

DRAWING THE CONNECTIONS



GULF LABOR ACTION
TOOL KIT

INTRODUCTION

This tool kit is designed to help individuals and groups take action in solidarity with the migrant workers building the Guggenheim, Louvre, and New York University Saadiyat campus in Abu Dhabi where currently they face abusive labor practices and human right violations including; substandard wages, wage theft, abusive and misleading recruitment practices, unlawful recruiting fees, poor living condition, extreme segregation, and a sponsorship system that gives employers virtually unlimited power over workers including the confiscation of their passports.

Furthermore, this tool kit is designed to help inform individuals and groups about the conditions of migrant workers in Abu Dhabi and get connected with the Gulf Labor.

WHAT IS GULF LABOR?

We are a coalition of international artists working to ensure that migrant worker rights are protected during the construction and maintenance of museums on Saadiyat Island in Abu Dhabi, UAE. Saadiyat Island will host a Guggenheim Museum, an NYU extension campus and a Louvre museum alongside a National Museum and Performing Arts Centre.

Find more information and links to key documents at Gulf Labor: gulflabor.org

GULF LABOR ACTION TOOL KIT

GULF LABOR DEMANDS

Gulf Labor calls on all academic and cultural institutions building on Saadiyat Island to seek uniform and enforceable human rights protections for the workers working on their sites. These protections should specifically address:

1. Recruitment fees and relocation costs paid by workers.
2. Confiscation of worker passports by employers. (Though we recognize that this has appreciably improved in recent years.)
3. Poor and unsafe housing and living conditions, even in the Saadiyat Construction Village that is meant to embody the highest standards for worker welfare upheld by TDIC.
4. Lack of freedom to change jobs or to form trade unions for collective bargaining.
5. Lack of open platforms for workers to express grievances or abuses without fear of recrimination or dismissal.

At a minimum, Gulf Labor requires enforcement of the existing EPP document, including the appointment of an independent monitor empowered and enabled to make impromptu inspections of worksites and worker accommodations. Unfortunately, the first report produced by the current monitor, Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC), did not assuage our initial doubts over the firm's ability to maneuver independently due its business interests in the region. The report did not include any unannounced inspections, but did include formal responses from TDIC to all issues raised by PwC, indicating that TDIC were given the time and opportunity to address shortcomings prior to the release of the report. This methodology is unorthodox, to say the least. In previous meetings and correspondence, Gulf Labor has recommended a list of human rights organizations that we thought could act as sound and rigorous monitors, and we reiterate our call for such an independent monitor.

GULF LABOR ACTION TOOL KIT

GULF LABOR DEMANDS (continued)

Gulf Labor has also suggested the implementation of the Institute of Human Rights and Business's recently drafted Dhaka Principles as a framework to move TDIC policies forward. These guidelines were developed within the business world, and do not place unrealistic burdens on employers, but nonetheless abide by internationally recognized standards of human rights for workers.

Ideally, Gulf Labor would like to see either a workers rights framework like the Dhaka Principles and/or an employer code of conduct like the EPP enacted into law in the UAE.



Image: Human Rights Watch

GULF LABOR PETITION

To: Richard Armstrong, Director
Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation
1071 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10128

We, the undersigned, are writing to demand that the Guggenheim Foundation obtain contractual guarantees that will protect the rights of workers employed in the construction and maintenance of its new branch museum in Abu Dhabi.

Human rights violations are currently occurring on Saadiyat Island, the location of the new museum. In two extensive reports on the UAE, Human Rights Watch has documented a cycle of abuse that leaves migrant workers deeply indebted, poorly paid, and unable to defend their rights or even quit their jobs. The UAE authorities responsible for developing the island have failed to tackle the root causes of abuse: unlawful recruiting fees, broken promises of wages, and a sponsorship system that gives employers virtually unlimited power over workers.

These violations, which threaten to sully the Guggenheim's reputation, present a serious, moral challenge to those who may be asked to work with the museum. No one should be asked to exhibit or perform in a building that has been constructed and maintained on the backs of exploited employees. Human Rights Watch has expressed its concerns to the Foundation on several occasions, but so far, adequate steps have not been taken to ensure that workers' rights will be respected at the Abu Dhabi site. While the Guggenheim is franchising its name and is not a direct party to the subcontractors who employ the migrant labor, it can and should assert responsibility for the well-being of these workers.

We urge the Foundation and its partners in Abu Dhabi, TDIC (The Abu Dhabi Tourism and Development Investment Company), to conform rigorously to the various commitments made in the TDIC's Employment Practices Policy



(EPP), dated June 2010, the TDIC/Guggenheim Statement of Shared Values, published September 22, 2010, and the recent EPP update, amended March 11th, 2011. Moreover, we urge the Foundation and TDIC to address the current absence of independent monitoring of employers' compliance with international human rights and labor laws, and the lack of an effective enforcement mechanism. A monitor must be empowered to make random visits to work sites and maintain a relationship independent of employer influence. It must also determine if its findings conform to international laws and standards, and it must issue public reports on these findings. In the absence of these conditions, violations will persist and continue to be under-reported. Similarly, without explicit mechanisms for enforcing the terms of the contract or clearly enumerated remedies in the event of breaches, all efforts to protect workers will be in vain. TDIC has announced that it will appoint a "reputable independent monitor" in May. We demand that the appointment be made as soon as possible and that the conditions outlined above be observed as part of the monitor's mandate.

Our cooperation with the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi (and, for many of us, at other Guggenheim locations) will not be forthcoming if the Foundation fails to take steps to safeguard the rights of the workers who will be employed in the museum's operations on Saadiyat Island. Human Rights Watch will determine if and when adequate monitoring measures have been established and effectively implemented.

First & Last Name | Email | Signature



TAKE ACTION

TAKE ACTIONS FOR WORKER RIGHTS

What can I do to be in solidarity with Gulf Labor and the workers building the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi?

Sign the petition and then Tweet, Facebook, email, and mail the Guggenheim Foundation, tell them to stop violating workers' human rights and halt construction on the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until Fair Labor Practices are guaranteed.



PETITION:

Sign and share the petition online (<http://gulflabor.org/sign-the-petition/>), or print, sign, and ask your community to sign it before mailing it to Director Richard Armstrong, Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1071 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10128.

< see page 5



TWITTER:

Retweet the below tweet or send out a message of solidarity with the migrant workers building the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi. Be sure to include the Gulf Labor petition: <http://tinyurl.com/obaoa5e> #GulfLabor

Please follow Gulf Labor Action's: <https://twitter.com/GulfLaborAction> twitterbot campaign and consider retweeting our tweet.

Guggenheim, Louvre, NYU are building in Abu Dhabi. Human rights violations occur each day. Sign here: <http://tinyurl.com/obaoa5e> #GulfLabor

GULF LABOR ACTION TOOL KIT

TAKE ACTION (continued)



FACEBOOK:

Copy the message below or write your own message of solidarity with the migrant workers building the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi on the the Guggenheim Museum Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/guggenheimmuseum>

Be sure to include a link back to Gulf Labor petition:
<http://gulflabor.org/sign-the-petition/>

Please like, follow, and share the Gulf Labor Facebook group:
<https://www.facebook.com/gulflaborgroup>

*As an art lover and believer in human rights I ask the Guggenheim Foundation to halt construction on the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until Fair Labor Practices are guaranteed for all workers. Join the solidarity efforts by signing the petition here:
<http://gulflabor.org/sign-the-petition/>*



EMAIL:

Copy the message below or write your own message of solidarity with the migrant workers building the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi. Send an email to the the Guggenheim at pressoffice@guggenheim.org

As an art lover and believer in human rights I ask the Guggenheim Foundation to halt construction on the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until Fair Labor Practices are guaranteed for all workers.

GULF LABOR ACTION TOOL KIT

TAKE ACTION (continued)



MAIL:

Use the tear out petition as a starting point or the postcards included in this tool kit to mail a message to the Guggenheim Foundation. Address your letter to;
Attn: Jennifer Blei Stockman
Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation
1071 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10128



TAKE FURTHER ACTION:

Consider taking further action in solidarity with Gulf Labor and the workers building the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi.

Hosting a letter writing party asking the Guggenheim Foundation to stop violating workers' human rights and halt construction on the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until Fair Labor Practices are guaranteed.

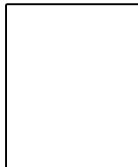
Make a drawing, print, painting, sculpture, video, or any kind of artwork that shows your support of the workers building the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi. Then share it with your community and post a picture of it on Gulf Labor Facebook group: <https://www.facebook.com/gulflaborgroup>

Organize a local event, such as a talk or art exhibition, to inform your community about the Guggenheim Foundation use of abusive labor practices to build its new museum.

GULF LABOR ACTION TOOL KIT



Paradox on Citizenry and Creativity, by Todd Ayoung and Jelena Stojanovic, 2014



Dear Board of Trustees,

*As an art lover and as a laborer
I ask you to halt construction
on the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi
until Fair Labor Practices* are
guaranteed for all workers.*

Sincerely,

**see [http://gulflabor.org/wp-content/
uploads/2013/10/Gulf-Labor-FAQ.pdf](http://gulflabor.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Gulf-Labor-FAQ.pdf)*

design: Gulf Labor Action photos: Human Rights Watch

*Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
Attn: Jennifer Blei Stockman
1071 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10128*



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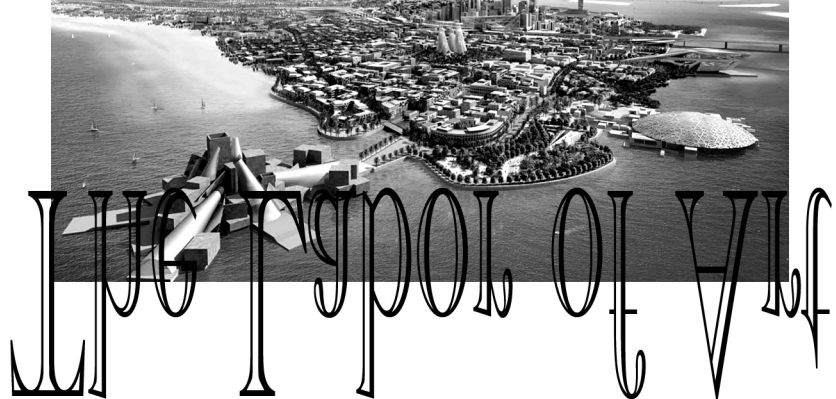
*Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
Attn: Jennifer Blei Stockman
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New York, NY 10128*





No Artwork is Worth this Price

The Art of Labor



No Artwork is Worth this Price

উত্সব

অটোকে ভীষণ বিরক্ত দেখাচ্ছিল। সে বলল - সভ্যতা !

সভ্যতা কাকে বলে শোন। আমি যখন যাদুঘরের মধ্যে ঘুরে ঘুরে ঐসব পুরনো স্মৃতিসৌধ দেখি তখন কেবল আমার মনে হয় ওগুলো ছুরি আর শোষণের ইতিহাস। যারা ঐসব বিশাল বিশাল পাথর পিঠে করে বসে এনে ঝুঁদে ঝুঁদে সৌধ বাগিয়েছে সেই সব দাসদের ওপর অত্যাচারের কথা আর নিপীড়িত বৃত্তক্ষু শ্রমিকদের কথা খালি মনে পড়ে যায়। কোন সভ্যতায় আমি বিশ্বাস করি জান? আমি বিশ্বাস করি রোমান সাম্রাজ্যের বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে ইউনুসের দাস বিপ্লব, আমি বিশ্বাস করি নেপোলিয়নের গৃহযুদ্ধে কাঁপিয়ে দেওয়া ফরাসী উপনিবেশের বিরুদ্ধে হেইতির দাস বিপ্লব। হিংসাত্মক প্রতিরোধ হলো একমাত্র উত্তর। সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের যন্ত্রনা না দিতে পারলে , যন্ত্রনাবোধ না জাগতে পারলে তারা তোমাকে হাড়মাংস সমেত একেবারে গ্রাস করে নেবে। (চিবিয়ে ছিবাড়ে করে উগরে দেবে)। মাথার কাছে বন্দুক ঠেকাতে পারলে তবেই তুমি পরিবর্তন আশা করতে পার, আসলে যে কোন সাম্রাজ্যবাদই একটা ক্ষুধার্ত রাক্ষস .

তমাশা

রাবী হাজ (অনুবাদ: অনীতা বাদামী और राहुल वर्मा) ओटोने घणित होकर कहा, "संस्कृती? मैं बताता हूँ आपको उस संस्कृती के बारे में! जब मैं उस संस्कृति के संग्रालयों और स्मारकों को देखता हूँ जो चोरी और शोषण के जन्म मना रहे हैं, तो मुझे उन गुलामों और कामगारों की याद आती है जिन्होंने उन भारी-भारी चट्टानों को ढोया और नक्क़ाशी की। आप जानना चाहते हैं मैं किस संस्कृती में विश्वास करता हूँ? मैं रोम साम्राज्य के विरुद्ध गुलाम यूनुस की बग़ावत में मानता हूँ। मैं हेटी की स्वतंत्रता में विश्वास करता हूँ जिसने फ़्राँसीसी उपनिवेशवादियों से मुक्ति के लिये नेपोलियन की गुदा हिला कर रख दी। परिवर्तन का एकमात्र उपाय है: क्रान्तिकारी, हिंसा, और विद्रोह। अगर शासक साम्राज्य को पीड़ा अनुभव न हुआ तो वह जनभक्षक का आनन्द लेता रहेगा। शासक साम्राज्य नरभक्षी है - जब तक उसके सर पर बंदूक न ताना जाय वह नहीं बदलेगा।

Otto a eu l'air dégoûté et il a rétorqué :
La culture? Laissez-moi te parler de culture. Je parcours les musées et je regarde les monuments, ces célébrations de vol et d'oppression, et je ne peux penser à rien d'autre qu'aux esclaves et aux travailleurs affamés qui ont façonné ces immenses pierres et les ont transportées sur leurs dos. Tu sais en quelle culture je crois? Je crois dans la révolte des esclaves d'Eunus contre la sauvagerie de l'Empire romain; je crois dans l'émancipation d'Haïti du joug des colons français, et quand ils ont botté le cul de Napoléon troisième. La violence et la résistance sont les seules réponses. L'Empire doit éprouver de la douleur sans quoi il ne cessera jamais de vous dévorer. Ce n'est que lorsqu'on met un revolver au visage de quelqu'un que les choses changent. Tous les empires sont des cannibales affamés...

آٹو غصے میں دکھائی دے رہا تھا- ثقافت- میں تمہیں ثقافت کے بارے میں بتاتا ہوں - میں جب عجائب گھروں میں پڑے نوادرات کو دیکھتا ہوں، وہی نوادرات جو سرقہ اور بربریت کی علامت ہیں، تو میں ان بھوکے مزدوروں اور غلاموں کی صعوبتوں کے بارے میں سوچتا ہوں کہ جنہوں نے ان بھاری بھرکم پتھروں کو تراشا اور پھر اپنی پیٹھ پر لاد کر بلندیوں تک پہنچایا - تمہیں معلوم ہے میں کس ثقافت میں یقین رکھتا ہوں؟ میں اونس کے غلاموں کی سلطنت روم کے ظلم و جبر کے خلاف بغاوت میں یقین رکھتا ہوں - میں بیٹی کی نو آبادیاتی فرانس سے آزادی میں یقین رکھتا ہوں، اور جب انہوں نے نپولین سوم کو ناکوں کے چنے چبوا دے تھے - عسکریت اور مزہامت ہی واحد راستہ ہیں - ان سلطنتوں کو جب تلک تکلیف نا پہنچائی جائے یہ ظلم سے باز نہیں آئیں گی - جب تلک پستول کی نالی کسی کے چہرے پر نہ تانی جائے کچھ تبدیل نہیں ہوتا - تمام سلطنتیں بھوکی آدم خور ہوتی ہیں

Otto looked revolted and said, Culture?
Let me tell you about culture. I walk through the museums and I look at the monuments, those celebrations of theft and oppression, and all I can think of is the suffering of the slaves and the starving workers who shaped those massive stones and carried them on their backs. You know what culture I believe in? I believe in the slave revolt of Eunus against the savagery of the Roman Empire; I believe in Haiti's emancipation from the colonial French, and when they gave it to Napoleon the Third up the ass. Violence and resistance are the only answer. Empire has to feel pain or it will never stop devouring you. It is only when a gun is put in a person's face that anything changes. All empires are hungry cannibals...

لم يكن أوتو في منزله، فعدت إلى البار حيث رأيته يجلس ويتحدث إلى رجلٍ أنيق بحماس. اقتربتُ منهما، فوجدتُ نفسي وسط جدال محتدم. كان الرجل يتكلم بلكنة فرنسية غليظةٍ ذكّرتني بالسيدة الملتحية. ثم سمعتُ أوتو يقول إن الإمبراطورية الفرنسية وثقافتها قد اضمحلتا، وأن الأمر له ما يبرره. في حين كان يتحدث الرجل عن مساهمةٍ متواصلةٍ فيالثقافة العالمية. قال أوتو بعد أن استفذه كلام الرجل: أي ثقافة؟ دعني أخبرك عن الثقافة. عندما أمشي في أروقة المتاحف، وأنظر إلى التماثيل والنُصب المعروضة هناك، تلك الأمجاد المبنية على السرقة والقهر، فكل ما يمكنني أن أفكر فيه هو معاناة المستعبدين، والعمال المحرومين، الذين نحتوا تلك الحجارة الثقيلة وحملوها على أكتافهم. هل تعرف أي ثقافة أؤمن بها؟ أؤمن بثورة يونس على همجية الإمبراطورية الرومانية، أؤمن بتحرر الهايتيين من الاستعمار الفرنسي، وبمباغتهم في الثورة على نابوليون الثالث. أؤمن بالعنف والمقاومة فقط لا غير. على كل إمبراطورية أن تعاني الألم، وإلا فلن توقف انقضاضها عليك. طالما أنك لم تضع المسدس في وجه الآخر، فهذا يعني أن الأمور ستبقى على حالها. إن جميع الإمبراطوريات أكلتُ جائعةً للحوم البشر.

409,028 ft²



38,000 m²

Sheikh Zayed Museum by Norman Foster

322,917 ft²



30,000 m²

Guggenheim Abu Dhabi by Frank Gehry

277,708 ft²



25,800 m²

Performing Arts Center by Zaha Hadid

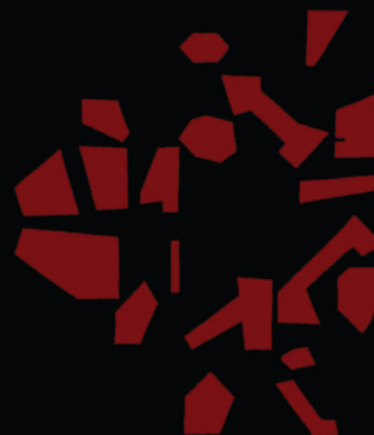
258,333 ft²



24,000 m²

Louvre Abu Dhabi Museum by Jean Nouvel

165,764 ft²



15,400 m²

Biennale Park & International Pavilions

182 ft²



17 m²

Windowless room housing ten Saadiyat Island construction workers, shared bathroom, no door

Of Saadiyat's Rectangles & Curves, or Santiago Sierra's One Sheikh, Two Museum Directors, Three Curators, One University President, Two Architects, and One Artist Remunerated to Sleep for 30 Days in 13 x 14 foot Windowless Room with Shared Bathroom and No Door, From Art Biennials & Other Global Disasters by Pedro Lasch, 2013



Migrant, by John Pitman Weber, 2013

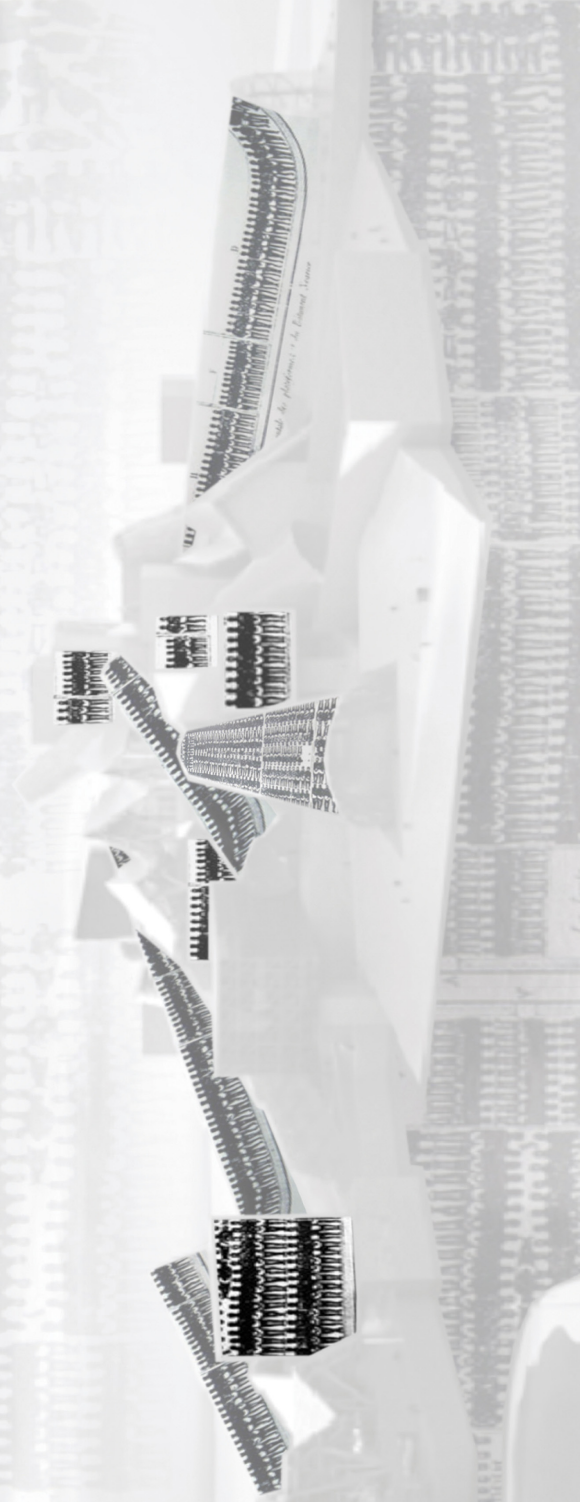
Gulf Labor Action Solidarity Fold & Tear Out Poster

IN A WORLD WHOSE IMAGINATION OF WEALTH IS ROOTED IN THE FREE LABOR OF OTHERS, WHERE CULTURE AND THE GOOD LIFE ARE ENABLED BY COUNTLESS SERVANTS AND WORKERS WITH NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT THAT JOB AT THAT PAY, IN A SOCIETY WHOSE WEALTH IS THE BLOOD OF MIGRANT WORKERS AND PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM THEIR LAND, IT WILL SEEM LIKE NOTHING TO ENSLAVE A PEOPLE, TO ROB A PEOPLE OF THEIR NARRATIVE AND SUPPLY THEM A NEW ONE AS BUILDERS OF SOMEBODY ELSE'S TEMPLES.

IT'S JUST ANOTHER DAY'S WORK,
BUILDING CULTURE ON THE BACKS OF THE VULNERABLE,
BUILDING THE HIGHER THINGS UPON THE SUBORDINATED.

WHOSE HANDS ARE THESE?
WHOSE BODIES ARE THESE?
WHOSE LABOR IS THIS?

FOR
A WORK CAMP IS A WORK CAMP,
AND A SLAVE IS A PERSON, A PERSON MADE A SLAVE,
A SLAVE WAGE IS A WAGE SLAVE,
IS A SLAVE IS A SLAVE BY WHATEVER NAME YOU CALL IT,
A PERSON REDUCED TO THE ENRICHMENT OF ANOTHER.



Gulf Labor Action Solidarity Fold & Tear Out Poster



No Artwork is Worth this Price

Dear Board of Trustees,

*As an art lover and as a laborer
I ask you to halt construction
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until Fair Labor Practices* are
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Sincerely,

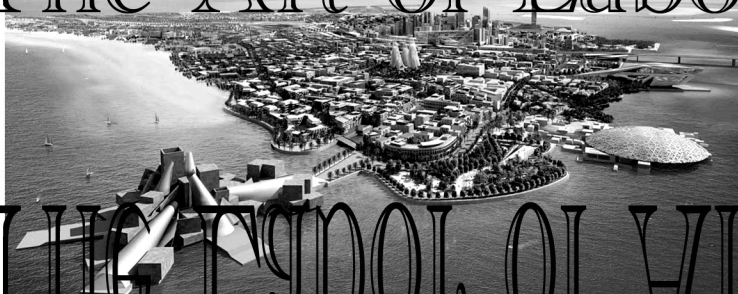
**see <http://gulflabor.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Gulf-Labor-FAQ.pdf>*

design: Gulf Labor Action photos: Human Rights Watch



*Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
Attn: Jennifer Blei Stockman
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The Art of Labor



THE TROPIC OF VIRGIL

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