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Making Our Voices Heard Against Sexism In The IWW 3

Jimmy John's Workers Picket in Baltimore 5

In November We Remember U.S. Labor Struggles 11-14

Anti-Fascist Demonstrations In Greece 16

Portland IWW Battles With Non-Profits Over Union Busting

By Shane Burley

Outside of coffee shops and bookstores, crowded Whole Foods stores and worker-run co-ops nationwide, you're bound to find canvassers asking for donations or signatures in support of a host of causes. They're often young people shaking the can for high-profile non-profits. But as we get deeper into the post-crash precarious economy, the image of canvassers as idealistic college students making a few extra bucks on summer break quickly disintegrates. People are turning to this occupation as their primary source of income, according to many active campaigners. They are hired by independently-contracted companies to canvas for non-profits. The quotas are demanding, making the work one of the most difficult low-wage jobs to hold on to.

In Portland, Ore., one union local has formed precisely to take on this precarious world of street canvassing, and they are growing at a pace no one could have predicted.

In early August, the United Campaign Workers (UCW) union, an affiliate of the

Portland IWW, announced its second organized workplace in its less than two months of existence—the first was the Campaign for the Restoration and Regulation of Hemp (“Portland Canvass Workers Walk Off The Job, Demand Unpaid Wages,” September 2014 IW, pages 1 & 7).

Canvassers working for Grassroots Campaigns Inc. (GCI), a third-party contractor that does street canvassing and fundraising for progressive non-profit organizations such as Planned Parenthood and the Southern Poverty Law Center, informed management of their unionization drive. The union drive began in response to what workers say were unsustainable turnover rates from firings and overly complicated pay scales.

According to workers, GCI's strict quota system means many workers don't last past the first few days of canvassing. New hires must bring in \$130 in donations during at least one of their first three days on the job; otherwise, their probationary period ends in termination. After that, workers must average \$130 per day each

Continued on 6



Workers and community supporters rally at Grassroots Campaigns Inc. (GCI) headquarters in Portland on Aug. 2.

Photo: Shane Burley

They Go Wild, Simply Wild, Over Me!



FW Elliot Hughes in NYC. Photo: ecology.iww.org

By X344543, IWW EUC

On Monday, Sept. 22, more than 2,500 demonstrators punctuated the 400,000-strong People's Climate March with a more in-your-face, anti-capitalist protest called Flood Wall Street. Channeling the IWW soap-boxers of the Pacific Northwest during the lumber strikes of the late 1910s, IWW Environmental Unionism Caucus (EUC) member and co-founder Elliot Hughes was the first to engage in civil disobedience (and the first arrestee). Thanks to one of the demonstrators we have ample, albeit very muddy, video and audio footage of the incident. Here is a transcript of some of the audio of Fellow Worker (FW) Hughes soapboxing:

“Mic Check!!! (mic check!)...I'm doing a civil disobedience right now! I'm a member of the Industrial Workers of the World! We want all workers

to rise up! Take control of all industry!... And dismantle anything that is unsustainable! And through workers' power...We need to dismantle all forms of oppression! Including sexism...racism...homophobia...transphobia...speciesism...Together, we can build an ecological general strike! To take over all industries and dismantle capitalism once and for all!...indigenous people, who are on the front line, and join in the struggle against capitalism! Utilize your privilege and support (to aid those on) the front lines!”

At this point FW Hughes began lead-

ing the crowd in a chant. After a minute, the police demanded that FW Hughes step down. FW Hughes stepped down, where police were waiting to detain our fellow worker, even though no crime had been committed. FW Hughes raced away from the unsuspecting officers, who eventually caught up and then placed our fellow worker in an illegal chokehold—at which point the crowd began chanting “Shame!”

FW Hughes was arrested, but has since been released upon bail, which was raised thanks to the efforts of fellow IWW EUC members and supporters.

In November We Remember Penny Pixler



Wobblies, others gather at the Haymarket Martyrs Monument at Waldheim (Forest Home) Cemetery near Chicago.



Penny Pixler's ashes scattered on Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's grave.

By Mike Hargis

Wobblies, former Wobblies and friends of Fellow/Sister Worker Penny Pixler, who passed away last spring, gathered at the Haymarket Martyrs Monument at Waldheim (Forest Home) Cemetery in Des Plaines (near Chicago) on Labor Day, Sept. 1, to honor Penny's last

wish to have her ashes scattered there.

After several friends and fellow workers shared their memories of Penny, her ashes were scattered around the base of the monument and at the graves of other fallen comrades, like Emma Goldman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Lucy Parsons and Voltairine de Cleyre.

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\$40 for 4" by 2 columns
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IWW Convention Report: A Call To Action

Friends and Fellow Workers,
I wanted to voice my support for the challenging piece by Fellow Worker (FW) Maria Parrotta in the October *Industrial Worker* ("The 2014 IWW General Convention: Learning From Our Mistakes, Moving Forward," pages 1 & 6). I was unable to attend the Convention, so I was eagerly awaiting a report back. The dispatch in the *Industrial Worker* was very eye opening. As a male-identifying member of this union, there were some troubling behaviors that I was unaware of within this union. Perhaps these behaviors are not a problem in our local branches, or perhaps I'm part of the problem in not seeing such male dominance around non-male identifying fellow workers. I will certainly be sure to have conversations about this issue with Wobblies of all genders around me, and I'll also find it impossible to not be vigilant to stop such rude and dismissive behaviors where I see them.

I had expected to see a simple recap of what had happened in the union. Instead, I received a much more important analysis of where we need to be heading. I want to thank FW Maria Parrotta for standing up for the dignity of all members and for

writing a much more compelling call to action to grow the union from the inside.

Yours for the Revolution,
Matt Meister x371220

Convention Report Was A Disjointed, Subjective Rant

I am seething. It would have been nice to read a report on the business conducted by this year's General Convention in the *IW* but instead we were treated to a subjective, disjointed rant about how screwed up the IWW is ("The 2014 IWW General Convention: Learning From Our Mistakes, Moving Forward," October 2014 *IW*, pages 1 & 6). Now, the author is certainly entitled to her opinion on the state of the IWW but her OPINION is not NEWS. The *IW* editor should have labeled the article as opinion and certainly should not have placed it as news on the front page our union's newspaper.

Furthermore, the writer's characterization of the Chicago General Membership Branch (GMB) as "dysfunctional" is rich, given that the author admits that her own branch could barely get a quorum at the meeting where they discussed Conven-

tion resolutions. The Chicago GMB, in contrast, consistently attracts one-third to one-half its local membership to monthly branch meetings and is engaged in the work of the IWW (i.e. organizing workers at the point of production). We aren't perfect by any means, but I think we function pretty well, thank you.

The walkout of the Chicago GMB delegates from the Convention (and I was one of them) was in protest at the injustice of barring a member of our GMB from the Convention, not for something he did but for something that people imagined he might do. After all, "an injury to one is an injury to all." The IWW certainly has problems, no one would deny that, but parading them on the front page of the *IW* just adds to them. I am greatly disappointed that the editor of the union's newspaper couldn't produce an article that reported on the General Convention and, instead, chose to publish a rant that can only leave the reader with the worst possible impression of the IWW.

If I were not already a member of the IWW (for 42 years now) I would have to think twice about signing up after reading this issue of the *IW*.

For the Works,
Mike Hargis, X328826

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Making Our Voices Heard Against Sexism In The IWW

Fellow Workers,

Many of you have expressed criticism at my decision to publish Fellow Worker (FW) Maria Parrotta's piece, entitled "The 2014 IWW General Convention: Learning From Our Mistakes, Moving Forward," October 2014 *Industrial Worker* (IW), pages 1 & 6. Those of you who have written to me, both in letters published in the Readers' Soapbox section of this issue (pages 2 & 3) and in private messages, have expressed such scrutiny as (1) this article should have appeared in the General Organization Bulletin (GOB) or another internal IWW publication, as the *IW* is an external publication, (2) this article should have been clearly labeled as an "opinion" piece and not "news," and (3) this piece was too "corrosive" and does not appeal to potential fellow workers who we are trying to organize. I will explain why I made the decision to publish this piece on the front page of the newspaper, and I encourage any fellow workers or subscribers who agree or disagree with my decision to write letters explaining your opinions, and I will gladly consider publishing these as well.

Let me just say, first and foremost, that while I respect the aforementioned criticisms, I made the editorial decision to publish this piece on the front page, just as I publish other pieces that express individuals' opinions on the front page and every page of each issue of the paper. As you will read on the masthead of page 2 of every issue, "Articles not so designated do not reflect the IWW's official position." This implies that each article is not objective journalism at all, but is very much the opinion of each author. The articles that appear in the *IW* are written by workers, for workers, and, as such, will reflect their opinions. You will see many examples of this from male authors as well—even in an article by FW db, which appeared in the very issue we are discussing ("New Survey Of Online IWW Sign-Ups: A Wake-Up Call And Call To Action," October *IW*, page 3). His piece includes strong opinions related to sexism in the union, and provides simi-

lar internal criticism on the same problems that FW Maria identifies in her piece. The only difference in FW db's piece, and the reason I believe folks have not expressed such strong opposition of my decision to publish his piece on page 3, is that it was written by a male-identified author. I encourage fellow workers to take a step back and think about why they did not have the same reaction to his piece. Perhaps it speaks to the very nature of the problem that FW Maria identifies.

I believe that giving a prominent voice to a female delegate attending her first Convention is essential for providing all members and potential members with a fresh perspective on what the union is doing right and what the union is doing wrong. FW Maria is certainly not the first person to voice harsh but valid critiques of sexism in the union, but she's one of the first who was given a prominent voice in union media, instead of being relegated to an email list or on the back pages of a GOB, which would only serve to neutralize her opinion. We are a member-run union for all workers, and, as such, we have a diversity of opinions and perspectives. I chose to publish her piece for everyone to read, understand and be able to learn from together.

How can we call ourselves a democratic organization if we want to shut out the voices of those who are critical? FW Maria is a member of the working class as much as the guys on the factory floor are. Sometimes it's not just about what appeals, it's about being honest and transparent about who we are as an organization. This openness should not be hidden from potential members out of fear it won't appeal to them, as they'll very quickly find out about our problems as soon as they join and possibly quit shortly thereafter. I don't say this to be cynical, I say this as a



Graphic: -Myriad-

very deeply-rooted concern, because we *have* been alienating many, many non-male fellow workers in recent years due to sexism, and this needs to change.

In my eight-and-a-half years as a member of this organization, I have seen countless active, passionate women and gender non-conforming fellow workers drop out one-by-one, all for similar reasons: they were pushed out after having to battle through a lengthy charges process involving male harassment, or they got sick of being constantly interrupted, put down, and not taken seriously by many of the male fellow workers in the groups with which they worked, and when they did speak up and power through, they were over-scrutinized in the same way that I am being for publishing this piece and that Maria is being for writing it.

If we are to move forward as a revolutionary organization, it is time we start acting like one. This means not only patting ourselves on the back for our hard-fought struggles against the bosses but being able to openly recognize that we are not perfect; however, there are conscious things we can do to better ourselves and our organization. Highlighting the voices of those in the union who are marginalized is one of those things. If fellow workers are scared to do this or feel that publicizing these criticisms will not further our cause, I urge you to reflect on what I've said and ask yourself why. Until we get comfortable with self-criticism and hearing the voices of our marginalized membership, we will continue to function on the periphery of the left, the fringes of the labor movement, and alienating even to the people who believe in the principles of the IWW.

Solidarity,
Diane Krauthamer
Industrial Worker Editor



An Injury To One Is An Injury To All

I strongly support the articles published in the *IW* on addressing patriarchy and on the saddening behavior of a few of my fellow workers at the IWW General Convention. As a worker affiliated with the Chicago branch, I've watched as dissenting voices have been harassed and threatened within this branch for their criticism of statements and actions that harm our cause.

If a worker is made to feel unsafe within their union, this hurts our credibility as a movement to look up to, and drives away people in need of representation and solidarity. Union members deserve the opportunity to talk about oppressive behavior they see within their branch, just as they deserve this opportunity within the workplace, and this has to include the right to speak to their fellow workers in the absence of those who have acted in threatening ways.

Instead, these voices within the Chicago branch have been driven out of the conversation, and the policies of the IWW have been used as a tool for protecting the connected rather than a tool for self-improvement. The labor movement is more important than ever, and it is our duty to become more inclusive so that every worker can find a safe space to organize and realize her rights.

An injury to one is an injury to all, and after the discouragement I've felt watching the Chicago branch from within, I am profoundly relieved to see that the IWW as a whole understands and lives by this principle.

Daniel Miller

IWW Constitution Preamble

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

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

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

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

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

Join the IWW Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I agree to abide by the IWW constitution.

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



Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Post Code, Country: _____

Occupation: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

Amount Enclosed: _____

Membership includes a subscription to the *Industrial Worker*.

Participate In The 2014 IWW Organizing Survey!

The IWW Survey & Research Committee (SRC)—part of the Organizing Department Board—has just launched our 2014 member survey at: <http://bit.ly/Yg2SwA>. We hope you can take 5 to 10 minutes of your time to complete this survey and to share it with as many of your fellow workers as possible. Paper copies are also available upon request.

The information you share with us is vital to moving forward with organizing efforts around the world. This year, we are especially focused on understanding where fellow workers are organizing, as well as past efforts and future goals. The more comprehensive this survey is (i.e. the more people who respond!), the better we will be able to plan strategically and provide necessary trainings and resources.

If you have any questions, concerns, or feedback about the survey or are otherwise interested in the work of the SRC, please contact us at src@lists.iww.org. For the One Big Union, The IWW SRC



Three Ways To Win Your IWW Campaign

By Daniel Gross

The IWW has made dramatic strides in the last decade, returning to its roots as an effective and transformative labor union. Unique campaigns in diverse industries have won important gains for workers and significantly influenced the broader labor movement. Still, the building of enduring worker-led and operated industrial unions, a founding mandate of our union, has not yet been fully realized.

With the IWW's strong recent track record, unparalleled experience in rank-and-file organizing, and rich learnings from our work, we are positioned to get to the next level of building durable industrial unions to scale.

Here are three ways we can get to the next level:

1) Take a step back. Too many Wobbly campaigns start with a group of workers deciding they are going to talk to their co-workers and organize their shop. The idea is after the shop or chain is organized, they will then figure out how to organize the industry. This approach is not working because a shop is not a significant unit in our economy; industries are.

Instead of jumping right in to organize your shop, take a step back and look at your industry. Your job as an IWW organizer is to organize your shop, but more so, it is to co-found a successful industrial union of workers in your industry. Understand the industry, its workers, employers, customers, investors, supply chain, distribution, and so forth. Build a model to win in the industry, including at your job.

Once you have taken a step back you might decide that your industrial union building effort actually should start with organizing your shop or chain, and that is totally fine. You will have the roadmap to do it right and the mission's clarity in that your ultimate project is to build an effective industrial union. On the other hand, you might decide on a totally different path into an industry that at the moment does not directly involve your employer. That is fine, too, as then you have just avoided years of misdirected effort.

It is completely understandable to want to get the ball rolling, fight injustice at your shop or company, and then figure out the bigger picture as you go. But, by taking a step back you will avoid the fate that has felled many Wobbly campaigns and instead, you will be investing in big, durable victories to come.

2) Get clarity on your strategy. Many IWW campaigns have faltered for lack of a viable strategy or even a lack of any articulated strategy. We need to learn strategy-making in the IWW. Without finding a strategy that works for your industrial union building effort, the most courageous and hard-fought efforts will be beaten.

The two essential questions to formulate strategy are: where will we struggle and how will we win? "Where to struggle" means things like which industry, sector, geographic location, employers, or other stakeholders that will be our focus. "How to win" means the unique choices we make to achieve our winning objective in the field of struggle we have picked. These two strategy questions are adapted from the work of business school professor Roger Martin, which we modified in New York for use in worker organizations. A good way to start practicing with the "where to struggle" and "how to win" questions is to apply them to various worker organizing campaigns that you are familiar with, successful and unsuccessful, inside and outside the IWW.

More than anything, your strategy must assert the power you will need to win your demands. Asserting sufficient power is extremely difficult and will not come from generic formulations. Each industrial union effort will have to do its

own thinking about this question. Different industries, sectors, workers, employers and geographies pose varied challenges and opportunities for power assertion. Always include secondary targets or influencers in your analysis. A common success factor for many worker organizing campaigns has been the ability to move those stakeholders.

Several IWW campaigns today have only an employer-level strategy, which is related to the need to step back, which I have discussed. Do not fall into that trap. The mission is to build an industrial union and that requires a cascade of strategies beyond your shop or employer.

Many industrial union building efforts will need an overall organizational strategy, an industry-level strategy, a sector-level strategy, and an employer-level strategy. You will answer the where to struggle and how to win question for each level. And each level is interrelated.

You should be able to write down the core of each strategy level in the ballpark of 25 words or less. This short statement will not replace a strategic plan; but, the best engines of power assertion are amenable to simple and brief articulation. It is much easier to remember and align a team of founding fellow workers around 25 words than it is 25 pages.

Scared you will assess and test several strategies but still choose the wrong path? You probably will. However, with a system for regular strategy reviews and the will to keep the struggle alive, you will adjust until you find the strategy that works. And adjust again if it stops working. With effective strategy-making, you and other workers will see big and game-changing results in IWW organizing.

3) Build a model. A strategy to win is necessary but not sufficient to create an industrial union. In casual conversation, we often interchange strategy and model. We cannot afford to make that mistake in the high-stakes and incredibly difficult project of founding an industrial union. Strategy is a component of an organizational model. A model includes all of your organization's fundamental building blocks and how they interlace.

Which set of workers in the industry will you and your fellow workers seek out first? What channels will you prioritize to reach those workers? How will leaders develop?

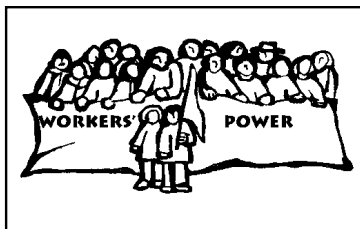
If you are able to successfully assert power, what mechanism will use to define and hold the gains you win? A collective bargaining agreement? A code of conduct with large brands? A non-contractual standard, which was for example IWW Local 8's approach on the Philadelphia waterfront?

How will you tie the value created by the industrial union to being a member of the organization? How will you retain members? What will you measure to see if your vision is making progress in the messy world of reality?

These are some key questions that a model must seek to answer and test. Though interrelated with strategy, hopefully, it is clear they require their own thinking and formulation. It takes a complete model for an industrial union to win, scale and endure.

Like strategy, the model almost never works right off the bat and that is fine. The key is to dialogue, debate, and document your model as founding co-workers and to stay alive. You will refine the model as you go and even transform it dramatically if needed. When it does click you will change your industry and your workplace, and maybe even the labor movement and the world.

A member of the New York City IWW, Daniel Gross founded the worker center Brandworkers and helped launch the IWW Starbucks Workers Union while he was a barista at the company.



WOMEN WORKERS' HISTORY

Chapter 77

"Which Side Are You On?"

In the summer of 1931, the National Miners' Union (see Chapter 77) sent organizers to Harlan County, Kentucky to assist striking miners. The company responded brutally with black-listing and evictions, and arrests, beatings and shooting. Women were an important part of the union struggle. Some wrote songs which union people continued to sing long after the strike in "Bloody Harlan" collapsed.

Aunt Molly Jackson, a ballad singer and a miner's wife, grew up in the mountains around Harlan.

I am a union woman
Just as brave as I can be
I do not like the bosses
And the bosses don't like me.



Florence Reece married her coal miner husband Sam at age 16. This is how she describes writing her best known song:

"Sheriff J.H. Blair and his men came to our house in search of Sam. He was one of the union leaders. I was home alone with our seven children. They ransacked the whole house and then kept watch outside, waiting to shoot Sam down when he came back. But he didn't come home that night. Afterwards I tore a sheet from a calendar on the wall and wrote the words to 'Which Side Are You On' to an old Baptist hymn, 'Lay the Lily Low.'"

Come all you good workers
Good news to you I'll tell
Of how the good old union
Has come in here to dwell

Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?

If you go to Harlan County
There is no neutral there
You'll either be a union man
Or a thug for J.H. Blair

Graphic: Mike Konopacki

For the Unknown

For the numberless, unrecorded workers who have been killed in the struggle, beaten, starved, driven mad, imprisoned, had their houses burnt, their families terrorized; for the workers who have been thrown off trains, driven out of work, ridden out of town; for the workers who have striven and sacrificed without recognition, whose names we no longer know, who gave up everything so that we might have a better day and a chance at freedom, and did not back down. May we be worthy of them.

We never forget

Vancouver Island GMB (Canada)

Wobbly & North American News

Jimmy John's Workers Picket In Baltimore



Wobblies from D.C., Baltimore picket Jimmy John's on Oct. 19. Photo: Baltimore IWW

By the Baltimore IWW

Baltimore Jimmy John's worker and veteran James Hegler was fired on Sept. 5 in retaliation for organizing a union at his workplace and participating in concerted activity against low wages and appalling working conditions. On Sunday, Oct. 19, workers and supporters picketed outside the Pratt Street Jimmy John's to demand both the reinstatement of James Hegler and an end to illegal retaliation against workers.

By firing James, Jimmy John's management made it clear that they are willing to violate federal labor law in order to punish workers for organizing a union. By ignoring attempts to meet and discuss terms for his reinstatement, Jimmy John's management hopes to break the organizing drive through intimidation and contempt for the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). Workers responded with a picket to show Jimmy John's that this behavior will not be tolerated.

In addition to the picket held, the union is also filing an unfair labor practice charge against Jimmy John's and franchise owners Dolchin Pratt LLC over James' firing. This charge will be heard by the National Labor Relations Board, along with six other counts of illegal retaliation against workers engaged in protected

union activity.

When Jimmy John's fired James Hegler, they put an American veteran on the street in direct contradiction of their pledge to support American military families. In July, Jimmy John's gave a donation to Folds of Honor, stating, "Jimmy John's is proud to be an American company and is privileged to aid families of veterans." On Oct. 19, workers demanded that Jimmy John's stand by their pledge to support military families by reinstating James with full back wages.

In the city of Baltimore, where the low-wage service sector has grown rapidly, campaigns such as the one underway at Jimmy John's have massive potential. Labor's share of income has been rapidly stolen from working people at the same time that the low-wage service sector has been pulling in record profits. New efforts to bring justice to this sector are becoming more and more necessary in light of the gross inequalities and stunting poverty present in the city and across the country. The IWW sees the current efforts at Jimmy John's as an important part of this larger struggle.

The campaign in Baltimore is the second franchise in the company to go public as the IWW Jimmy John's Workers Union, the first being Minneapolis in 2010.

Climate Change Knows No Borders



Vancouver & Bellingham Wobs. Photo: ecology.iww.org Another world is possible. A special thanks to The Wilderness Committee for organizing transportation to the event.

branches met at the Peace Arch on the British Columbia/Washington border on Saturday, Sept. 20 to participate in the weekend's international climate action.

It was a great opportunity to discuss labor issues and organizing in our region. It was inspiring to hear from a diverse group of speakers, several of whom directly tied industrial capitalism to the climate crisis.

Overworked Woman Dies Sleeping In Her Car

By John Kalwaic

In August, Maria Fernandes, a 32-year-old woman from Newark, N.J., suffocated while sleeping in her car, which was still running. Fernandes had four jobs, two of which were working at two separate Dunkin' Donuts. According to reports, she lived out of her car and always carried an extra tank of gas because she would sometimes run out. A 911 call was made and



Maria Fernandes. Photo: nj.com

This tragedy could have been avoided if Maria Fernandes had not been working so many jobs, desperately trying to make ends meet. Paying workers less does not result in more jobs for more workers but rather causes the same workers to have to work more than one job. If one of Fernandes' jobs paid a living wage, other people could have had the other three jobs she worked. Having to

neglect self-care is also a side effect of employment without a break, which led to this tragedy. Maria Fernandes was only trying to take a nap.

With files from The Star-Ledger.

IWW Branches Raise Money For Sato Fund

By the Toronto GMB

In November, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) honor those who fought, and often died, in the class struggle. Figures such as August Spies, Joe Hill, Wesley Everest and Karen Silkwood stand tall in our minds, but there are so many others who struggled for progress and do not receive the same level of attention.

This past summer, the Toronto General Membership Branch (GMB) of the IWW initiated a fund raiser in memory of Charlene "Charlie" Sato (1951-1996). Charlie was a professor of linguistics at the University of Hawaii, and a member of the O'ahu GMB of the IWW. Upon her death, she bequeathed a donation to the IWW to establish a fund dedicated to "help women with travel costs in order to attend the General Assembly." This fund has since evolved into a bursary program dedicated to providing cis-gender women, transgender women and men, and gender non-conforming fellow workers with travel funding in order to increase their representation and participation throughout the union.

The branches that participated include Indiana, Twin Cities, Portland, and Toronto. The deadline was set for Sept. 30, and the competition was on! Everything from socials, clothing swaps and assessments were used to raise funds. After the final tally, the winning branch was the Twin Cities GMB!

As the winning branch, a group photo will be displayed on the cover of the "Canadian Organizing Bulletin" and the



Charlene "Charlie" Sato was born in 1951 and died in 1996 after a struggle with cancer. She was an active member of the O'ahu General Membership Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and a tireless fighter for the rights of workers and those who speak Hawaii Creole English, or pidgin, as it is locally known. She grew up in Wahiawa, on O'ahu, Hawaii, and would go on to teach pidgin and creole studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. She published and spoke extensively on pidgin and was editor of Carrier Pigeon newsletter from 1989-1993.

In 1987, she testified before the Board of Education when it created a controversial policy to make Standard English the only language allowed in classrooms, effectively banning pidgin. Her protest of this policy, which emphasized the role language plays in identity and culture, helped force the Board to recant. At this time, Charlie also acted as expert witness on behalf of several pidgin speakers who filed a suit against the US National Weather Service for job discrimination based on the workers' local accents. Upon her death, Charlie created the Sato Fund, which facilitates women and trans people's participation in the IWW.

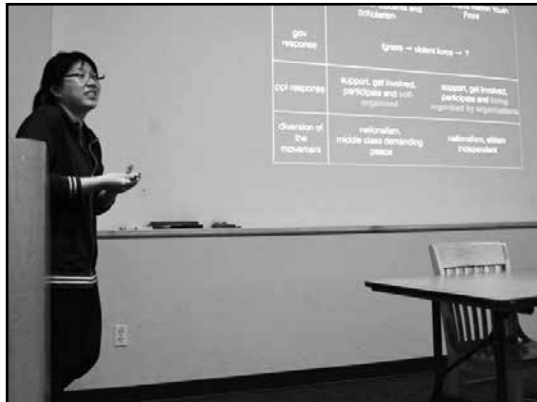
Graphic: FW Kelly Flynn

"General Organization Bulletin" (internal publications of the IWW) and they will receive bragging rights for a year (those lucky people). Here's a count on the total raised:

Toronto GMB: \$715
Twin Cities GMB: \$850
Portland GMB: \$100
Indiana GMB: \$61.58

Congratulations to the Twin Cities GMB, and everyone who helped raise money!

Discussing Taiwan Social Movements In NYC



Catta Chou is Portland. Photo: Erick Crash

By the New York City GMB

On Oct. 5, Taiwan IWW member and student labor activist Catta Chou visited the New York City General Membership Branch (GMB) to give a fascinating presentation on current Taiwanese social

movements. In her talk, called "Small Progress, Big Struggles in Taiwan's Social Movements," she discussed the state of the labor movement in the country as well as several recent worker and migrant organizing and solidarity campaigns in which she has participated. Chou also had a personal fight of her own, a highly visible and successful campaign to recover her unpaid wages from a student-work program in Australia.

Chou also gave a critical overview of the "Sunflower Revolution" in which students occupied the nation's Parliament for a month earlier this year to protest a proposed free trade agreement with China. She led a discussion about the current Occupy protests in Hong Kong and drew some parallels to the Taiwanese movement.

Fighting For Workers This Black Friday

By Kenneth Miller

Black Friday, the biggest shopping day of the year, the day after Thanksgiving, is a big day for consumer awareness and workers' rights. The stores are filled with workers while consumers wrap-around the store in long lines. It is known as "Buy Nothing Day," and that is a wonderful way to celebrate our anti-consumerism and protest bad working conditions.

For the third consecutive year, the James Connolly Upstate New York Regional General Membership Branch (GMB) of the Industrial Workers of the World will be publishing their anti-sweatshop newsletter, *Black Cat Moan*, for distribution on Black Friday 2014. It will include solidarity messages and specific factory and retail information from the National Garment Workers Federation of Bangladesh. It will explain how to carry out an unfair labor practice strike and have news about which unions are organizing retail workers.

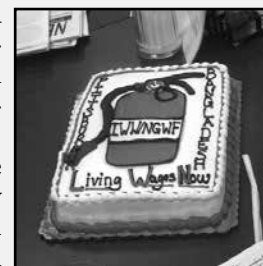


Photo: Kenneth Miller
 Cake commemorating the 2012 Tazreen factory fire disaster.

The Upstate New York GMB has been protesting against sweatshops and talking to baseball fans about sweatshops in Cooperstown, N.Y. at the National Baseball Hall of Fame for nearly a decade. Their experience with the workers, the consumers, security, and the Major League Baseball executives and agents on the streets of Cooperstown is completely similar to the experience talking to baseball fans about sweatshops at PNC Park in Pittsburgh, or in Milwaukee or Arizona, or 100 other major and minor league ball parks.

Greg Giorgio, editor of *Black Cat Moan*, chairs the IWW's Bangladesh Working Committee, where he bottom lines the IWW's correspondence with the National Garment Workers Federation of Bangladesh. Please call Greg at 518-861-5627 and learn how you can have hundreds of the Black Friday 2014 edition of *Black Cat Moan* for distribution in your workplace or school on Friday, Nov. 28, 2014.

Front Page News

Portland IWW Battles With Non-Profits Over Union Busting

Continued from 1

week. Workers say the policy causes such a high turnover rate that few canvassers or supervisors have more than a few weeks' experience (GCI Regional Director Elise Stuewe said via email that this turnover rate and the difficulty of meeting quotas are "vastly overstated...though it's true this is a challenging job that's not for everyone").

After GCI workers informed management of their organizing campaign, they asked to sit down and negotiate terms. Management refused, and instead, workers say, instituted a hiring freeze, which they believe was intended to keep new workers from being recruited by the union. Previously, they say, hiring was a constant process at the Portland GCI office, with field managers reporting 6 to 10 new hires weekly. The hiring freeze was set to be lifted in mid-August.

The case is different from most unionization efforts, as UCW workers have chosen not to seek a contract or file for a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election. Because of the high turnover rate and workers' lack of confidence that GCI would maintain neutrality during card check, the workers are instead using the old-school tactic of solidarity unionism. A form of organizing that dominated before unions had institutional recognition through the NLRB, solidarity unionism means the demands of workers are enforced only through the actions workers can take in response to management, rather than NLRB sanctions (although their right to organize as a union is still legally protected). As a result, workers have fewer limitations on direct action than in a traditional organizing drive: they can legally strike and take other actions at any point.

Right now, the union is leveraging public pressure. On Aug. 2, workers and community supporters of the organizing drive rallied in front of the GCI headquarters in Portland, calling for the company to be held accountable for its labor practices.

"I'm out here [rallying in front of GCI] because I have worked with GCI for over a year, and the turnover is absolutely unacceptable," said union member and GCI canvasser Haley Boyd. "People are undertrained for their jobs and they are disrespected. The result is that when we go out there to talk to people about organizations like the Planned Parenthood Action Fund, ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union], [and] The Nature Conservancy, we are giving a bad impression on the whole."

Workers allege that, despite company policy mandating 90 minutes of training for new hires during the probationary period, new employees are given only about 30 minutes of in-office training about canvassing—often without sufficient information about individual campaigns—before going out into the field, which means they cannot fully represent the organizations they are raising funds for. Management maintains that the stated policy is enforced, and that new employees receive an hour of training each day after the first.

Uncertain wages, too, are a major sticking point for canvassers. Workers say they're unsure what wages they can expect in a given week. GCI offers a base pay of minimum wage in addition to financial incentives for reaching a quota of \$130 in donations per day, on average, over the course of a five-day week—which the vast majority of workers do not.

Workers say that about one-third of the fluctuating workforce in their Portland location is older than 25, and many canvassers rely on the job as their sole source of household income.

Additionally, workers say that healthcare and sick leave are not always available, even when they should be. "We have had people in our union canvassing on the street through very serious medical conditions because our employer never

informed any of its employees we've been accruing paid sick leave since January 1," notes canvasser Andrew Lee. "We also have several members of our union [say] that upon applying, they were required to refuse the healthcare that the company offered as a condition of employment."

"No one's employment has ever been conditioned on refusing healthcare," says Stuewe. "There may be confusion over notices handed out to newly hired staff as part of complying with the Affordable Care Act."

Workers confirm that they received packets about the Affordable Care Act, but maintain that they were instructed to check the refusal of healthcare box.

In addition, former employee Mandie Gavitt claims that workers were promised promotions they never received and that she and several co-workers were terminated after trying to raise the issues with management. "[GCI] needs to be held accountable...because when I complained to them, they didn't do anything," she says.

Canvassers say they are galled by the irony of advocating for non-profits when they themselves don't receive fair treatment.

"We are campaigning for sustainability, but we don't have sustainable jobs," says Lee. "We are campaigning for women's healthcare, but we are lied to about healthcare in our own workplace."

At the Aug. 2 action, workers and allies entered the GCI campaign office and read a list of demands to their manager: healthcare, overtime, sick leave, a \$15 hourly base pay for workers, an exemption from quotas for the first two weeks of employment, a revised quota system, adequate training for new hires, proper training for field managers, terminations only for just cause, and regular meetings between management and the union.

Workers had hoped the Aug. 2 community action would be enough to coax management to deal with the union directly, but the instability that has marked their tenure at GCI has extended to the talks as well. They have also matched this with collective call-ins from supporters from around the country and even a solidarity action from IWW members at GCI's Boston headquarters.

"The way that a lot of us look at it is that we have no job security already," says Lee. "I've been in the office about three weeks; I'm one of the longest-term employees there now. I have seen over 70 [to] 80 percent of the people working there when I was hired be fired since then. Of course, there's always the risk that our employer will retaliate against us illegally, but I think a lot of us have been so supportive of this organizing and so involved."

Management told the workers that GCI's regional director would be meeting with the workers on Aug. 6 to begin negotiations but have since refused to recognize the union without an NLRB election. Workers responded to the decision with a community rally in front of the local GCI office at the close of business on Aug. 7. They had planned to meet with GCI staff as they left for the day. The managers in question, however, refused to leave the building with the workers present.

The workers came together and organized a follow-up action, now claiming 100 percent of the current non-managerial staff at GCI being with the union. The vast majority of these workers are new to the union and to the labor movement broadly but are taking a lead as the campaign continues. On Aug. 13, a rally formed in front of GCI with almost 40 workers and community supporters. They rallied with chants directed at management and waited for workers to get off for the day, all of whom joined the rally and spoke out about their conditions.

One worker, a single parent, discussed how she was forced to work with a concussion and damaged eye because GCI did not

inform her about her legally-mandated sick leave. "Because it is obviously difficult to fundraise with a bloody eye I did not do so well and did not meet quota that week," she said. "The following week management put me on review. I nearly lost my job." This is her primary income that she uses to raise her daughter, and her ability to do so was put into question as a direct result of management's withholding of sick leave information.

Workers then led the attendees up the stairs into the office where they banged on the door, demanding that management open up and listen to their demands. Management refused and instead hid while workers chanted and continued knocking aggressively. After it became clear that they were not going to be allowed in to discuss terms, the rally went outside and waited for management to leave for the day. For the next four hours, management continued to cower inside instead of heading to their cars. Workers led IWW songs, played games and did a limbo competition to keep up people's spirits as they attempted to wait out the bosses. Afterwards, several unfair labor practice complaints were filed, most citing intimidation.

To show that the union had complete worker support, they staged a personal vote. The vote was held anonymously, and a third party participated in the vote count to ensure neutrality, though it was not done through the NLRB process. Management refused to discuss the conditions or recognize the union even after this process and, in a move that illustrates the pettiness of their union-busting tactics, had workers clock out for the 15 minutes it took for the union ballots to be cast and counted.

Once the field manager returned from her vacation, workers surprised her with another rally that brought out dozens of supporters. On Aug. 27, a large mobilization attempted to again enter the office to negotiate with management, and the assistant manager refused to allow anyone into the office.

Workers have stated the repression continued as management began using the complicated quota system to threaten specific workers' jobs, which has been interpreted as retaliation for union activity. One worker organizer, Laryssa, who had been incredibly active during the campaign, had her job put into a precarious place. Like many workers, when her numbers drifted downward, she was put on review. As the numbers returned to normal, Laryssa got taken off review, but later management recanted this and said that the review period had never ended. The union organized an emergency call-in, in which supporters and fellow union members called into GCI and The Nature Conservancy to declare disgust at the alleged retaliation.

As The Nature Conservancy became the sole contract with the Portland office of GCI, attention began to be paid to them and their relationship with their fundraising wing. An action was organized on Sept. 9 where canvass workers and supporters entered The Nature Conservancy to read a letter to the key manager in charge of fundraising. In the letter, workers discussed their conditions and pay, and asked The Nature Conservancy to put pressure on GCI to negotiate with the union. The manager who was present listened intently and noted that the workers had completely valid concerns and that this information would go to the correct channels internal to The Nature Conservancy. This was the most receptive response that UCW members have received since the beginning of the campaign, and workers made it clear that they did not want The Nature Conservancy to cut its contract with GCI and to instead force them to negotiate in good faith with the union constituency. Management also noted that it sounded like GCI was not even living up to the contracts that it

had signed with The Nature Conservancy, not to mention violating basic labor laws.

Though claiming that their hiring freeze was over, GCI has failed to add staff at any comparable rate as before. Many workers are interpreting this as the beginning of GCI closing up shop in their Portland office, which is a common union-busting tactic that other canvassing shops have used in the past.

Even against what the workers asked, The Nature Conservancy decided to pull their contract with GCI in response to GCI's treatment of workers. GCI, in response, did exactly what workers feared they would: they closed up the Portland location entirely. Workers came in on Sept. 17 for a regular work day and were told they would all be fired immediately, and they only received pay for the week. Workers decided to confront The Nature Conservancy about their turn of face by marching into their offices on the same day as the mass termination.

Over several actions at The Nature Conservancy, workers demanded a clear answer to why the contract was pulled even though they explicitly asked for it to be maintained. On Sept. 25 workers entered their location to demand that upper management at The Nature Conservancy call their former employer and put pressure on them to give the workers a fair severance pay. Though the staff on site said that they were sympathetic, as workers challenged them and refused to leave, the management would not take any actions and passed the responsibility to other staff people. Workers returned the following day, hoping to confront the person who pulled the plug on the contract directly.

As the workers entered the building, management and campaign directors were ready and waiting, with a letter written by Kaie Valvo, the Conservancy's Director of Canvassing Programs. In the letter she feigned interest in the workers' plight, yet repeatedly stressed that nothing would be done about it. "We understand your position but TNC [The Nature Conservancy] does not have the ability to solve your issues," she wrote. "Protest at TNC will not result in pressure on GCI to agree to your demands."

Workers decided to call her while in the office, putting her on speaker phone to confront her and the staff in the office simultaneously. Both repeated their stance of non-involvement and said that they would be prohibited from making a call to GCI and stating that they supported severance pay for the workers. They persisted that pulling the contract from GCI in Portland was not due to union activity but instead because of a decline of donations coming in and of recruitment practices at GCI that annoyed some larger donors.

Even though the workers at the GCI Portland may have lost their jobs permanently, they are refusing to back down from what has become a substantial fight for a union in the canvassing industry. They are going to continue to put pressure on GCI and their contracting clients nationally. UCW is also putting a call out for other IWW locals to prioritize canvassing work, GCI specifically, when creating organizing priorities. Because of the nature of this canvassing work, and the political nature of many of the existing IWW membership, it serves to reason that many IWW members are already intersecting with these predatory canvassing shops. This makes the IWW a perfect candidate to take the UCW campaign national and to look at organizing GCI shops in different cities simultaneously. Unlike many campaign-specific canvassing projects, GCI is contracted for fundraising consistently throughout the year and can be a company that is an ongoing target for union agitation.

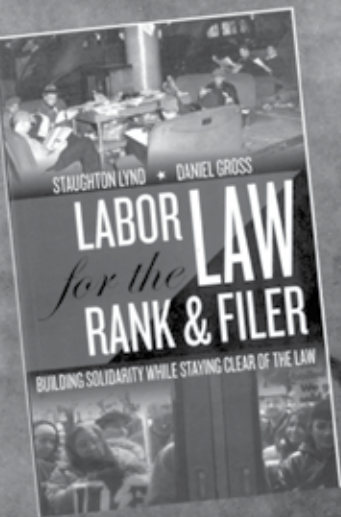
This piece first appeared on Aug. 13, 2014 in In These Times. It was reprinted with permission from the author.



LITERATURE DEPARTMENT



Labor Law for the Rank & Filer: Building Solidarity While Staying Clear of the Law
by Staughton Lynd and Daniel Gross



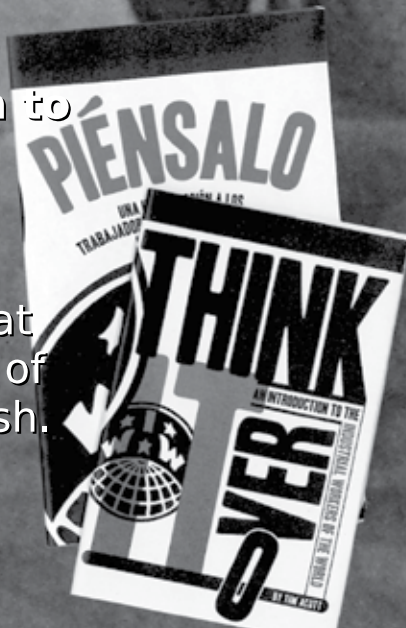
This guerrilla legal handbook needs to be read by every worker and organizer. Blending cutting-edge legal strategies for winning justice at work with a theory of dramatic social change from below, Staughton Lynd and Daniel Gross deliver a practical guide for making work better while re-invigorating the labor movement. This new revised and expanded edition includes new cases governing fundamental labor rights as well as an added section on Practicing Solidarity Unionism. This new section includes chapters discussing the hard-hitting tactic of working to rule; organizing under the principle that no one is illegal, and building grassroots solidarity across borders to challenge neoliberalism, among several other new topics.

10.00/copy

Think it Over- an introduction to the IWW
by Tim Acott

This attractively designed and sturdy booklet-style zine is a great primer on the values and history of the IWW. Also available in Spanish.

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New Forms of Worker Organization - The Syndicalist and Autonomist Restoration of Class-Struggle Unionism
Edited by Immanuel Ness



This is the first book to compile workers' struggles on a global basis, examining the formation and expansion of radical unions in the Global South and Global North. The tangible evidence marshaled in this book serves as a handbook for understanding the formidable obstacles and concrete opportunities for workers challenging neoliberal capitalism, even as the unions of the old decline and disappear.

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IN NOVEMBER LITERATURE

In November We Remember...

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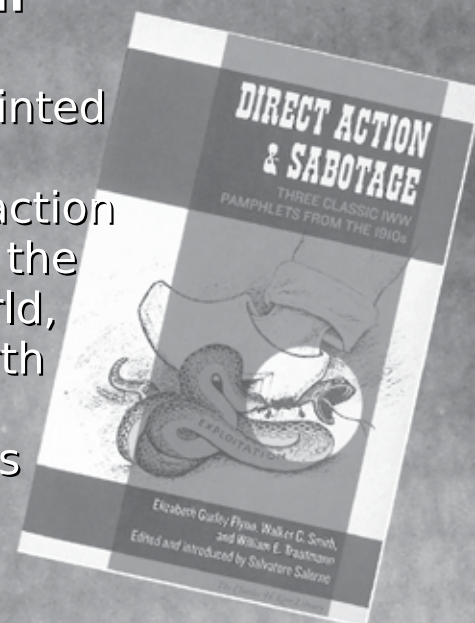
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Direct Action & Sabotage - Three Classic IWW Pamphlets from the 1910's by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Walker C. Smith & William E. Trautman

These IWW pamphlets from the 1910s are reprinted here to reaffirm the IWW spirit of rank-and-file initiative and solidarity at a time when direct-action tactics are again stimulating debate. Action on the part of indigenous peoples throughout the world, anti-racists, environmental groups such as Earth First!, animal rights activists, the homeless, computer hackers, pirate radio broadcasters, as well as self-organization by rank-and-file workers and community struggles for self-determination are again challenging us to rethink these tactics.

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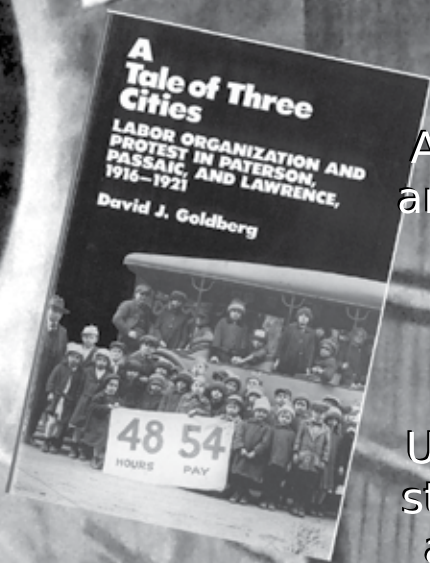


WE REMEMBER

DEPARTMENT



**A Tale of Three Cities -
Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson,
Passaic, and Lawrence, 1916-1921
by David Goldberg**



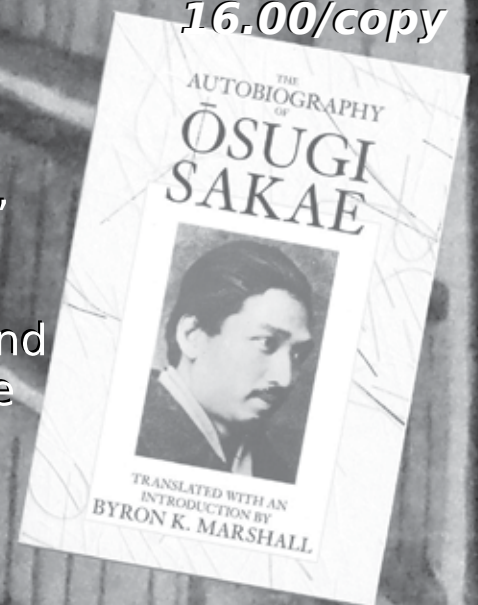
A history of efforts by textile workers in Paterson and Passaic, New Jersey, and Lawrence, Mass., to organize a permanent industrial union between 1916 and 1921, efforts that built upon earlier IWW campaigns but were ultimately unable to overcome internal divisions and external forces. Understanding this history of repressive local and state authority, blacklisting, management spying, and race-baiting remains relevant to the modern struggles of workplace organizing.

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**The Autobiography of Osugi Sakae
Translated by Byron K. Marshall**

In the Japanese Labor movement of the early twentieth century, no one captured the public imagination as vividly as Osugi Sakae. Flamboyant in life, dramatic in death, Osugi came to be seen as a romantic hero fighting the oppressiveness of family and society. Now available in English, his autobiography offers a rare glimpse into the formative years of a Japanese rebel.

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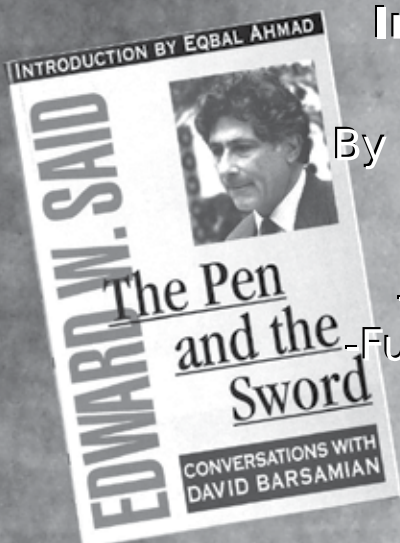


**The Pen and the Sword -
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A discussion with Edward Said**

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In November We Remember

A Recap Of Some Teacher-Student Education Struggles In 2014

By John Kalwaic

Students Protest Cutting the Building Trades Program

In March 2014, the school board of Ottawa Township High School in Illinois was talking about cutting the shop and building trades program and firing its instructor, Dave Kelly, allegedly due to a lack of attendance and a budget deficit. Around 130 students took issue with the fact that their shop classes were being canceled and organized protests. The students staged a sit-in at the school administrator's office; they made the point that other projects, like the \$2 million gym remodeling project and giving each student an iPad, were not fiscally wise. The students were ordered to leave and go back to class; the ones that refused were suspended and barred from attending the prom.

When the media heard about this, the building trades union leaders decided to support the students against the cuts to the industrial arts and building trades program. Another person that came to the students' defense was Mike Rowe, former host of the television show "Dirty Jobs." Rowe attended protests, though it is important to note that he has come under fire a few times from unions for doing Walmart ads. The students have community support, including from unions. The struggle still continues in Ottawa.

Students Rally Behind Fired Union Science Teacher

In April 2014 a science teacher, Greg Schiller, was suspended from Ramón C. Cortines School of Visual and Performing Arts in downtown Los Angeles. Schiller was a well-loved science teacher and fencing coach who the students greatly respected. He was allegedly suspended because a student made an invention for a science fair that the administration consid-

ered as a weapon. In reality it was simply a kind of catapult that shot foam rubber out of a tube using air. The administration thought that the science fair invention was dangerous and put Schiller on suspended leave. Schiller claimed that the science projects were confiscated before he had a chance to inspect or grade them.

Schiller was also very active in the teachers' union, United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA), and was the teacher union representative at the school. Some parents and teachers suspect that was the real reason he was fired. The students started a movement to get Schiller reinstated. Students have had several rallies to that end, holding signs and t-shirts with Schiller's iconic mustache and goatee on it saying "reinstatement Schiller." The students also launched a Facebook page, which received 1,130 likes. Eventually, Schiller was reinstated after the wave of community support from students, parents and the UTLA.

Students Protest for Teachers and Against White-Washing History

In September 2014, a new school board was elected in Jefferson County in Colorado, which had a very reactionary take on education. The school board officials wanted to do away with anything that made the United States look "bad," including any reference to slavery and protest movements. These subjects were eliminated or at least deemphasized. In its place the students were to learn "patriotic history," learning the values of "free enterprise" and respect for law and order. The move to change the history curriculum has been backed by many outside groups including Americans For Prosperity, which is controlled by the Koch Brothers.

This history curriculum affected the Jefferson County Advanced Placement (AP) history courses, although the proposal also leaves the door open for the

school board to censor anything they find "unpatriotic" or "Anti-American." The board's focus on "law and order" brings into question whether any social movements such as civil rights, the women's movements, labor movements, the environmental movement or LGBTQ rights could be tough at all without being censored.

A group called The College Board in Colorado has said that if the school board goes through with its plan, that Jefferson County AP history will not count towards students' college credits.

The teachers took the first blow in another conflict with the school board over evaluations. On Sept. 19, many teachers called in sick, effectively shutting down classes at Conifer High School and Standley Lake High School. Students also did their part and rallied for the teachers but also took a stand against the whitewashed history curriculum that the school board was imposing over the local schools. It did not end there, students at Conifer, Standley Lake and several other local Jefferson County schools walked out several times during the next week in response to the revisionist history lesson. Students from other schools the joined in, including Lakewood High School, Dakota Ridge High School and Columbine High School, where the infamous school massacre took place in 1999. At one point around 1,000 students were present at the walkouts and demonstration. The Jefferson County Education Association has come out in support of the students' position. Students held signs and chanted by the roadside as many passersby honked.

Another teacher sick-out was staged on Sept. 29, as two more Jefferson County schools were shut down do to teacher ab-



UTLA students protest on April 10.

Photo: ktla.com

sences. On Sept. 30, there was a smaller walkout at Cormody Middle School. Students walked out to protest the history curriculum changes. "Fox News" anchor Gretchen Carlson called the students who walked out "punks," while other pundits have called them "a puppet of the teachers union." Many of the students disagreed and have said that the teachers were not directing them, but rather they were making up their own minds. "People think because we are teenagers, we don't know things, but we are going home and looking things up," said Savannah Barron, a senior at Lakewood High School, as she waved a sign on Kipling Street. "If they don't teach us civil disobedience, we will teach ourselves." On Oct. 2, parents, students and teachers packed the school board meeting with around 500 people; many student leaders spoke at the event. The school board voted for the proposal with the small concession that students, teachers and parents may serve on the review committee.

With files from The Illinois Review, My Webs Times, KTLA News video, Yahoo News, The Blaze, The Denver Post, Washington Post, Democracy Now!, <http://www.toolsofthetrade.net>, <http://www.westward.com>, <http://www.9news.com>, <http://www.breitbart.com>, <http://www.wonkett.com>, as well as Facebook.

This November I Remember My Parents

CLARA FREEDMAN SOLOMON

and

SIDNEY SOLOMON



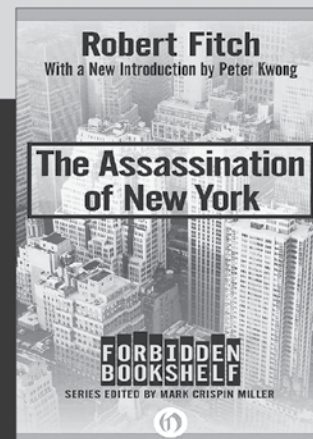
*Supporters of the
Spanish Workers Revolution
(1936 to 1939)*

Raymond S. Solomon

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In November We Remember

Remembering A Greatly-Admired Wobbly: Vincent St. John

By Juan Conatz

During the 109 years of the existence of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), there have been many organizers and members whose names have come to prominence within the union. Some were respected, a few have been hated, and others triggered feelings that are a mixture of the two. But arguably, no one has been as admired in the IWW as Vincent St. John.

Nicknamed "The Saint," St. John was born to parents of Irish-Dutch ethnic background in 1876. For the next 15 years, his family moved around frequently, residing in four different states before finally settling in Colorado in 1895, when St. John was 19 years old.

In Colorado he began working as a miner and union organizer. Within five years, at the age of 24, he was elected president of his Western Federation of Miners (WFM) local in Telluride. The next year, the Telluride local was involved in a hotly contested strike. One of the mine owners organized an anti-union "Citizens Alliance" to oppose the striking miners. The police deputized and armed the scabs. In response, St. John ordered 250 rifles and 50,000 rounds of ammunition for the union.

As the strike dragged on, a confrontation between scabs and strikers occurred, in which shots were fired and a few men were killed. At the end of the battle, the scabs withdrew, and the strikers occupied the mines, foreshadowing the sit-downs and occupations that were first done by the IWW in 1906 and followed by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and independent unions in the 1930s.

After the strike died down a year later, the mine owner, Arthur Collins, who had brought together the Citizens Alliance,

was shot and killed. Although little evidence existed to implicate St. John, he was harassed by police and black-listed from mining work for years because of this.

Around this same time, and adding to the mythology of his nickname, St. John was involved in the rescue operation of a mining disaster. He was considered a local hero, although he contracted chronic bronchial asthma for his efforts, which is believed to have contributed to his early death.

Radicalized by his experience as a miner in the American West, St. John was considered on the "left-wing" of the Western Federation of Miners. When the WFM became one of the founding unions of the IWW, he threw himself into IWW work as well. He also became a member of the Socialist Party, even running for office at one point.

At the 1906 General Convention of the IWW, he was one of the main members of the "revolutionary unionists" who sought to and succeeded in ousting the president of the IWW, Charles Sherman, seen as too conservative, and abolishing his position. St. John was elected general organizer. In the same year, he was arrested in the Coeur d'Alene area of Idaho, probably for union agitation. At the end of the year, and running into 1907, he was heavily involved in the Goldfield strike in Nevada.

Goldfield, Nev., now a ghost town, was a booming mining area of around 20,000 people during this time. The strike by the now IWW-affiliated WFM was met by the Citizens Alliance again, as well as martial



Vincent St. John in 1905. Photo: tcorganizer.com

law and federal troops. Although, the town workers organized with the IWW and went on a sympathy strike, the federal troops entry into the situation gave the mine owners strength, which they used to slash wages and declare an open-shop policy. St. John was once again implicated in a murder with little to no evidence, this time of a local restaurant owner. Further complicating matters for the strike and St. John was a jurisdictional dispute between the WFM and an American Federation of

Labor (AFL) carpenter's union, which seemed to have spilled into violence with St. John being shot in the hand, possibly by an AFL member. His hand was disabled for the rest of his life. Despite the strike being considered a loss, it did win the eight-hour day, some wage hikes, and other benefits. However, the experience led to the WFM leaving the IWW and St. John either leaving or being expelled from the WFM later that year.

At the IWW's convention in 1908, he presided as chair. Although hesitant to bring it to the floor, St. John ended up siding with the "direct actionists" against the "political socialists" such as Daniel DeLeon. He also was elected General Secretary (GS), a position he held until he left the union. Upon entering office, he found the union in a deep financial crisis and suspended the *Industrial Union Bulletin*, a publication with roots in the "revolutionary unionist" faction of 1906.

For the next several years, in his position as GS of the IWW, he helped shape

the union in a more radical fashion and saw the union nearly grow 10 times in membership. Many of the most famous strikes, campaigns, organizing drives, and strategies happened in this pre-World War I era, when St. John was the GS. He also acted as one of the union's public faces, making public calls in the pages of union publications such as *Solidarity* to reinforce Free Speech Fights in places like Spokane, Wash. and Duluth, Minn. To the mayors of Fresno and San Diego, Calif., he sent statements saying, "Free speech will be established ... if it takes twenty years."

In 1914, possibly exhausted after years of organizing battles and factional fights, he resigned as General Secretary and went to the Southwest to be a prospector. Despite this, he was still rounded up in 1918 during the U.S. government's wartime persecution of the IWW and went to trial with 101 other Wobblies. Even though St. John was a labor radical with little illusions in the justice system, his 20-year sentence shocked him.

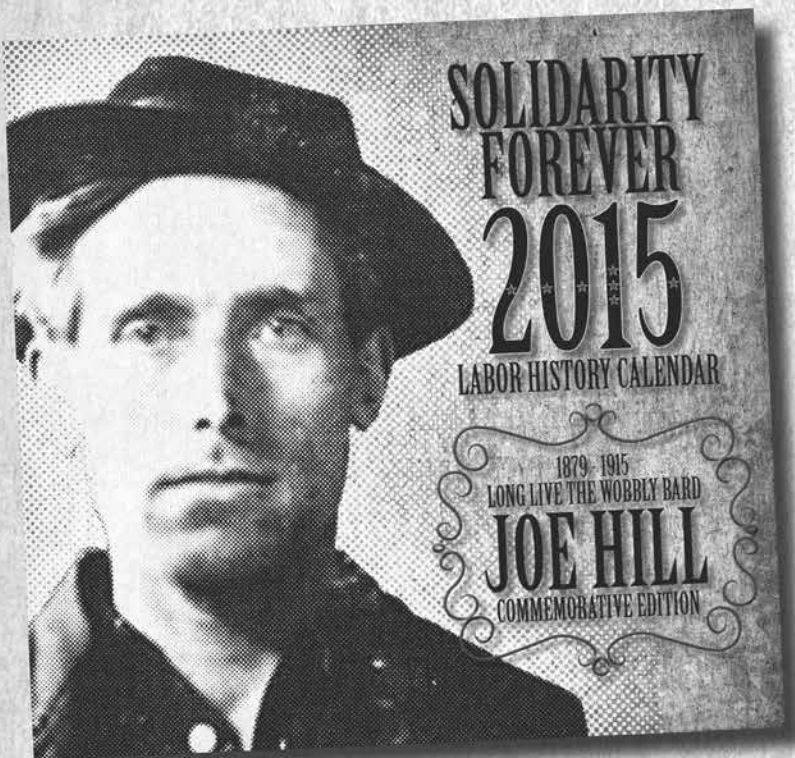
"I did not think that mob justice would prevail in a U.S. court," he said.

He served two-and-a-half years in Leavenworth, Kan., before being pardoned.

Upon his release, he rejoined the IWW, which was in the middle of a conflict with the newly established Communist Party USA (CP) that was trying to win Wobblies to their party. He sided with the anti-CPers.

Very little is known about what St. John did between his immediate release and his death at the age of 56 in San Francisco. He was buried in an unmarked grave in Oakland, Calif., which was eventually given a proper headstone nearly 70 years later.

IN NOVEMBER WE REMEMBER IWW ORGANIZER & SONGWRITER JOE HILL MURDERED BY THE CAPITALIST CLASS, NOVEMBER 19, 1915



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Review

A Year In Alternative Media

By Kenneth Miller

IndyKids

IndyKids is a free paper for free kids published in Brooklyn, N.Y. It is great for kids, college students and workers, providing a real education with front page stories on deportation and family separation, saving our schools, Haiti, the "life cycle of a cell phone" and more. It is great for people who are just learning to read English. It comes with lesson plans and encouragement for teachers who want a peace and justice curriculum.

The Black and White Reunion and the Pittsburgh General Membership Branch (GMB) of the IWW have been bringing *IndyKids* to Pittsburgh and handing them out at events, meetings, and at work for about five years. It is a great organizing tool: don't do a house call without *IndyKids*. *IndyKids* hosts workshops for journalists and they have been invited to do so with the Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance at the 2015 Pennsylvania Farm Show at the Farm Show Complex in Harrisburg, Pa.

Pittsburgh Community Television (PCTV): Local Free Speech TV

PCTV is a contract between Verizon and Comcast in the city of Pittsburgh. The cable companies are obligated to provide us with the channels and the equipment, education and staff to produce television programming. I used it to produce seven episodes of "Let's Talk about Sweatshops At PNC Park." Black and White Reunion (BWR) programming about the Summit Against Racism is popular on PCTV. Carlanna Rhoten is the most active Thomas Merton Center (TMC) member, using her credentials as a PCTV community producer to produce "Pittsburgh Progressive Notebook" and putting the TMC peace and justice programming of Rich Fishkin on the air. There are many members of the TMC community with vast experience

producing and broadcasting peace and justice programming at PCTV.

We need a new community producer to help submit programs for broadcast. Maintaining regular peace and justice programming at PCTV is one of the things Carlanna does very well. We could have a lot more peace and justice programming on PCTV when we give them programming officially, through another BWR/TMC community producer. Are you burning for some massive alternative journalism in your life? This might be for you. The Black and White Reunion has a \$75 scholarship you can use to become a PCTV Community Television Producer. Call Kenneth for more information at 412-512-1709 or learn about the orientation program for new PCTV community producers. It is free speech television, and we need it!

Fifth Estate

Fifth Estate is an anarchist magazine that has been published in Detroit since 1965. I became familiar with it when Sunfrog was the editor. He whispered "anarchy" in my ear. He was eloquent and passionate and spoke to me so clearly. He knows my friend Marius Mason, currently imprisoned at the Federal Medical Center, Carswell in Texas, from before her imprisonment too. He wrote about "osmosis" on a prison wall and osmosis going through the prison walls. It was beautiful.

Fifth Estate continues to be published. The latest issue is about art and anarchy. There are many terrific essays pertinent to people concerned with art in our schools and the August Wilson Center here in Pittsburgh. That Pittsburgh and Detroit have so much in common is one reason why I would like to distribute *Fifth Estate* more in Pittsburgh, with more writing about jazz and the civil war and the IWW. Look for upcoming issues of *Fifth Estate* at TMC.

In November We Remember

Wobbly History: The IWW, AFL, And The Issues Of Race And Class

By Mike Kuhlenbeck

"The revolutionary movement of the working class will date from 1905, from the organization of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. Economic solidarity is to-day the supreme need of the working class. The old form of unionism has long since fulfilled its mission and outlived its usefulness, and the hour has struck for a change."

These words were spoken by Eugene Debs, Socialist Party leader and notable figure in the 1894 Pullman Strike, in a speech delivered at Grand Central Palace, New York, on Dec. 10, 1905, eulogizing the old unions and yet, at the same time, spoke of a new dawn for the working class.

The most militant leaders of the working-class movement emphasized the need to unite all workers since the IWW's 1905 founding convention at Brand's Hall in Chicago, barring no one from membership on the grounds of sex, "race, color or creed," a legacy they have kept alive to this day. While current unions such as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) now have inclusive policies toward all workers in their ranks, it took visionaries like the Wobblies to show them the way.

In the late 1800s, even after the defeat of the Confederacy in the American Civil War and the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, former slaves and their families were not free. Racism was institutionalized, especially in the Jim Crow south, where poll taxes prevented African-Americans from voting and the threat of violence against the black community always loomed above them. They were, like all workers, victims of wage slavery.

The first labor organization that allowed African-Americans into its ranks, and eventually its leadership, was the Knights of Labor, which formed in 1869, with the slogan "An Injury to One is the Concern of All," a battle cry of the labor movement that was adopted and strengthened by the IWW as "An Injury to One is an Injury to All!"

The American Federation of Labor (AFL), formed in 1886, later surpassed the ailing Knights of Labor and by 1904 reportedly had 2 million workers in their ranks. By the early 20th century, the AFL was still practicing craft unionism, an outdated system that only accepted membership from workers with specific skills, such as plumbers, electricians and machinists.

As advancements were made in the modes of production, craft unionism was becoming obsolete. The lily-white labor aristocracy was accused of failing to organize the working class. Socialist Labor Party leader Daniel De Leon humorously said the AFL was "a cross between a windbag and a rope of sand."

The IWW, by contrast, has always promoted industrial unionism, which accepts skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers into their ranks, making it the Grand Industrial Union. But the divisive practices of the AFL, denounced as "the American Separation of Labor," divided workers in other ways.

At the AFL national convention in 1900, the organization endorsed so-called "separate but equal" locals, or segregationist unions. Non-white workers would have mostly fallen into the category of being "unskilled," which the traditional crafts unions did not consider worthy of organizing. A leaflet issued by the IWW makes this point, stating that black workers have "no chance in the old-time trade unions. They do not want him. They admit him only under compulsion and treat him with contempt."

Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), a London-born cigar maker, was one of the founders of the AFL. He was the Federation's president from 1886 until his death in 1924. The man who once claimed to be a "socialist sympathizer" in his youth, rose

through the ranks to become one of the most conservative and reactionary leaders of the trade union movement. He was denounced as a "labor faker" by William "Big Bill" Haywood, De Leon, Eugene Debs and other IWW leaders.

Gompers was an unapologetic racist, like many early American labor leaders, who professed the need to implement divide-and-conquer strategies already institutionalized in American society by the ruling class with statements like, "[M]aintenance of the nation depended on the maintenance of racial purity and strength."

Author Rudyard Kipling, known as the poet laureate of the British Empire, wrote a poem titled "The White Man's Burden," which praised the white race as the saviors to "savage" peoples, referring to non-whites. Gompers shared similar attitudes, bringing this sentiment from his native England to the United States. In the September 1905 issue of *American Federationist*, the official organ of the AFL, Gompers writes:

"[If] the colored man continued to lend himself to the work of tearing down what the white man has built up, a race hatred far worse than any ever known will result. Caucasian civilization will serve notice that its uplifting process is not to be interfered with in any way."

American Federationist, which claimed to be the journal "devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement," obviously did not represent the interests of non-white workers. This hostility extended to foreign-born workers, particularly non-whites who did not speak English.

Historian Milton Metzger in his 1967 book "Bread and Roses: The Struggle of American Labor 1865-1915," describes the AFL's role in whipping up fear against Chinese immigrant toilers, an era that was infamously known as the "yellow peril":

"Prejudice against immigrants developed rapidly among workingmen's organizations. The Chinese in the West were among the first victims of racism. They had come first in the Fifties, to work in the goldmines. After the Civil War they helped build the railroads and harvest the crops, working for lower wages. Fury against them mounted in the depression of the Seventies. They were victims of lynching and mass riots. By the early 1890s Congress passed a series of laws keeping out almost all Chinese."

Gompers and other AFL bureaucrats had supported the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was signed into law on May 6, 1882, prohibiting all immigration of Chinese laborers.

"The labor unions played a big part in putting up the barriers," Metzger writes.

Even the so-called socialist leaders at the time, such as Socialist Party politician Victor Berger, who boasted about their segregationist and sexist beliefs, ignored basic principles they claimed to espouse. Berger served two terms in U.S. Congress, representing mostly German immigrant workers from Milwaukee. "There can be no doubt that the negroes [sic] and mulattoes constitute a lower race," he once wrote.

The AFL, the right wing of the Socialist Party and the ruling class conspired to spread the same lies and prejudices against immigrant workers, workers who are referred to as "illegal aliens" by reactionary circles today. These lies would pit worker against worker, and weaken solidarity within the struggle to emancipate the working class.

From the beginning, the IWW's vision as a working-class organization was drastically different from the AFL and the other establishment organizations.

Big Bill Haywood, then national-secretary of the Western Federation of Miners union, said in the opening speech of the convention on June 17, 1905, denounced the AFL and its lily-white craft-unionism and outlined the IWW's revolutionary

program, designed to unite the whole working class:

"The American Federation of Labor, which presumes to be the labor movement of this country, is not a working class movement. It does not represent the working class. There are organizations that are affiliated, but loosely affiliated with the A. F. of L., which in their constitution and by-laws prohibit the initiation of or conferring the obligation on a colored man; that prohibit the conferring of the obligation on foreigners. What we want to establish at this time is a labor organization that will open wide its doors to every man that earns his livelihood either by his brain or his muscle."

This is why the IWW was the Industrial Workers of the World, not the Industrial Workers of America.

Haywood, when he spoke at the 1912 Brotherhood of Timber Workers convention in Louisiana, a state where it was illegal to hold interracial meetings, said the following in response to concerns that the meeting would be broken up by the police:

"You work in the same mills together. Sometimes a black man and a white man chop down the same tree together. You are meeting in a convention now to discuss the conditions under which you labor. Why not be sensible about this and call the Negroes into the Convention? If it is against the law, this is one time when the law should be broken."

Unlike rhetoric from the white labor aristocracy, which spoke of sugary platitudes and class-collaborationist practices, the IWW did not rely simply on theories but put their ideas into direct action.

The most successful strike in IWW history was the landmark 10-week battle against the bosses of the textile mills in Lawrence, Mass., which historian Melvyn Dubofsky nicknamed "Satan's Dark Mills," of 1912. The division of craft, nationality, religion and political attitudes among the workers made the task at hand seemingly impossible, but it was a challenge heartily accepted by the Wobblies.

Employers planned to cut workers' pay and the workers responded by staging a walk-out, bringing approximately 23,000 workers into Lawrence. Breaking language barriers, the IWW successfully organized workers of numerous nationalities, including: Armenian, German, French-Canadian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Turkish, Syrian and others. It is estimated that only 8 percent of the mill workers in Lawrence were native-born.

Preparing for this landmark event, the IWW called in some of their most seasoned organizers, including 26-year-old Joseph Ettor, who could communicate to the Lawrence strikers in English, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Yiddish. Working alongside him was Arturo Giovannitti, an Italian-born poet and scholar who exuded a certain maturity compared to Ettor's youthful charisma, despite being only a year older than him.

Despite the historical precedent of failed organizing efforts of the past, the textile workers and the IWW prevailed. The results caused shockwaves around the country. Muckraking journalist Ray Stannard Baker, writing for *The American Magazine*, mirrored this with his account. "It was nothing short of amazing," he writes, "the power of a great idea to weld men together...There was in it [the strike] a peculiar, intense, vital spirit, a religious spirit if you will, that I have never felt before in any strike."

This victory inspired workers all across the nation, "fanning the flames of discontent," as it were.

One of the most famous IWW leaders was an African-American organizer named Ben Fletcher (1890-1949) of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union 510. He joined the One Big Union sometime around 1912 and became an influential



Big Bill Haywood marching with strikers in Lowell, Mass., in 1912. Photo: links.org.au

organizer, introducing non-segregated union locals on the waterfronts of Baltimore, Norfolk and Philadelphia.

"What has miscegenation got to do with our job conditions?" Fletcher once said. "I don't see anyone as black as I am. But we all damn well know the reason."

The IWW's call was answered by some 3,000 members by the end of the year. Due to the success of a series of strikes between 1915 and 1916, all but two of Philadelphia's docks were under IWW control.

Fletcher's example showed that African-Americans were not simply allowed membership, but were encouraged to be as active as possible in the long-term goal of abolishing the wage system. The IWW did not simply have members; their members were leaders.

While the IWW won several important battles, more was yet to come.

After the slaughter of World War I had ended in 1918, a war supported by the AFL and opposed by the IWW, millions of demobilized soldiers were desperately seeking work, often finding themselves pitted against each other, especially whites competing for jobs also sought after by people of color. Following this a series of race riots erupted across the country in 25 cities. Along with the riots, the number of lynchings drastically increased in the South.

In 1919, the IWW circulated a pamphlet entitled "Justice for the Negro: How Can He Get it?" which states:

"The wrongs of the Negro are not confined to lynching, however. When allowed to work and live in the community, he is subjected to constant humiliation, injustice and discrimination...Throughout this land of liberty, so-called, the Negro worker is treated as an inferior; he is underpaid in his work and overcharged in his rent; he is kick about, cursed and spat upon; in short, he is treated, not as a human being, but as an animal, a beast of burden for the ruling class."

Former *Industrial Worker* reporter Art Shields, in his memoir "On the Battle Lines 1919-1939," recalls one of the most tragic events of that year. "...More than 200 Black men and women were lynched in the former slave states in 1919. Among the victims were more than 100 sharecroppers in the Arkansas River delta who had formed a union to get a better price for the cotton they harvested."

"The killings began when landlords attacked a church where the sharecroppers were meeting. The Black unionists fought back. State troops then hunted the rebels down in the canebrakes along the river."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the female firebrand who captured the imagination of millions of workers, both male and female, with her passionate speeches condemning the robber barons and the system that bleeds the working class, condemned the violence of the racist mobs. In New York she publicly defended the revolutionary black journal *The Messenger*, which promoted the idea that African-Americans had the right to exercise self-defense.

The IWW has fought many battles on the front lines of the class struggle, standing by the principles laid out by its founders 109 years ago. Today the members of the IWW, despite attacks from the bosses, police and vigilantes, continue this proud tradition of solidarity.

In November We Remember

Bloody Well Right: Who Won The Harlan County Miners' Strike?

By Spencer Wells

*You say it all depends on money**And who is in your family**Right, you're bloody well right**You know you got a right to say**Me, I don't care anyway!**Write your problems down in detail**Take them to a higher place**You've had your cry—**no, I should say wail**In the meantime hush your face*

—Supertramp

Prelude

Time seems to have eroded the crimson-laced and dust-stained distant memory of the Harlan County War from the history books. Yet, time...time is a constantly flowing, steady stream, my friend; it is not diverted and blocked by dams and blockades. It moves as we do. The greatest crime that our society has committed is to compartmentalize history, to divide it into generations, ages, eras, and periods. There are no punctuations in reality. This was the first step in the separation of man from himself.

Next came depersonalization: we no longer saw each other as members of the same species, but members of nations with histories independent of the rest of the world. Nationalism emerged. This led to imperialism. You are a citizen of your country, and your country solely. This was followed by the final blow: the rise of classism. The upper class ruled the means of production and the elite tiers of education. With the Industrial Revolution, the advent of the modern era began.

The world of "then" was one of harsh divisions and cruelty, versus the globalized and "equalized" world of now. The standards we now take for granted did not exist, especially in the setting of our story: Harlan, bloody Harlan.

Part 1: Black Lungs, Black Hearts,**Blue Bloods, and a Bloody Background**

I must explain and enlighten you to the surroundings of our narrative before we start. The cultural and literal landscape of our setting is vastly different to the modern one we dwell in. Even I, a Kentuckian bred, born, raised, educated, and seemingly permanently and perpetually rooted firmly in this state, can benefit from this information. The easternmost borders seem a distant and alien country. The city of my birth and residence, Louisville, is by far the most populated and conventional of cities in this state, while arguably not the wealthiest or most economically stable. That distinction has been endowed to the blue-blooded bastion of Lexington, which boasts the title of "the Athens of West." Its second and more insightful title, "The Horse Capital of the World," would permit you a more generalized and, perhaps, biased portrait of its function: the beating heart and nervous system for my hometown's most cherished and enshrined event, the Kentucky Derby.

The Southern Pageant of Opportunistic Opulence, also known as the Kentucky Derby, is staged at Churchill Downs. With the mass influx of tourism and much-needed cash that the so-called "Greatest Two Minutes of Sports" brings into the state, you could be forgiven for falling victim to the illusion cast by the Kentucky Department of Commerce. If you partake in the ecstasy of the event, you will most likely find yourself literally drunk off the history of our proud state. You will choke down mint julep after mint julep on Derby day as you watch the eloquent equine beasts of burden race down those spectacular dirt tracks.

As your blood alcohol level rises and with blinding buzz words such as "Millionaire's Row," you would be forgiven

for forgetting to notice the unruly mob of commoners down in the infield as Hugh Heffner and the Queen of England literally look down at them from Millionaire's Row. You, the outsider, most likely in the stands, given the good money you've burned, will want to see the horses and most certainly will be blinded by the grand illusion of it all.

So let me sober you up with facts: the Brown-Forman sponsored "mint juleps" that you and literally 120,000 other patrons guzzle down are not mint juleps because they are made with Kentucky whiskey, not Kentucky bourbon. Now that you've had a minor taste at subterfuge, let's get to the heart what all of this is meant to distract you about: despite all of the show you've seen Kentucky has a child poverty rate of 27 percent. Harlan, the alien subject of our study, is seated and near the heights of the Commonwealth's Black Mountain, where those darkened stones of power are nestled. The people mining those cold stones so my state can be provided with heat and other life-sustaining powers are subject to a poverty rate of 32 percent, and are rewarded with an average county-wide per capita income of \$11,595. Lexington, the seat of old antebellum wealth and power, enjoys an unemployment rate of less than 5 percent.

Now that I have imparted you with knowledge, let's begin. Envision now that you live in Harlan County. The year is 1930. The town you live in was designed, built, and owned by the coal companies. You have no protection from the abuse of your owners. There are no regulations to protect you at work. Only the lord knows the blackness of your lungs, or how many days you can count down left of your life that you scarcely call your own. Any displeasure or slight to your masters will lead you to a destitute life of homelessness and



Photo: freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com
National Guard keeps picketers at bay as strikebreakers work, halting all protests.

hunger. You will be fired from your job, which is literally killing you day after day. You will be evicted from your home, along with your family, and blacklisted.

You cannot relocate, even if you had the money, because all but three towns in your county are owned by the mines, where the residents are slaves. You cannot feed your family when blacklisted because the companies own the stores. God forbid you try to form a union because the sheriff and his men are armed and paid by the company. They are known to shoot people onsite who try to unionize. The law is not on your side. You are alone. You have to keep your head down and mouth shut so you and your family can survive. You're paid, but not much, with an average annual income of \$1,739 that allows you to continue the struggle of life.

Then, it happens. A year later, the mine operators decided, due to pressure, to cut your wages by 10 percent. You barely scraped by before. Now you have nothing. How much longer will the company work you with no protection? How more will they take? You don't plan on finding out. It's time to take action. Direct action. IT'S TIME TO STRIKE!

*Part 2 will appear in the December IW.***The Workers' Grand March**

By John Gorman

At 10 a.m. on the fine Tuesday morning of Sept. 5, 1882, William McCabe was a very nervous man. As an officer of the International Typographical Union, he had taken on the task of being grand marshal of a great parade of workers to be held that day, but the parade was nowhere in sight. Supposedly, large contingents of working men were mustering at their assigned stations farther uptown, but in the park south of New York's City Hall, only a crowd of curious onlookers had gathered.

Planning for the march had gone on all summer, but even the most zealous had felt twinges of skepticism. There had been similar parades in other cities, but never on a working day. Theoretically, the Central Labor Union, an umbrella organization of 60 unions and 80,000 members, which had called the demonstration, could count on a massive turnout. But it remained to be seen how many of its adherents would be ready to lose at least a half day's pay for the cause.

Indeed, 1882 was not a good year for workers. The state of Connecticut had recently passed a bill prescribing five years imprisonment for any laborer who refused his boss's order to work at another enterprise where a strike was in progress, and similar "law and order" legislation was on the books in many other states. Unions were often viewed as criminal conspiracies and had to operate in semi-secrecy to function at all. Pledges not to join a union were frequently the price of employment, and becoming known as a labor organizer was a virtual guarantee of dismissal and lifelong blacklisting.

The press, owned largely by the same magnates who controlled the railroads, mines and factories of the land, was almost uniformly hostile and fond of headlines such as "Communists Come Forward" and "The Communist Meeting" when covering labor gatherings. Only

New Yorker Volkzeitung and *Irish World*, which had linked the Irish National Land League struggles with the fight for the American worker for fair treatment, had consistently supported the labor movement in New York City.

Organized religion had not been particularly helpful either. While most clergymen did not command the eloquence of mighty Henry Ward Beecher who proclaimed from his Brooklyn pulpit that "God intended the great to be great and the little to be little," and that "the man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to live," there were many who shared his views and few who dared oppose him.

McCabe turned all these things over in his mind as he tried to reach a decision. Should he start the parade and go ahead with only a handful of men, or should he call off the march and "put an end to this farce," as some onlookers had already loudly advised?

Suddenly, McCabe whirled to see machinist Matthew Maguire, another organizer, running across the lawn.

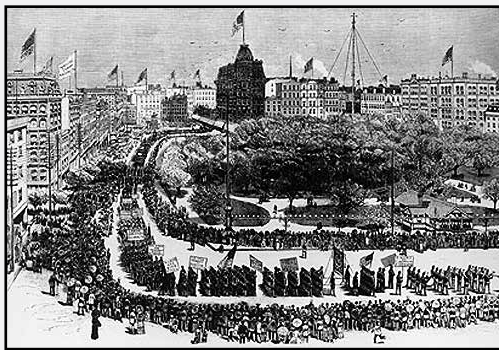
"They're coming! They're coming!" Maguire panted.

"Who?"

"The Jewelers, the Jewelers from Newark, hundreds of them, and they have a marching band."

Scarcely had Maguire finished, when the band could be heard playing tunes from the then-current musical hit, "Patience," by Arthur Sullivan and libretto by W. S. Gilbert.

Without a pause, the smartly stepping craftsmen, each one carrying a beribboned cane against his shoulder like an infant-



Labor Day Parade, 1885. Photo: wikimedia.org

ty officer's sword, swung north onto Broadway and headed off on the appointed route, with McCabe and the six-man mounted police escort following. The first Labor Day Parade was underway.

But McCabe's troubles were not over yet. At nearly every street corner, the procession was halted by policemen demanding to see the parade permit. This harassment only ceased when 500 burly bricklayers took up their stations in the line of the march. After much debate, these men had agreed to give up a day's pay to serve as marshals for this parade, and they were in no mood to be trifled with. By the time the parade had reached 14th Street, it had swelled to 20,000 or more, and even the most reactionary authorities had given up any thought of interfering.

The sprinkling of idlers on the sidewalks was soon replaced by sympathetic crowds drawn by the music of dozens of bands and thrilled by the performances of the Big 6, the local Typographers Union famed for its precision marching. Signs ranging from "Labor Pays All Taxes" to "8 Hours Constitutes A Day's Work" caught the attention of sweatshop workers who peered warily through tightly closed windows. When lunchtime came hundreds more joined in, marching along as far as their time permitted. By the time the parade broke up at its terminus beside Reservoir Park, now the site of the New York Public Library on 42nd Street, it was clear the labor had shown a unity and a determination that could no longer be ignored by friend or foe.

The participants in the Great March

had every right to celebrate, and celebrate they did that evening at Wendell's Elm Park, then located at 92nd Street and Ninth Avenue in the "wilderness" of upper Manhattan. Admission was 25 cents, which entitled you to all the beer and simple, but plentiful, fare you could get down, and all the speeches you could bear. The elevated railway laid on extra trains to accommodate the thousands upon thousands who joined the party, which continued far into the night. Perhaps because the speeches were mercifully short and feelings of fraternity so strong, there were no incidents to mar labor's day in the sun, and everyone went peacefully home to bed.

Although the original organizers of the parade had thought of it as a single event, the triumph of 1882 soon led them to think of Labor Day as an annual event. It was calculated that the marchers had lost about \$75,000 in wages, an astronomical sum in those days, by their participation, but their zeal was undiminished. Parades were indeed held in the following years, but Labor Day did not become a national holiday until 1898. Agreement on the day to celebrate, however, was not reached until 1923, when Wyoming became the last of the states to recognize the holiday and set it for the first Monday in September.

Over the decades, much of the significance of the day has faded, and it is often thought of as a convenient time to hold a sale or to mark the end of summer. But when labor marches in towns and cities across the nation, it should remind us all of a time when paid holidays, eight-hour days and overtime pay were the utopian dreams of bold and farsighted men who risked everything for what they believed in. They had other dreams too, like ending racism and organizing great labor cooperatives that are not realized even today. But the struggle goes on.

Letters From Prisoners

Understanding The Role Of Prisoner Intellectuals

By Dennis S. Boatwright,
Mid-Michigan Correctional Facility

Lingering inside a mismanaged, overcrowded prison system—and quietly floating atop a raging sea of unharnessed violence and wholesale despair—lives a shining group of prisoners who manage to keep the fire of their sanity, dignity and intellectual dexterity glowing despite living in corrupt institutions that nourish, glamorize and facilitate dark tendencies.

The existence of these unique individuals is largely unknown by society. Their voices are muted and maliciously misrepresented by lawmakers and status quo media outlets, whose political survival and television ratings significantly depend upon making dreadful perceptions of prisoners seem like reality. Toughen-crime rhetoric is amplified to rescue endangered re-election bids. The resulting pattern reveals itself as an endless passing of redundant crime bills and a surge in television crime shows, such as “Prison Break” and “Juvies.” U.S. politicians portray sympathy. This is a winning strategy: as long as the crime rate is above zero, theoretically, tougher legislation is warranted.

Forgotten in this hype are scores of reformed and self-taught prisoners. These brilliant prisoners possess extraordinary intellectual capabilities that are beneficial to society. Many demonstrate that they are willing and capable of participating in scholarly discourses. The fact that they exist should not surprise those familiar with the history of resistance.

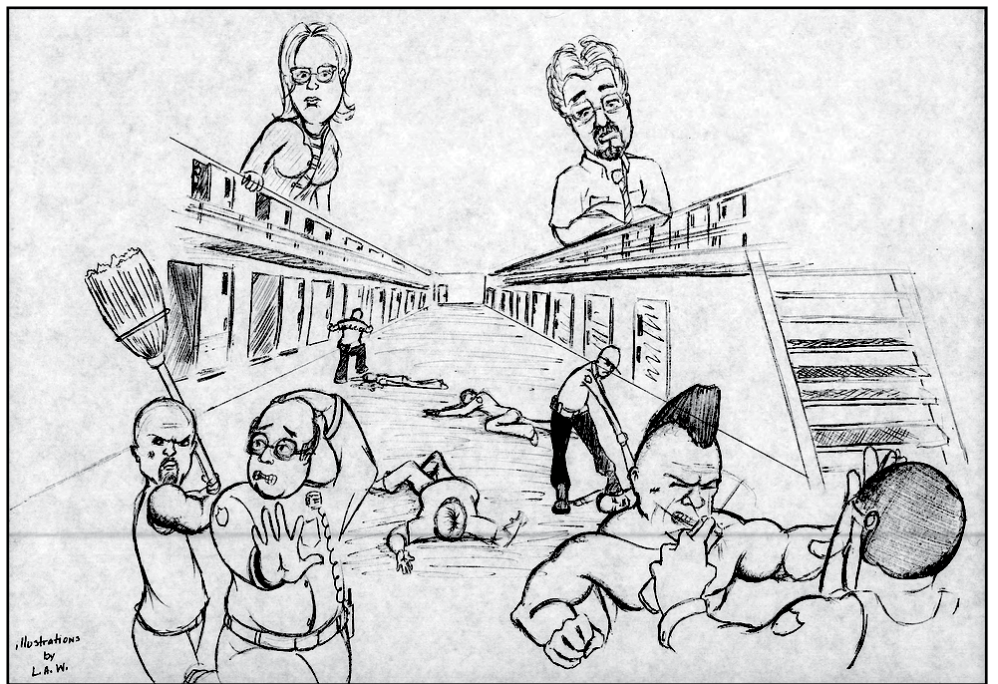
The social environment of prisons produces one of the world’s most perplexing paradoxes: they house dangerous and chronic lawbreakers, yet they also produce great thinkers who are models of strength and integrity. Throughout history, prisoners have played an important role in advancing the parameters in the social sciences. Important papers and political treatises were written by authors held in dungeons or solitary confinement. Some of their work continues to inspire millions and influence the direction of academic discussion today. One of these convicts was Antonio Gramsci.

Antonio Gramsci is regarded by many as the most influential Marxist thinker of

the 20th century. He was jailed in 1926 for his political activities in Italy during the authoritarian rule of Benito Mussolini, the Fascist premier of Italy from 1922-43. While in prison, Gramsci wrote “Prison Notebooks,” a collection of notes and essays. His work has become very influential in the study of international political economy, and he is credited with originating the concept of the “organic intellectual.” According to Gramsci, only by achieving cultural hegemony could progressives move into the stage of socioeconomic revolution. Gramsci believed that dominant ideologies become embedded in society, to the extent that they begin to be considered unquestioned common sense. What’s more remarkable about Gramsci is that he wrote without access to books, and also in code, in order to circumvent the prison censor. Gramsci remained in prison for 11 years, until his untimely death.

Great thinkers and leaders often tower higher in death than in life. Sayyid Qutb may be counted among them. Sayyid Qutb is considered the ideological grandfather of modern Islamic militancy. Throughout his life he delivered fiery speeches and wrote scathing articles and essays condemning the oppression of Muslims in general and the atrocities and human rights abuses perpetrated by the Egyptian government in particular. Accused of trying to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in October 1954, Qutb was thrown into prison and tortured. While in prison, he continued his political activities, effectively converting Egyptian jails into universities of radical Islamic thought. Before his execution in 1966, Qutb managed to smuggle out the manuscript of his monumental book, “Milestones,” chapter by chapter. Senior intelligence officials begrudgingly concede that Qutb’s life and works continue to rally today’s resistance activities in Iraq and in the broader Middle East.

Most educated African-American prisoners boast that George Jackson had a profound impact on their decision to take corrective steps toward rehabilitation. Jackson was sent to prison for a petty robbery. During his incarceration he spent



“Riotous Conditions @ S.E.C.C.”

Graphic: L.A.W.

most of his time reading and “chopping it up” (raising the sociopolitical awareness) with his fellow convicts, which earned him the ire of prison authorities. In his own words:

“For the first four years I studied nothing but economics and military ideas. I met Black guerrillas, George ‘Big Jake’ Lewis and James Carr, W.L. Nolen, Bill Christmas, Terry Gibson and many, many others. We attempted to transform the Black criminal mentality into a Black revolutionary mentality. As a result, each of us has been subjected to years of the most vicious violence by the state.”

Jackson and two other prisoners—John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo—were charged with the murder of a white prison guard, John Mills, that happened just moments after another white prison guard, O.G. Miller, was exonerated on Jan. 13, 1970 for the racist shooting death of three Black prisoners—Cleveland Edwards, Alvin Miller and W.L. Nolen—at Soledad State Prison. While in solitary confinement, Jackson authored “Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson” and “Blood in My Eye.” Jackson’s plight attracted international attention and his writings exposed the cruel anatomy of the Prison Industrial Complex. “Blood in My Eye” is regarded as the convict’s version of Frantz Fanon’s “Wretched of the Earth.” Both books have been canonized and admitted into the pantheon of revolutionary literature. Jackson is still esteemed as the premier penitentiary revolutionary. He was assassinated by gun tower guards on Aug. 21, 1971. Space constraints prevent enumeration of the scores of other prisoners who are worthy of mention, such as Rosa Luxemburg (“The Mass Strike: The Political Party and the Trade Union”), Eldridge Cleaver (“Soul on Ice”), Leon Trotsky, and numerous others.

Prisons are insulated from society’s distractions, which enables time for introspection and contemplation. This is one explanation as to why prisons have a transformative power for certain prisoners. During isolation, some prisoners discover unusual abilities and untapped potentials which lay dormant inside of them. Oppressive prison conditions account for the signature militant disposition of some learned prisoners. In prison, some prisoners also sharpen their skills of observing variations of human behavior, including that of prison guards. They see the best of human behavior as well as the worst expressions of racism being exhibited by the prison staff. The torture and sadistic photos documented at Iraq’s Abu Ghraib prison is not uncommon in U.S. prisons. Future leaders and thinkers are projected to emerge from prisons. Consequently, counterintelligence measures are used to forestall this possibility. In 1994 college grants were taken away from all U.S. prisons.

This measure was intended to stunt the academic growth of prisoners and inhibit the development of critical thinking. Acquiring knowledge is an expensive endeavor; intellectually inclined prisoners need the support of society. They need funds to procure educational material such as news magazines, scholarly journals and college textbooks. Prisoners do not have access to the internet. This restriction severely hampers their ability to do research and stay abreast of new findings and developments.

In this tumultuous post-9/11 world—a world with a shortage of capacity backed solutions to our problems—we need input from every segment of society, including prisoners. If we overlook the insights of knowledgeable prisoners, we may in fact be ignoring the next Malcolm X.

The **Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC)** is now organizing prisoners for IWW membership and direct action.

We need your help.

Can you write letters to prisoners? Can you spread the news? Can you spare \$10 for stamps and other campaign needs?

Please donate to IWOC directly through IWW GHQ, or through <https://fundly.com/iww-incarcerated-workers-organizing-committee>, and contact us via Facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/incarceratedworkers>.

SPONSOR AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER SUBSCRIPTION FOR A PRISONER

Sponsor an *Industrial Worker* subscription for a prisoner! The IWW often has fellow workers & allies in prison who write to us requesting a subscription to the *Industrial Worker*, the official newspaper of the IWW. This is your chance to show solidarity!

For only \$18 you can buy one full year’s worth of working-class news from around the world for a fellow worker in prison. Just visit: <http://store.iww.org/industrial-worker-sub-prisoner.html> to order the subscription TODAY!



Steve Biko. Photo: sahistory.org.za

In November We Remember Steve Biko, murdered in September 1977 in the apartheid state’s police room 619, and his colleague Dennis Brutus who helped organize the expulsion of South Africa from the 1964 and 1968 Olympics.

In November We Remember Nate Smith and the urgent need for racial integration of the building trade unions in Pittsburgh today and Pittsburgh’s favorite son of the Black Diaspora August Wilson.

In November We Remember the victims of factory fires and factory collapses in Bangladesh, the people who make our clothes, and we lift up, hold in the light, the National Garment Workers Federation of Bangladesh, their regional organizing of workers and victims and their organizing with us in the diaspora. As the Catholic Workers in Pittsburgh offer, Traveling Mercies for us all.

Buy press stamps from your IWW Delegate to support the ongoing print publication of the *Industrial Worker*.

Ad paid for by the Pittsburgh Anti Sweatshop Community Alliance

World Labor Solidarity

A COLUMN BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMISSION

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

Building Connections Around The World

By Florian H., William B., J. Pierce, and Anders M. of the ISC

The International Solidarity Commission (ISC) is sponsoring a speaking tour by Taiwan IWW member Fellow Worker (FW) Catta Chou. She is an organizer for the Youth Labor Union 95, runs the migrant worker shelter of Serve the People Association, hosts labor films with Trans-Movement Studio, and organizes around gender justice. Her talks will highlight the fights by tech manufacturing workers, youth and migrant workers, and indigenous residents in Taiwan. She will be presenting at a conference in Washington, D.C., with stops in New York City, Portland and Seattle. Make sure to meet her!

Ellison Moorehead's talk at this year's IWW Convention in Chicago was tremendous and she met many Wobblies eager to hear about the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) in Spain, their fights, their internal organization, and their response to the capitalist crisis. Thanks, FW Brandon, of the 2013 ISC, for helping make this talk a success and in strengthening our bond to our CNT comrades!

The ISC is endorsing FWs Monika and David as they head to Rome and Vatican City, Italy to represent the IWW at the World Meeting of Popular Movements. This unique conference is being hosted by the Catholic Church and FW Francisco (Pope Francis), and organized by Brazil's Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) and Argentina's Confederación de los Trabajadores de la Economía Popular (CTEP). The IWW was invited to attend by members of CTEP with whom FW Tristan made a good connection during his travels in South America. Say some "Hail Marys" for our FWs and wish them luck!

In the past few months, the ISC has been discussing the renewed attacks on Gaza by the Israeli government and subsequent international efforts to respond, including the Block the Boat campaign. The ISC will be publishing a statement reaffirming the IWW's commitment to the struggle of Palestinian workers and in favor of the effort to isolate the Israeli government using economic means, such as blocking shipping, boycotts, etc. This statement will also include support for those who speak out in favor of the Palestinians and condemnation of the U.S. government's complicity in war crimes.



Graphic: iww.org.uk

Look for that statement.

The ISC sends greetings to the conference of the Red & Black Coordination in Madrid, Spain. The Red & Black Coordination, of which the IWW is a friendly "observer," includes sister unions such as the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) in Spain, the Sveriges Arbetare Centralorganisation (SAC - Syndikalisterna) in Sweden, Inicjatywa Pracownicza (IP) in Poland, and the Confédération Nationale du Travail (CNT-f) in France. The ISC voted to assist an FW from Europe to attend on behalf of the IWW's European Regional Administration (ERA) and the ISC. Hello, syndicalists!

Other interesting contacts include: a hotel worker in the Cayman Islands asked for advice on building a union there where such organizations are evidently illegal; a doctor who is helping to build a radical union in Pakistan inquired about creating a connection with the IWW; the ISC is following heated struggles in Hong Kong and is supporting the call for general strikes; and lastly we are also sending a condolence letter to the Central Sindical e Popular (CSP Conlutas-Brasil) in remembrance of Dirceu "Didi" Travesso, who recently passed away after months in the hospital. Dirceu was active for years in numerous labor and socialist projects and will be missed by many Brazilian workers' organizations.

You can reach the ISC by emailing solidarity@iww.org.

Construction Workers Riot In Istanbul



Photo: revolution-news.com

By John Kalwaic

On Sept. 8, construction workers launched a protest against poor working conditions in Istanbul's Halkali neighborhood. In addition to bad working conditions, many workers said they they did not receive regular wages and many had worms and other parasites in the meals

the company fed them. Ten workers also died in a construction disaster on Sept. 6, caused by unsafe conditions. The construction workers went on strike and held signs and shouted slogans calling for the management's resignation. Other workers blocked the major roadways near the construction sites, effectively shutting them down. Some construction workers began setting materials and equipment on fire. Riot police were dispatched to the area as well as fire trucks to put out the fires. The riot lasted around five hours.

With files from *Revolution News!*

Anti-Fascist Demonstrations In Greece



Block of the local anti-fascist assemblies of Keratsini.

Photo: IWW Greece

By IWW Greece

Sept. 18, 2014 marked one year since the murder of anti-fascist artist and worker Pavlos Fyssas by thugs of the Golden Dawn, the Greek neo-Nazi party. IWW Greece commemorated the one-year anniversary of Fyssas's sacrifice participating in Thessaloniki, Athens, and in the block of the local assemblies of Keratsini, reminding people that an injury to one is an injury to all. Under no circumstances should we forget his sacrifice. It was a political assassination, a cowardly effort by the political underworld to hit critical humanism and social consciousness.

A monument in his memory was unveiled in Keratsini, at the spot where he was murdered. Anti-fascist rallies were held in several cities across Greece and abroad. Up to 10,000 attended the unveiling ceremony and demonstrated in the streets of Keratsini. During the demonstration in Keratsini clashes broke out between the police and a group of protesters. Similar clashes also broke out in Patra, Mytilene and Thessaloniki during anti-fascist demonstrations. Mayor of Keratsini accuses police of "fascist" brutality. Greek police fired teargas without discrimination at protesters and especially at the block of the local assemblies of Keratsini—which was the largest block (more than 5,000 people)—at the beginning of the demonstration. In this block

gathered activists and protesters from the greater anti-authoritarian, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist groups, initiatives and movement. It was evident that this block will be targeted by the police since it presents radical, self-organized and uncontrollable social activism. The government sent a message that democracy is synonymous with repression and the totalitarian state of exclusion by spreading more than 4,000 riot police for provocation in the area, similar to a junta.

With this threat in mind, IWW Greece offered to coordinate the medical support of the demonstration and to organize a team of street medics to support protesters during all phases of the demonstration. The police attacks were continuous and intensive for more than two hours, against the determined protesters who scattered in four directions. More than 100 people required first aid and medical treatment. Fellow Worker Argyris Argyriadis, the IWW doctor who coordinated the medical support within the local assemblies and the anti-authoritarian block, mentioned that in many cases not only had the police attacked without any provocation from the protesters, but they also refused to allow first aid to injured people. They also attacked and beat medical personnel during the protest.

If you would like to contact IWW Greece, email iwwgreece@yahoo.gr.

Port Trucker Strike In Ningbo, China

By John Kalwaic

On Aug. 18, approximately 10,000 port truckers went on strike in Ningbo, China. The workers haven't gotten a raise in eight years. The port of Ningbo is China's third busiest port and the world's sixth busiest port. The main strike took place in Ningbo-Zhoushan's seaport, which surpasses Shanghai in terms of commercial importance. Workers locked down the container yards and prevented scabs from



Photo: libcom.org

picking up the containers. Around 200 other drivers from smaller companies then locked down all six terminals. Both the Chinese police and military were ordered in to quell the strikes but were overwhelmed by the striking drivers. The police managed to arrest only a few of the drivers. The strike lasted almost a week with the employers finally agreeing to give the workers a 12 percent raise.

With files from *Libcom.org*.

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