a Nike spokesman ominously wondered out loud "whether or not Indonesia could be reaching a point where it's pricing itself out of the market."

Over lunch at the factory, Nike representatives and Pou Chen Indonesia's vice president, Eric Chi, who ran a shoe factory in Los Angeles in the late 1970s, reiterated their insistence that, as Chi said, "if we treat people with respect and dignity, that will come back to us." Benson and Enderle talked about the training Nike offered, its plans for an AIDS-awareness campaign, the "fair price" store on the factory grounds and other worthy projects.

So why not pay double the minimum wage? After all, by Chi's rough calculations, the direct labor cost in a typical \$60 shoe is all of \$1.20. The Canadian firm BATA manages to pay its workers, who produce cheap shoes for the Indonesian market, double what export-shoe workers earn. Analysts say Nike annually spends \$650 million on marketing, nearly 10 times what it would cost the company to double the wages of all its Indonesian workers. Which is not to say that all the money goes to the corporate coffers of Nike and its contractors. A sizable chunk goes to payoffs for Indonesian generals, government officials and cronies — according to the ECONIT Advisory Group, a Jakarta-based consulting firm, it comes to about 30 percent of total business costs, more than double Pou Chen's factory-labor bill.

Benson animatedly argued that the company could improve health and safety, offer soccer for street kids, or make other changes, but "simply doubling the minimum wage is not a solution . . . If one factory is suddenly doubling its wage, and others aren't, you sow seeds of unrest and wage disparity, and the company risks becoming no longer competitive and leaving the country."

But to Benson's contention that "just throwing money at people is not a solution," I suspect most Nike workers would say, "Just do it."

Many young Nike workers come from rural areas where there are few jobs outside traditional agriculture, but they rarely stay at Niketown very long. Nearly three-fourths of workers quit during a typical year, hardly an endorsement by otherwise desperate people. At the company dormitories, where 12 workers inhabit a room barely large enough to contain six double bunk beds jammed side by side, I talked with a group of women, ages 17 to 24, who sew shoe uppers. Most were happy to have a job, and even though they were rarely able to save anything (contrary to Nike claims), they complained less about the pay than the pressure. "Almost every day, if we make a mistake or don't make our quota, we're called horrible words: 'You're dumb. You're stupid,'" a 24-year-old from central Java said. "If we don't achieve our target today, the supervisor makes us do it tomorrow, and we don't get paid overtime."

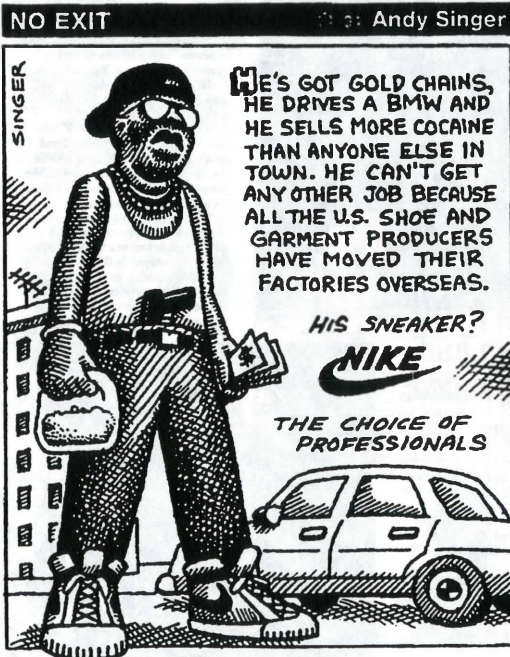
Not far from the factory, in a small rustic room lined with crude posters — "No freedom," "I am not a robot," "Why work hard if it's not for a better living?" — a group of workers regularly meets, to talk about work and learn about their rights. They are not part of the official, government-controlled, do-nothing union, but also are not affiliated with the unauthorized independent federation whose jailed leader, Muchtar Pakpahan, faces charges of subversion (and a possible death sentence) for such outrages as demanding a higher minimum wage. Some of these young women lead protests over grievances like excessive overtime. But even here, others are giving up. "We came back [from a Muslim religious-holiday break] and the problems are always the same," one recent quitter said. "What's the meaning of a life like this?"

Those problems, the women said, include work quotas that force them to work straight through lunch, overly long days, and pay so low that they can't keep up rent payments, afford more than one modest meal a day to supplement the food their employer is obliged to provide, or save for their future. "It's work, go home, sleep, eat, go to factory, work," one high school graduate said. "Sometimes I dream of a weekend holiday, but it's only a dream."

The elections in Indonesia at the end of May offered little to inspire hope. The party of President Suharto, who has ruled since 1966, won with 74 percent of the vote as expected. Ironically, as more workers gain experience in Indonesia's export factories, they are learning — the hard way — about worker rights and protest strategy. Politics and the economy are intertwined in Indonesia because of rampant corruption and military intervention, so the emergence of a workers' movement not under Suharto's control is the biggest potential political threat to continued authoritarian rule. Nike could help itself, its workers and Indonesian democracy if it agreed to independent monitoring of working conditions in its factories.

For now, though, Nike's unintended contribution to the growth of still very precarious independent unions that are willing to fight both the company and the government could be one of the best things it does in Indonesia. But don't expect to see this in a Nike ad anytime soon.

David Moberg is a senior editor at In These Times magazine. His research was supported by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.



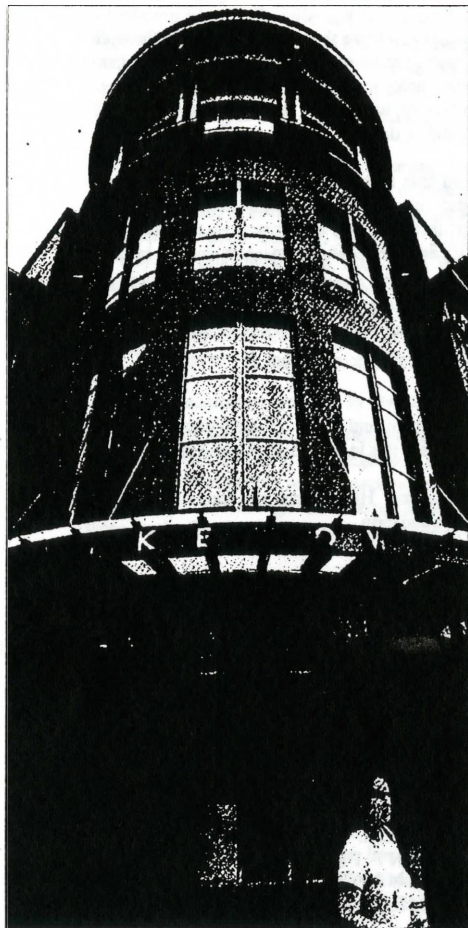


# BUSINESS

Lifestyles  
Confidential Chat  
Hobbies

F  
F14  
F14  
F15

THE BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE • JULY 20, 1997



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / JONATHAN WIGGS

## Equal parts entertainer and vendor

Niketown is latest in trend that has stores catering to shoppers' sense of fun

By Chris Reidy  
GLOBE STAFF

**C**ALL IT THE Hub's Louvre of Swoosh, a museum to sneakers. Yesterday Nike Inc. opened its ninth Niketown, this one on Boston's Newbury Street. The new store features 41 video monitors, a huge wall celebrating the Boston Marathon, and minishrines to such local athletes as Cam Neely and Joan Benoit Samuelson, who endorse Nike and its swoosh logo.

"These aren't so much stores as Nike museums," says Kathleen Seiders, a marketing professor at Babson College. "It's the shoe biz as show biz," adds Alan Mills, publisher of Fashion Network Report, a retail newsletter.

For more than a decade, entertainment has been deemed the frontier of retailing, and Niketown, along with Disney Stores and Warner Brothers Studio Stores, may be the place today where retail and entertainment intersect.

With shoppers spending less time in stores and malls than they once did, entertainment is seen as a way to woo them back and to encourage them to linger.

But does loading up stores with glitz and interactive exhibits translate into profits? And how far will the trend go? With everyone from Viacom Inc. to



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / SHAWN THOM

Coca-Cola Co. testing the advantages of retail outlets, the smart money for now is betting this trend has legs.

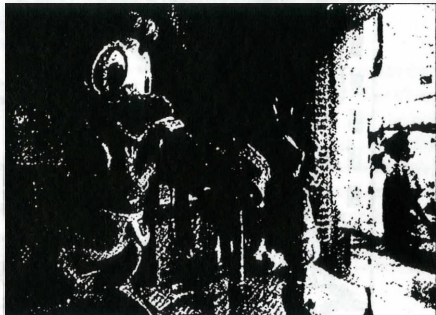
Forty years ago, when the first shopping malls opened, retailers didn't worry about entertainment. They could build a store, and the people would come. The store itself was the draw.

No more. Consumers today have less time and more options.

Ten years ago, consumers might dally in the mall and leisurely browse through boutiques on a regular basis. Today that same consumer may buy from a catalog or shop on line.

Just as bad from a retailer's perspective, many of today's consumers seem more inclined to spend extra money on a vacation or a stock market investment than a new wardrobe.

So, like carnival barkers enticing a crowd into the circus tent, corporations are considering retail entertainment centers as a magnet to lure customers into their malls and stores and, just as important, prolong the SHOPPING, Page F3



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / SHAWN THOM

## First a rundown and runabout, then a sale

By Francine Latour  
GLOBE STAFF

**CAMBRIDGE**—The desire seemed simple—Monica Parker wanted the pair of Nikes she had been eyeing in the window of her neighborhood shoe store.

For weeks, only a glass pane separated the Harvard Law School student from the neon swirls and trademark swoosh that would transform her workout, her health, and possibly her life, if she would "just do it."

But when she recently walked into that store, Marathon Sports, credit card in hand, an unlikely hurdle stood in her way—a sales clerk who persisted with questions about, of all things, her feet.

"I go in there, and the man asks me to take off my shoes and starts watching me walk," says Parker, 26. "Before I know

MARATHON, Page F3

Niketown (top left), joins other Boston stores that seek to entertain, including Warner Bros., at the Presidential (top right), and The Disney Store at Faneuil Hall (left).





# Welcome To Niketown

by Richard Thorsten

An Oregon coalition known as "Justice. Do It Nike!" has called a boycott of Nike, the world's largest shoemaker, in response to working conditions in Nike-contracted factories in Indonesia and China.

"Justice. Do It Nike" is working in conjunction with a coalition of organizations across the country to persuade the Oregon-based company to treat subcontracted workers more fairly. The coalition is encouraging Nike to: allow independent monitoring of their subcontracted production facilities overseas; raise workers' wages above the \$1.80 per day average wage they currently receive; support the rights of workers to organize for better wages and working conditions; stop allowing the Indonesian military to suppress peaceful strikes at factories; cease the use of child labor; and settle claims by Indonesian workers who have been unjustly black-listed by their subcontractors for attempting to improve conditions in their plants.

Nike has dramatically lowered the costs of producing shoes over the last fifteen years by subcontracting these services in developing countries. Originally, many of these factories were located in Taiwan and South Korea. Workers began organizing for better treatment as their plants became successful. Nike seized the advantage of improved trade conditions with other more authoritarian regimes and moved its subcontracted facilities to China and Indonesia.

A Working Group on Nike was formed early last year to confront Nike over conditions in their factories. It includes early Nike activists such as Jeff Ballinger of Press for Change in New Jersey, Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange in San Fran-

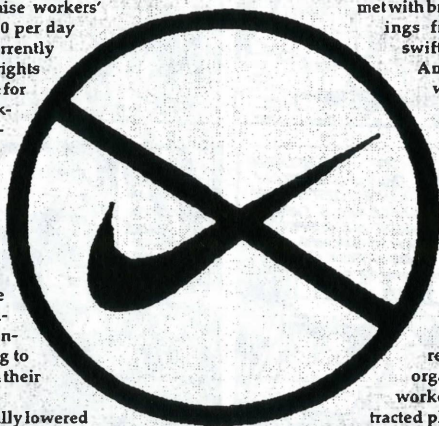
cisco, Amnesty International, and the Oregon "Justice" group, headed by Max White. These organizations have repeatedly requested meetings with Nike to discuss working conditions overseas. Nike's Indonesian subcontractors' \$1.80 wage does not even meet subsistence levels within the factories' own impoverished country. Children as young as eight years old have been documented as regular workers by concerned outside organizations. In one new Nike-run Indonesian factory, workers sew and stitch for twelve hours a day, seven days a week, without any benefits or additional compensation. Past attempts to orga-

nize for better conditions have been met with brutal military force, beatings from supervisors, and swift firings. According to Amnesty International, workers in China and Indonesia have virtually no legal recourse against these indiscriminate forms of punishment and dismissal.

So far, Nike has mostly ignored the issues raised by the Working Group and the Justice boycott. CEO Philip Knight has refused to meet with these organizations and regular workers from Nike's subcontracted plants. Nike's annual re-

ports note that the company itself audits overseas factories, although it has refused to allow independent monitoring and has not released the results of these audits. They also have denied charges that they indirectly employ children to work in slavish conditions to make their shoes. The company claims that subcontractors abide by all the laws and customs of the countries in which they operate.

For more information on the Nike boycott, contact Max White of "Justice. Do It Nike" in Portland, Oregon at (503) 292-8168. To contact Nike, call (800) 344-6453, or (800) EGG-NIKE, as BQ has been told the number spells.



# THE SWOOSH



The **SWOOSH** logo is a graphic design created by Caroline Davidson in 1971. It represents the wing of the Greek Goddess **NIKE**.

Caroline Davidson was a student at Portland State University interested in advertising. She met Phil Knight while he was teaching accounting classes and she started doing some freelance work for his company.

Phil Knight asked Caroline to design a logo that could be placed on the side of a shoe. She handed him the **SWOOSH**, he handed her \$35.00.

In spring of 1972, the first shoe with the **NIKE SWOOSH** was introduced.....the rest is history!

## NIKE: THE GREEK GODDESS OF VICTORY

**NIKE**, pronounced NI-KEY, is the winged goddess of victory according to Greek mythology. She sat at the side of Zeus, the ruler of the Olympic pantheon, in Olympus. A mystical presence, symbolizing victorious encounters, **NIKE** presided over history's earliest battlefields.

A Greek would say, "When we go to battle and win, we say it is **NIKE**."

Synonymous with honored conquest, **NIKE** is the twentieth century footwear that lifts the world's greatest athletes to new levels of mastery and achievement. The **NIKE** 'swoosh' embodies the spirit of the winged goddess who inspired the most courageous and chivalrous warriors at the dawn of civilization.

---

## MISSION STATEMENT

"To maximize profits to shareholders through products and services that enrich people's lives."

## OBJECTIVES

Provide an environment which develops people to maximize their contribution to **NIKE**.

Identify focused consumer segment opportunities.

Provide quality and innovative services and products internally and externally.

Establish and nurture relevant emotional ties with consumer segments

Maximize profits.

\*\*\*This was taken directly from **NIKE** propaganda.\*\*\*



# FORTUNE

JUNE 23, 1997

## KILLER STRATEGIES

Only a handful of big companies have made  
shareholders truly rich.  
Their secret: Break the rules!

**MORE**

Has NIKE ever take a wrong step?

Depends on how you see it. Look back at the thousands of "worth" shoes collecting dust in Nike warehouses in the mid-1980s and yeah, you might wonder what business an athletic company had making casual shoes. As it turned out, not much. Thanks to the brown shoes, we learned to leave leisure to the experts. Nothing wrong with that.

Since 1986  
Nike's Phil Knight  
has delivered a  
47% annual return.



<http://fortune.com>

# NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING AND

## PROPOSAL 3

The General Board of Pension and Health Benefits of the United Methodist Church, of 1201 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201, a holder of 61,700 shares of NIKE, Inc. Class B Common Stock, submitted the following resolution for the reasons stated:

"WHEREAS, the image of Nike Incorporated is an extremely important corporate asset—recently valued at between \$1.3 and 1.7 billion by authoritative Trademarks and Licensing Associates—assuring continued strong performance of our brand in an intensely competitive market.

There are persistent reports of exploitative conditions and military suppression of workers' legitimate protests at shoe factories near Jakarta, Indonesia.

The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute reports that nearly 70 workers are currently struggling for reinstatement and back-pay settlements with NIKE contractors as a result of their courageous efforts to get those contractors to pay a living wage, treat workers with respect and bargain collectively with genuine workers' representatives. The case of 24 workers who made Nike shoes is now before the Supreme Court of Indonesia.

Corporations, sourcing from dozens of contractors, have begun to recognize their responsibility to protect workers from harsh management practices and denials of their basic rights.

Nike's retention of Ernst and Young to monitor contractors' compliance with Indonesian wage regulations is an indication of the difficulty our company faces in speaking with certitude about only one of the provisions of the Code of Conduct.

That code is supplemented by the Athletic Footwear Association's "Guidelines on Business Practices of Business Partners"—signed by Nike on 9/3/93—which call for the observation of the right of free association, fair compensation and the prohibition of corporal punishment and mental or physical coercion.

Consumers must rely on the good faith of corporations such as ours which pledge to observe production guidelines intended to guarantee that fair treatment of employees is monitored with integrity and in a consistent manner.

**Management's Response:** (Phil + Jil + Chuck...)

The Board of Directors recommends that shareholders vote AGAINST Proposal 3.

# PROXY STATEMENT

September 16, 1996  
Beaverton, Oregon

BE IT RESOLVED, THAT the shareholder request the Board of Directors to review compliance with the Nike Code of Conduct & "Memorandum of Understanding" with contractors concerning the company's "commitment to people, communities and the environment". We encourage Nike management to take under advisement the following recommendations:

1. Research conducted by Indonesian non-governmental organizations in direct contact with employees who make Nike shoes.
2. Establishing independent monitoring and enforcement mechanisms in conjunction with non-governmental organizations.
3. Strengthening of internal monitoring procedures.
4. Translating the Nike "Code of Conduct" and "Memorandum of Understanding" into the languages of employees where Nike has international contracts, and to distribute these documents to suppliers.
5. Utilizing positive influence to encourage suppliers to adhere to NIKE standards of conduct.

A summary of the review should be made available to shareholders by April, 1997."

Gay it isn't so,



WE ARE ALL STILL WALKING THROUGH THE JUNGLE



# NIKE'S PUBLICITY PIECE TO DEFEND ITS LABOR POLICIES IN INDONESIA

CASUAL  
VOICE OF  
PHILIP K →

Anything else?

As Columbo would say, "Just one more thing"

I have been absolutely astonished by the reaction of certain print media over the events of this summer. It has basically and uniformly said, "Don't confuse me with the facts I have a sensationalist sound bite." In the end, I believe this issue is much more a significant statement about the media and its approach to truth than it is a statement about NIKE.

I can't get out of my mind a meeting with the Editorial Board of The New York Times. After it had published three scathing columns on the low wages in factories making NIKE shoes in Indonesia, their first question was, "What do you pay those people, anyway?"

Three columns ripping us on pay before they asked us what the pay is. Oh well.

*He still doesn't want to say !!! No where will he publicly state what they are paid in dollars + cents.*

Among other things, that my own attitude has been detrimental to getting our story out.

I have seen enormous progress in the quality of working conditions in Asian factories over the past 30 years. In addition, we are miles ahead in terms of establishing standards and monitoring them compared to most of the other importers.

While all of this is true, we can be a lot better. NIKE likes being held to a higher standard.

One great positive of the debate has been a shrinking of the Pacific moat. Media and the public alike recognize the interlocking nature of trade and communications. From the white wooden and brick house on Southeast Claybourne where, for me, it all began, to the cardboard houses around Guangzhou. From the Gate of Heavenly Peace, raw octopus and fish stomach, to Chevys and Tootsie Pops. Across this grand spectrum of strange customs and unique thoughts, comes one conclusion above all others: we are all in this together

And through the very uneven process of this current debate, not only will NIKE get better, so will a lot of others. →

**BUT MONITORING BY INDEPENDANT PROCEDURES??**

**NO WAY! see attached.**

*Philip H Knight*

Philip H. Knight  
Chairman of the Board  
and Chief Executive Officer

**SO WHAT DO YOU PAY THESE PEOPLE ANYWAY? PHIL.**

Full time worker: \$2.28 per day. \$592 a year.

PHILLIP KNIGHTS' PAY IN 1996: \$2,541,058.00

*Chief Executive Officer. In reviewing Mr. Knight's performance, the Committee focused primarily on the Company's remarkable performance in fiscal year 1996, which reflected (1) strong growth in sales and earnings; and (2) continued progress toward the achievement of various strategic and financial objectives such as expansion into and development of international markets. The Committee also considered the other factors and considerations described above. In addition to the incentive bonus, the Committee increased Mr. Knight's base salary for the 1997 fiscal year to approximately \$1,050,000.*

*Plus Bonuses  
+ other compensation  
OF OVER  
1.6 million*

UNAPACK: Actually

FED KACZINSKI

P.O.W!

is war!

Wish you were here

P.O. Box 120494, Boston, MA 02112

Don't be M.I.A.!

it's official!!

development

by other means...

3

Wish you were here

it's official!!

development

by other means...

3

Wish you were here

it's official!!

development

by other means...

3

Wish you were here

it's official!!

development

by other means...

3

Wish you were here

it's official!!

development

by other means...

3

Wish you were here

# How to succeed in Business without trying...



TO OUR SHAREHOLDERS

One of the difficulties we have had in responding to our critics on the issue of labor practices in developing countries has been the moving target of the criticisms. We respond in one area; they attack in another, somewhat related area.

So I decided to try to categorize these criticisms here in one space, and tell you how I see us measuring up.

## do a merger with the State department...

Why an earth did NIKE ever pick such a terrible place as Indonesia to have shoes made?

Effectively the U.S. State Department asked us to.

NIKE BOARD MEMBER  
EX-STATE DEPT.

In 1976, when 90 percent of NIKE's production was in Taiwan and Korea, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance asked Charles Robinson, who had been Deputy Secretary of State in the Ford Administration, to start the U.S.-ASEAN Business Council to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the American military from that part of the world. Secretary Vance wanted to fill that void with a stronger American business presence.

IT'S OFFICIAL!

Chuck Robinson accepted the challenge, put together the council and served as Chairman of the U.S. side for three years. Mr. Robinson was a NIKE Board member at that time as he is today. NIKE was one of 75 U.S. Charter Members of the Council.

"NIKE's presence in that part of the world," according to a senior state department official at that time, "is American foreign policy in action."

In 1995, in a step which I felt was a great confirmation of Cyrus Vance's vision and a very positive step toward stability in the region, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam joined ASEAN

hmm... how does MIT fit in?

she sounds like quite the scholar - but what does she teach? Does she teach?

Jill K. Conway - Dr. Conway, 61, a director since 1987, is currently a Visiting Scholar with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Program in Science, Technology and Society. Dr. Conway was President of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, from 1975 to 1985. She was affiliated with the University of Toronto from 1964 to 1975, and held the position of Vice President, Internal Affairs from 1973 to 1975. Her field of academic specialty is history. Dr. Conway is currently a director of Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc., Arthur D. Little, Inc., The Allen Group, Inc., and Colgate-Palmolive Company and a member of the Advisory Board of IBM World Trade Americas/Far East Corporation. She is currently a trustee of Mount Holyoke College and New England Medical Center.

or is she...? A coach???



Coca Cola has conquered the world. Why not Nike? Knights of the moment: What?

I'm getting confused - isn't this the Coke logo?

Phil paid an art student in Portland \$35 for designing it...

GO BAREFOOT - FUCK NIKE...



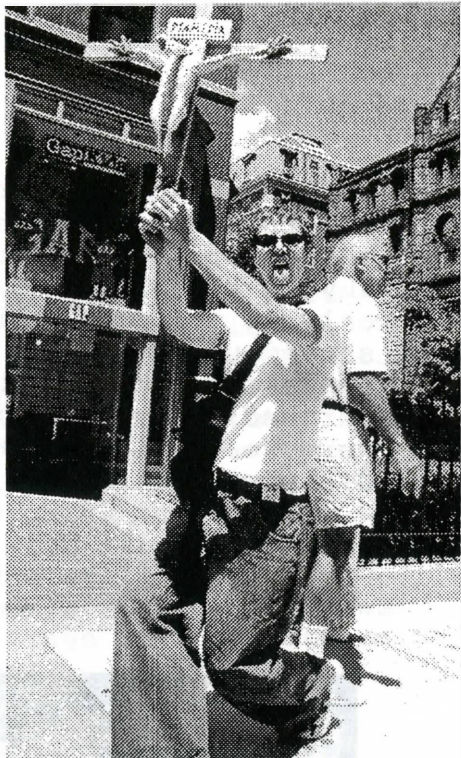
The preceding 4 pages formed a pamphlet distributed by UNAPACK; a Boston-based politically oriented art organization. For more information, see the back page.

The information contained in the pamphlet was mostly material taken directly from NIKE propaganda with comments handwritten in.

Facing Page, clockwise from upper left- Boston counterculture icon "Dan the Bagel Man" bearing the toothbrush of fallen hero Vermin Supreme. In an equally irrelevant shot, Shayleen brandishes the C of E's "Martha" (as seen on Jerry Springer). There was a lot of non related but fun and attention getting activity. On the bottom, we see more logical protest activity.

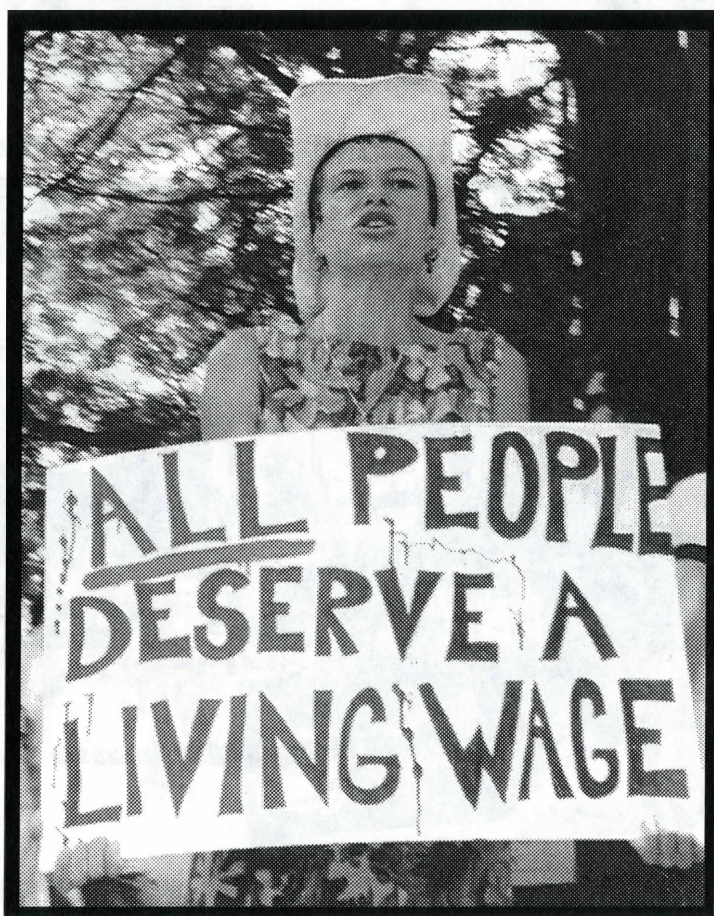




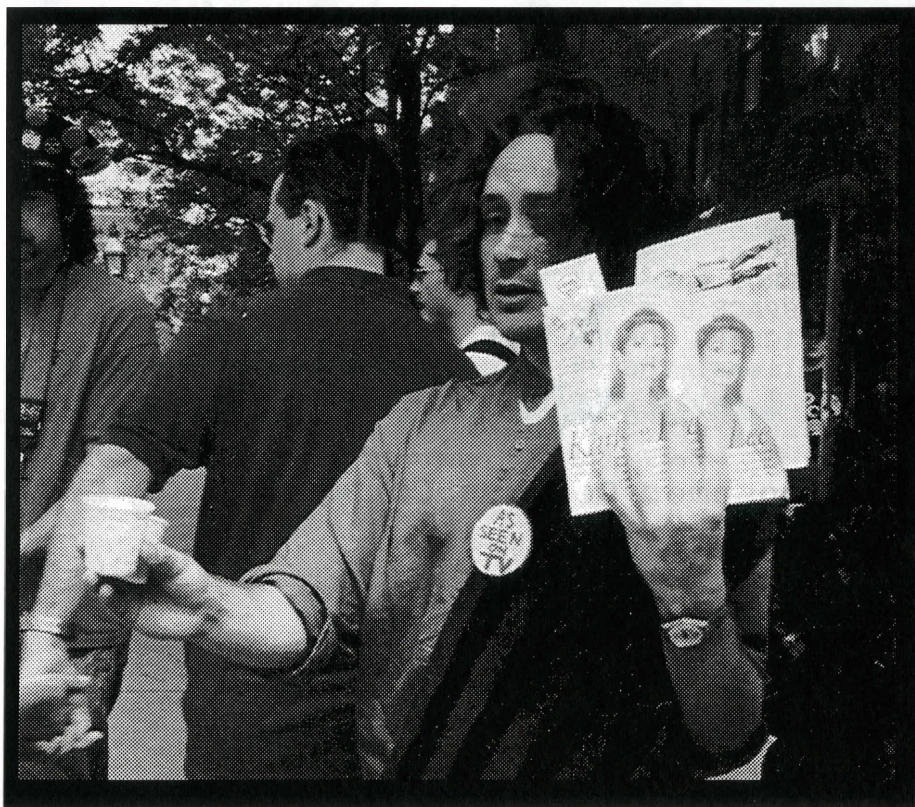




While many of the protesters were friends and friends of friends, some people just showed up. This woman was unknown to anyone she spoke to, and was identified only as an "unaffiliated activist". She showed up, screamed at the top of her lungs for hours, got in a few well phrased arguments with passerby who were vocally pro-NIKE, and then she disappeared.

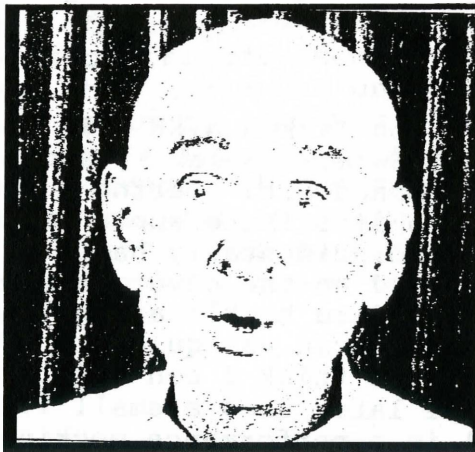


Evan O'Television linked NIKE with the Heaven's Gate Suicides, Sweatshop labor, and his own TV related performance art. Wearing a purple shroud, he attempted to distribute apple sauce and TV Guides, which coincidentally had sweatshop queen Kathy Lee Gifford on the cover. A passerby shouted the standard heckle against anyone under 30; "GET A JOB!" Evan was quick to reply "I have a job, how do you think I can afford all these TV Guides?" He later used a small TV as a crystal ball in a performance mocking the news media for its lack of coverage on corporate crime and human rights violations.





# JUST DO IT!



39 people recently committed mass suicide in a California mansion. This was related to their involvement in a UFO cult. The cult leader was called "DO". They all were wearing NIKE sneakers when they died. NIKE is currently under criticism for sweat shop, and essentially slave labor conditions in its factories. The suicides, while basically a self-contained act, made front pages of all major newspapers. NIKE's activities were briefly mentioned on late night MSNBC, CNN and pay TV news specific programs. Some people say "DO" looks like either FRANK PURDUE or H. ROSS PEROT. Both PEROT and "DO" are from Texas. The film "SPACE JAM" features NIKE ad fixture MICHAEL JORDAN interacting with space aliens. The 39 suicides reportedly would allow the people to join space aliens. These are all facts. Use as you will.

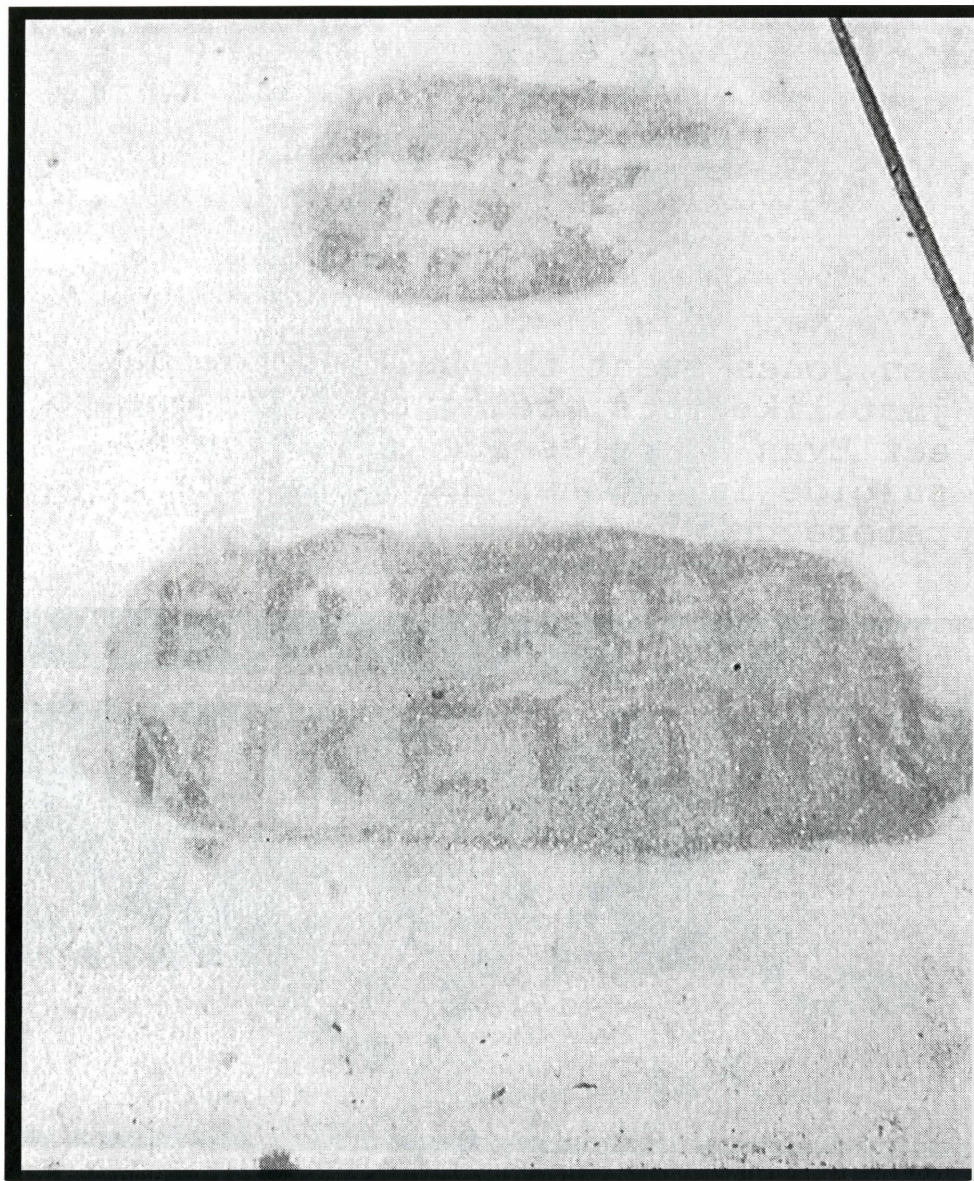
Presented for your consideration by  
**Consumer Defense Corporate Poetry**

---

Ben Jones spent the bulk of the day just like this, being the only one to eat Evan's applesauce and feigning suicide in another Heaven's Gate reference.







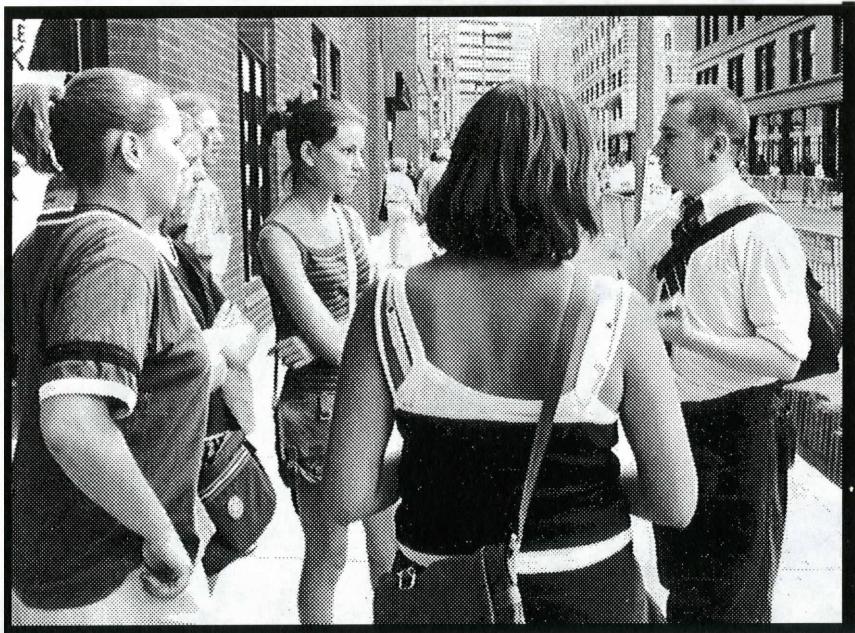
Several hours after the protest had ended, This was spotted several blocks away from NIKETOWN, spray painted and mostly removed. The upper part is almost unreadable, the last two lines are "low wages". The lower section reads "BOYCOTT NIKETOWN" I don't know who did this, when it was done, or if there were any other put up anywhere.





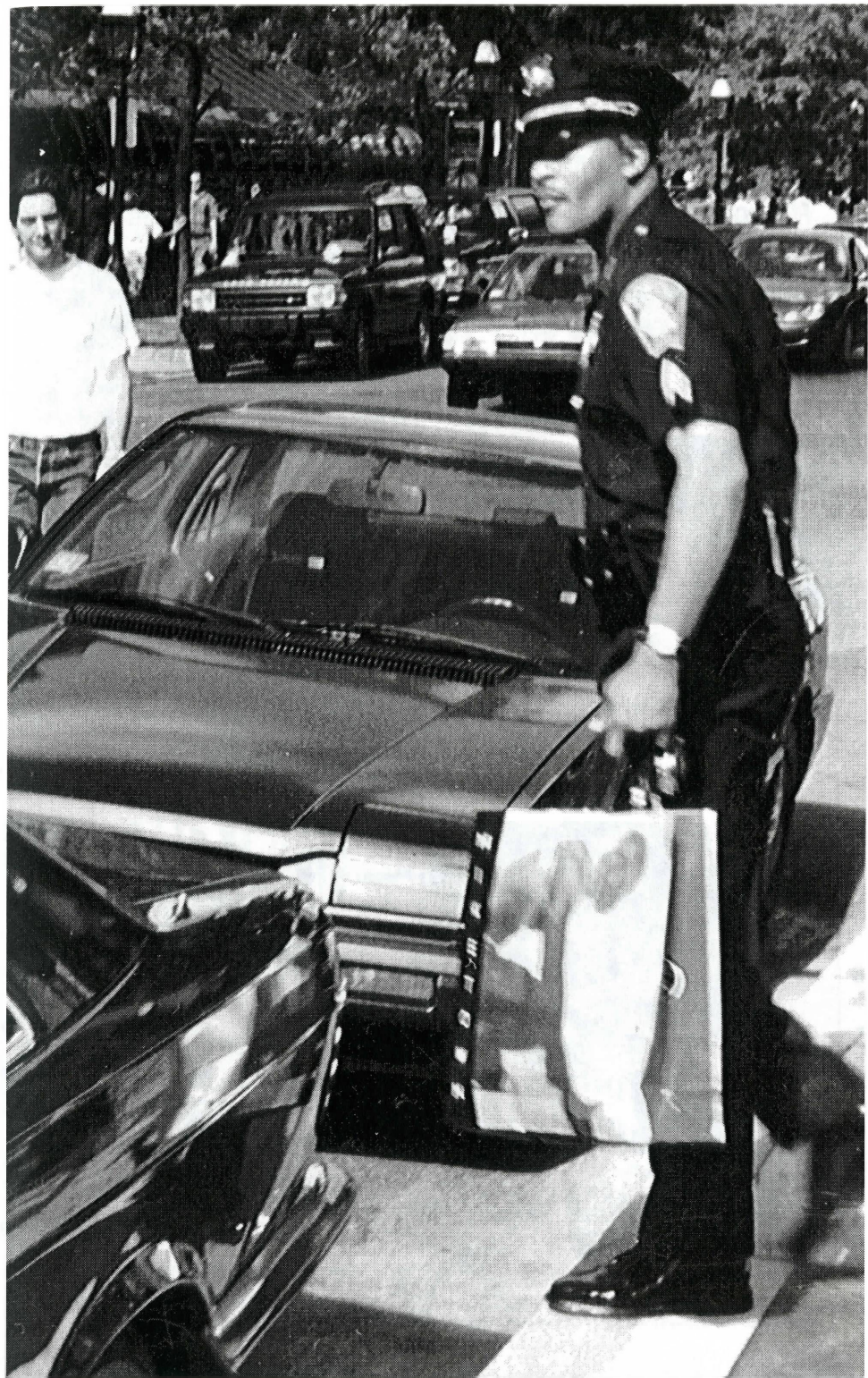
The fellow on the right argued that if the workers didn't like their situation, that THEY should be the ones protesting, not us. He was unreceptive to any reasoning of Asia being either less of a bastion of free speech, or that the sweatshops are not in America. The way he was talking led me to believe that he didn't quite understand that NIKETOWN was not the government, and that we were in no way being unpatriotic. I kept expecting him to say "love it or leave it", but he didn't.





As the rally was dispersing after about 3 hours, I was somewhat exhilarated, but also quite frustrated at the number of Pro-NIKE shouts, mostly by teen-age boys dressed head to toe in brand names, general apathy of the public, and the opposite visual. A group of teen-age girls came up to me and asked what this was all about, and we talked for about 15 minutes. They seemed generally concerned, and while they agreed with what I had to say, had the presence of mind to not just take what I said at face value, and took information on how to find out more. This I took as representative as the fact that some folks actually can think for themselves, and that the future does have some sort of chance.











Opposite Page, clockwise from left- Church of Euthanasia allies and members display their message. The C of E, while offending certain "serious" protesters as distracting, did draw much attention. C of E founder Chrissie Korda wheels in a baby carriage with dolls that screamed "BUY! CONSUME!" and like messages. (note reaction of passerby)

The bottom photo is perhaps the best framing ever to come from my sad "point and shoot" idiot camera. The NIKE hummer was one of several that circled the block constantly.

### PERFORMANCE

- "A tiger hunts best when he's hungry"  
-Bill Bowerman
- "Faith is the key to everything...Don't allow anyone to tell you what you can and cannot do...Be tough...Love who you are, protect your dreams, and develop your talents to their fullest extent."  
-Joan Benoit Samuelson

### AUTHENTICITY

- "We make sure that the product is the same functionally whether it's for Michael Jordan or Joe American Public."  
-Phil Knight
- "Honesty, loyalty, and integrity are everything. Tell the truth."  
-Jeff Johnson

### COMMITMENT

- "You're not finished yet. Get around the track and nail this thing down."  
-Joan Benoit to herself on the way into the Los Angeles Coliseum leading the Olympic Marathon
- "The commitment is to be a global company-one management, one theme, one value, one ethic around the world."  
-Richard E. Donahue

### INNOVATION

- "Until I realized that Bill Bowerman's waffle iron was for real, I had never done a crazy thing in my life."  
-Phil Knight

### TEAMWORK

- "Make a consistently good effort: don't just go through the motions. Share the load. No cliques. We are responsible for each other."  
-Jeff Johnson

"You never overpay for things that are good." - Nike President Thomas Clarke on why Nike decided to pay \$200 million to the Brazilian soccer team (Business Week, May 12, 1997)

"... there's concern what that does to the market - whether or not Indonesia could be... pricing itself out of the market."  
- Nike spokesperson Jim Small on recent increases in minimum wage, now \$2.46 per day (Reuters, AP, April 1997)

\*\*\*Quotes from NIKE propaganda\*\*\*





# Boston Police Department Arrest Booking Form

15

Report Date: 07/19/1997 12:53  
Booking Status: Unverified  
Printed By: Scannell, Sean P

District: 04

Issuing Court:  
Docket #:

UCR Code:  
2405

Court for Appearance: BMC

Master Name:

Age: 36

Location Of Arrest: Newbury/Exeter St

Booking Name: SUPREME, Vermin Love

Alias:

Address: 2 Edmonds LN, Rockport MA US

Charges: Person, Disorderly  
Trespassing



Booking Number: 970274204

Incident Number: 970374195

CR Number:

Booking Date: 07/19/1997 12:36

Arrest Date: 07/19/1997 12:00

RA Number:

Sex: Male	Height: 5' 10"	Occupation: Clown
Race: White Non-Hispanic	Weight: 180 lbs	Employer / School:
Date Of Birth: 06/01/1961	Build: Slim	Emp/School Addr.:
Place Of Birth: Bos MA US	Eye Color: Hazel	Social Sec. Number:
Marital Status: Married	Hair Color: Lt Brown	Operators License:
Mother Name:	Complexion: Light	State:
Father Name:		

Phone Used: Yes	Scars / Marks /
Examined at Hospital: No	Tattoos:
Breathalyzer Used: No	Clothing Desc: Wht Robe, Red Wht&Blue Vest, Plaid Shorts
Examined by EMS: No	

Arresting Officer: BPD	08195	Woodley, William J.	Cell Number: 15
Booking Officer: BPD	10127	Scannell, Sean P	Arresting Partner ID:
Informed Of Rights: BPD	08195	Woodley, William J.	Unit: DETAI
Placed In Cell By: BPD	10554	King, Patrick	Transporting Unit: D435D
Searched By: BPD	10554	King, Patrick	

Cautions:	Booking Comments:	Visible Injuries:
		None

Person Notified:	Relationship:	Phone:
Address:		Juv. Prob. Officer:
Notified By:		Notified Date / Time:

Bail Set By:	I Selected the Bail Comm.
Bailed By:	
Amount:	Signature Of Prisoner

BOP Check:	
Suicide Check:	
BOP Warrant:	
BOP Court:	Signature of Duty Supervisor

Vermin Supreme was the sole arrest. He was arrested for being "disorderly" as he refused to move off the public sidewalk to the "designated protest area". Note the TRESPASSING charge on the incident, despite the fact that all activity was on a public sidewalk. Note also that there was no attempt to use the ALIAS section of the booking form.

LOOSE • SPEEDSET • 22K

## HANDPRINT

INCIDENT REPORT									
01. AGENCY		02. SUPPLEMENTARY		03. REPORT DIST.		04. CLEARANCE DIST.		05. PAGE	
06. JUVENILE		07. COMMUNITY DISORDER		08. DOMESTIC		09. OTHER		10. OF	
01. TYPE OF INCIDENT		02. CRIME CODE		03. STATUS		04. UNFOUNDED		05. DATE OF OCCUR	
06. LOCATION OF INCIDENT (NO STREET) INTERSECTION-ALPHA ORDER		07. DISPATCH TIME		08. TIME OF OCCUR		09. DATE		10. DATE	
11. VICTIM-COMP. (LAST, FIRST, MI)		12. PHONE		13. SEX		14. RACE		15. MARITAL STATUS	
16. ADDRESS NO. STREET, CITY AND STATE IF OTHER THAN BOSTON OR MASS.		17. AGE		18. D.O.B.		19. PERSON REPORTING (IF DIFFERENT THAN ABOVE)		20. ADDRESS	
21. PERSON REPORTING (IF DIFFERENT THAN ABOVE)		22. ADDRESS		23. APT.		24. PHONE		25. PHONE	
26. WAS THERE A WITNESS TO THE CRIME									
27. PERSON INTERVIEWED									
28. AGE									
29. LOCATION OF INTERVIEW									
30. APT. NO.									
31. HOME ADDRESS									
32. APT.									
33. T									
34. RES									
35. BUS									
36. YES									
37. NO									
38. CAN SUSPECT BE IDENTIFIED AT THIS TIME.									
39. NUMBER OF PERPETRATORS									
40. SUSPECT									
41. NAME (LAST, FIRST, MI)									
42. SS NO.									
43. BOOKING NO.									
44. PHOTO NO.									
45. ALIAS									
46. WARRANT NO.									
47. WARRANT									
48. SUMMONS									
49. SUSPECT									
50. NAME (LAST, FIRST, MI)									
51. SS NO.									
52. BOOKING NO.									
53. PHOTO NO.									
54. ALIAS									
55. WARRANT NO.									
56. WARRANT									
57. SUMMONS									
58. SUSPECT									
59. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS (INCLUDING CLOTHING)									
60. HEIGHT									
61. SEX									
62. RACE									
63. AGE									
64. HEIGHT									
65. D.O.B.									
66. CAN SUSPECT VEHICLE BE DESCRIBED									
67. STOLEN									
68. REG. STATE NO.									
69. PLATE TYPE									
70. YEAR (EXP.)									
71. MODEL									
72. STOLEN									
73. REG. STATE NO.									
74. PLATE TYPE									
75. YEAR (EXP.)									
76. MODEL									
77. OPERATOR'S NAME									
78. LICENSE NO.									
79. OPERATOR'S ADDRESS									
80. OWNER'S NAME									
81. OWNER'S ADDRESS									
82. CAN SUSPECT BE IDENTIFIED									
83. TYPE OF PROPERTY									
84. SERIAL OR I-DENT-IF-ICARD NO.									
85. BRAND NAME-DESCRIPTION									
86. MODEL									
87. VALUE									
88. UCR									
89. RECOV.									
90. TYPE OF WEAPON-TOOL									
91. NEIGHBORHOOD									
92. TYPE OF BUILDING									
93. PLACE OF ENTRY									
94. WEATHER									
95. LIGHTING									
96. TRANSPORTATION OF SUSPECT (CAR, FOOT, MET, ETC.)									
97. VICTIM'S ACTIVITY									
98. UNUSUAL ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF PERPETRATOR									
99. RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM									
100. IS THERE ANY PHYSICAL EVIDENCE (DESCRIPTION AND DISPOSITION IN NARRATIVE)									
101. IS THERE ANY OTHER REASON FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION (REASON BELOW)									
102. NARRATIVE AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION									
103. UNIT ASSIGNED									
104. TOUR OR DUTY									
105. REPORTING OFFICER'S SIGNATURE									
106. REPORTING OFFICER'S ID									
107. PARTNER'S ID									
108. SPECIAL UNITS NOTIFIED (REPORTING)									





HOW MANY COPS DOES IT TAKE TO ARREST A CLOWN?





## The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Suffolk ss.

After many of us woke up early to go to court, the case was thrown out after the arresting officer didn't show, was paged, and called in to say that he wasn't coming because he "had no interest" in pursuing the case or having Vermin be punished. Vermin donned his clown nose in victory.

9:00 o'clock in the fore noon, and from day to day thereafter, until the action hereinafter named is heard by said Court, to give evidence of what you know relating to an action of disorderly person then and there to be heard and tried between

Comm. of Mass. Plaintiff, and  
Vermin Love Supreme Defendant, and  
in the Boston Municipal Court, Docket Number 9701 CR 4284  
you are further required to bring with you

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the penalties in the law in that behalf made and provided.

Dated at Friday

A.D. 19 97

### Subpoena issued at the request of:

Daniel Beck

(name of party/attorney)

52 Western Avenue

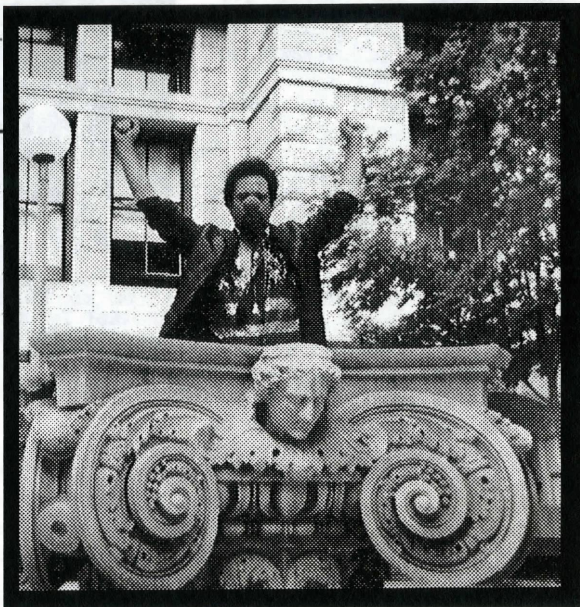
(street address)

Cambridge, MA 02139

(city/town, state, zip code)

(617) 354-7333

(telephone number)





# Retail pays the price for progress



PETER  
GELZINIS

**I**t's foolish, I suppose, to view the retail business as separate from the rest of life. The old and tired get replaced by the new and vibrant. Yet, we can ask if the dusty past we knew wasn't warmer and more humane than the glitter and chrome of today.

In Downtown Crossing, F.W. Woolworth has been pulled off life support because its arteries have weakened to the point of liquidation.

Meanwhile, halfway up Newbury Street, Niketown, a shiny disco/temple to the marketing god of the next millennium, opened in an orgy of uptown pretense ... and the protest of human-rights zealots, who haunted waves of consumer lemmings with images of slave labor producing Michael Jordan's shoe for slave wages.

There's almost nothing you can get at Niketown for 10 bucks, let alone 10 cents. No crickets. No pound cake. No cheap watches. No \$20 Looney Tunes kitchen clock. No Spanish peanuts.

"I guess we're not in Woolworth's anymore," my son said.

It was a valley of incessant disco music and a sea of TV monitors running every Nike ad ever made. There are individual merchandise shrines bathed in chrome and Klieg lights for basketball, running, etc. Kids nag their trendy parents to ride the "glass elevators," only to be told by "sales associates" they aren't elevators at all, but "shoe tubes."

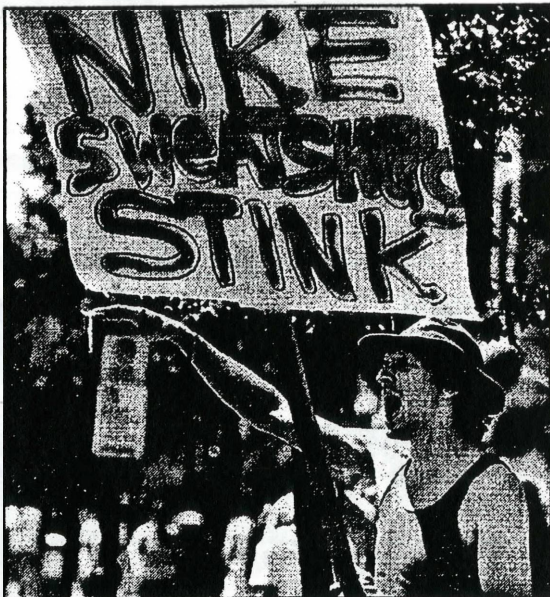
For the price of one \$180 pair of

"Air Penny's" basketball shoes, you could walk out of F.W. Woolworth with four bicycles, 10,000 Q-tips and your own aquarium.

In this swoosh temple, amid the overpriced T-shirts and the Tiger Woods' brushed-cotton golf shorts, I asked one of the many happy-faced Niketown employees what perks they enjoyed for working in the pantheon of multimarketing and multihustle.

Without blinking or once breaking her smile, this Niketown disciple simply said, "I'm sorry, I can't answer that."

Welcome to Retail 2000 ... and beyond. □



**PROTEST:** The opening of Niketown on Newbury Street drew protestors of sweatshops, including Ian MacKinnon, above, who holds a sign saying, "Nike Sweatshops Stink."

Staff photo by Justin Ide

Excepted from Boston Herald article. Only major media coverage that I am aware of. Ian later ran for Cambridge City Council, was endorsed by many groups, possibly more so than any local candidate, yet did not win (this time).





Reprinted from STAY FREE! magazine.





# EVIDENCE OF ACTIVE THOUGHT PUBLICATIONS

P.O. BOX 890 ALLSTON MA 02134

REV. RICHARD J. MACKIN'S BOOKS OF LETTERS  
Consumer Defense Corporate Poetry  
BOOKS 1-9 Available! All updated for '98!

Rev. Richard J. Mackin's  
BOOK OF LETTERS  
\$2.00  
CONTAINS HUNDREDS OF CORPUSCULES



"Richard is onto something here-something big; If you are not  
hip to Mackin, you are missing out on one of the craziest writers  
in town; No zine makes me laugh as consistantly"-Factsheet 5  
"Consistantly funny and thought out"-Flipside "Big fun"-Popsmeat  
"Had me laughing out loud. Big Fun"-MRR "Endlessly entertaining"-  
Ian MacKaye "Richard Mackin...all around funny guy"-Adbusters

## TRUE TALES AND OTHER STUFF

Autobiographical  
comics from Rich

ISSUE 1-Trick or Treating, Henry Rollins  
Punk Rock, Wisdom Teeth, Green Day, more  
ISSUE 2-Abortion protests, Hemp, Crazy  
Insane Lady; Little Bunny FooFoo, more



Just Another Damn Zine  
by Mark Leighton  
'nuff said



## P.A.Y.B.E.V. Protests Are Your Best Entertainment Value!

Issue 1-Protesting NIKETOWN opening-  
Street theatre against sweatshop labor  
lots of silly pictures

Issue 2-Stumbling upon an anti-meat  
rally-Violent cops-Fun with red tape

PAYBEV  
PROTESTS ARE YOUR BEST  
ENTERTAINMENT VALUE  
\$2.00 (includes postage)

NIKE OPERATES SWEAT  
SHOPS WORLDWIDE



AND ALL I GOT WAS  
THIS LOUSTY T SHIRT

PAYBEV  
PROTESTS ARE YOUR BEST  
ENTERTAINMENT VALUE  
\$2.00 (includes postage)



## The Violent Life of Death Weasel

Ben Jones' comic about his  
crime fighting alter-ego.



Ben Jones' comic about his  
crime fighting alter-ego.



ALL THE ABOVE ARE \$2.00 EACH

Please send \$1.00 postage for orders under \$10.00.  
Make checks to RICH MACKIN

P.O. BOX 890 ALLSTON MA 02134

Coming Soon-

Book of Letters 10; True Tales 3; Death Weasel 2  
PAYBEV 3,4; ON TOUR WITHOUT A BAND full length CD  
featuring spoken word by Rich Mackin, Duncan Wilder,  
Clay Fernald, Antony Flacket.

Send S.A.S.E. for Info or free stickers.  
Extra postage gets extra free stuff!