

INDUSTRIAL WORKER



Winter 2019



Dear Fellow Workers,

We are excited to deliver to you this edition of *Industrial Worker*, the first to be published by the new editorial committee. We apologize for the lateness of this issue and deeply appreciate the patience you've shown towards us.

At first, we considered using the previous design and rushing this issue out as quickly as we could in order to honor our deadline but we realized that in doing so we wouldn't be honoring our commitment, to you and to the union, to produce the best magazine we can. We hope you consider the delay worth it.

This issue represents the first step in a series of changes for *iw*. As you can see, we've tinkered with the look of the magazine, commensurate with our policy of finding the best *iw* content we can and then designing a magazine around it.

Another change, which we hope to roll out soon, is the creation of a website devoted solely to producing union media for online consumption. Our plan is to produce quick, relevant articles about *iw* events on the website while using the magazine as a place for long-form articles and greater experimentation in design.

There's some precedence for this move: in the early days of *iw* history we published a wide variety of books, magazines, and newspapers, often in different languages and for a variety of regions and audiences. What united this work, for a time, was the regular publication of union news in newspaper format and a magazine, *The One Big Union Monthly*, for our long-form content. Of course, the name *Industrial Worker* is being used in a different context here but the point remains. And we still have plenty of great regional publications!

Speaking of which, no matter where you live there's likely to be a publication produced by the *iw* that covers your area. We hope to showcase those publications, as you'll see in our re-printing of the Olympia, WA General Membership Branch publication *The Line* and its coverage of the South Sound General Education Union.

If you're a member of a union body and you'd like help with putting a publication together, be sure to drop us a line at iw@iww.org. And, of course, if you'd like to contribute to *iw* in any way, we'd definitely appreciate the help!

For the One Big Union,

The IW Editorial Committee

Contents

Finding Anselmo <i>The search for the grave of the lost revolutionary</i>	4
Bus Drivers Unite <i>DeKalb County Drivers join the IWW</i>	6
Prison Strike!	10
Soul of the Russian People <i>Non-Bolshevik Socialists In Revolutionary Russia</i>	12
International Women's Day <i>Atlanta Reportback</i>	18
South Sound General Education Union	21
Comics	23



ISSN 0019-8870
Periodicals postage paid Chicago, IL

Postmaster: Send address changes to IW, P.O.
Box 180195, Chicago, IL 60618 USA

Industrial Worker Editorial Committee:
Matt Zito, Alec Shurtz, & Derek Scarlino

Cover and Art Direction by
Tara Zanzig, @tararchy

Published Quarterly in the Fall,
Winter, Summer, and Spring
Press Date: March 22nd, 2019

Unless otherwise indicated, articles do not
reflect the official position of the IWW
Subscriptions:

Annual print subscription rate:
- U.S. IWW Members - \$16 USD
- Regular U.S. Subscribers - \$20 USD
- All International subscriptions - \$28 USD

Annual bundle subscription rate:
(5 copies each quarter, 20 in total)
-U.S. subscriptions - \$60 USD
-International Subscriptions - \$80 USD

Price: \$6 (\$4 for members) | \$8 International

Official publication of the
Industrial Workers of the World

Mailing Address:
c/o Industrial Worker
P.O. Box 180195
Chicago, IL 60618

Contact:
iw@iww.org
www.iww.org



Finding Anselmo

L.A. and South Arizona Wobblies search for the grave of the lost revolutionary

By Daniel DeBolt and Ali Rahnama

In 1910 when Ricardo Flores Magón and his comrades Librado Rivera and Antonio Irineo Villarreal from the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) were released from an Arizona Prison in the city of Florence, an unusual and amazing thing happened - a lifelong prison guard left his job and decided to join them at the PLM headquarters in Los Angeles to support a social revolution in Baja California Norte, Mexico. While standing on opposite sides of prison bars, Magón and his two comrades inspired their guard Anselmo L. Figueroa to join the PLM. He signed its anti-capitalist anarchist manifesto of 1911 and served as editor of the PLM's "Regeneración" newspaper which called for "redistribution back to Mexican peasants of land in Baja California, of which 78 percent was owned by foreign interests" according to William Estrada's book *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space*. His daughter, Mercedes Figueroa, would become an important anarchist in Los Angeles as well, helping to organize hundreds of workers in street protests after her father's and his comrades' arrests and subsequent trials.

Despite the wild story premise — a prison guard turned revolutionary

— the story of Anselmo Figueroa is largely untold and unknown. In December members of the Los Angeles and Phoenix branches traveled to Yuma, Arizona hoping to locate his grave so that steps could be taken to provide a proper headstone if needed.

What was found in Yuma included the site of his family's plot at Yuma Pioneer Cemetery, where some believe he's buried. There were a few unmarked tombstones among those of his family members, any of which may have been his, but conclusions have yet to be made. He may have also been buried on his family's property.

Figueroa married into the wealthy Redondo family, and several Redondo tombstones share the plot near the driveway entrance to the cemetery under a large "Figueroa" family marker. A short drive away it becomes obvious that the Redondos were powerful people in Yuma - a major street is named after them. The Redondo patriarch, apparently Anselmo's father-in-law José María Redondo, is cast as the "the father of the prison" in Yuma on a poster there, and is referred to as "our worthy landlord"

in a picture book about Yuma's early history. He was also a state legislator.

While Anselmo's story would surely have been familiar to the establishment in Yuma at the time, it is curiously missing from those of the numerous wild-west outlaws, Mexican revolutionaries and labor organizers — including Magón — at the nearby Yuma Territorial Prison, now a museum, where Figueroa and Magón met. Figueroa is pictured prominently as a prison guard but not as a revolutionary.

Figueroa worked with the Magonistas — as Magón's followers were known — from the time they were released from prison in 1911 until 1914, when he was convicted, along with the Magón brothers and their comrade Librado Rivera, of violating US neutrality laws during the Mexican Revolution on the Baja Peninsula. *Regeneración* reported the US government appeared eager to throw the anarchists behind bars: prosecutors bribed witnesses and jurors, manufactured evidence and forged documents to make the conviction. Antonio de P. Araujo penned a series of articles about the trial in the paper, writing "...in the eyes of capitalism, it



is illegal to fight for the regeneration of the human species, as they gallantly have in the columns of (Regeneración).”

Figuroa became editor of *Regeneración* when the PLM and the IWW in the Southwest were sister organizations to each other. Most if not all of the reported five hundred Mexican wobblies in Los Angeles were also part of the PLM who had created an all-Mexican branch and believed that an anarcho-communist revolution was necessary in the US and in Mexico. *Regeneración* regularly printed articles about IWW organizing and inspired wobblies to create Spanish-language IWW papers such as “*La Unión Industrial*,” which advertised itself as “the only Spanish paper in the United States teaching revolutionary industrial unionism,” according to research by historian Devra Anne Webber.

Figuroa died in June 1915, not long after the three were released from McNeil Island Prison off the coast of Washington, where he became ill. “Our dear brother is dead,” Magón wrote in a letter to a comrade. “He was imprisoned with us on McNeil Island. There we were made to work under the rain and the snow, under that glacial climate, and our wet clothes dried on our bodies, while we slept, in our dungeons. Anselmo came out of prison very sick. Poor as we are, he could not receive the medical care his illness demanded nor

the nutritious food that he required, and finally succumbed to his ailments on the 14th of this month, as all the honest fighters die: in misery and abandonment.” “Our Anselmo was a victim of the damned system that anarchists want to tear down,” Magón wrote.

A death certificate remains to be discovered which leads some to believe that a doctor was not present at the time of his passing. It is widely accepted that Anselmo died just outside of Yuma in a mining town now called Palomas where his extended family owned property at the time. Sara Rahnoma-Galindo, a fellow worker in the Los Angeles IWW Branch who was part of the landing party that searched for Figuroa’s grave

site believes that “his grave is probably at Pioneer Cemetery since most of his family died outside of Yuma but were brought to the same cemetery” she further explains “it’s also possible that in the spirit of ‘moss not clinging to a rolling stone’ that he may not have wanted to be found posthumously. A quiet and humble resting place for an ill fellow worker that had done so much in such a short amount of time is also understandable if not completely respectable. But we hope for the best in our search so that his grave is no longer unmarked and forgotten.” ●



Library of Congress

Bus Drivers Unite



On April 18th, 2018, over half of the nine hundred school bus drivers in the DeKalb County, GA School District called in sick for the first day of a three-day sickout.

This was the culmination of years of effort, the result of a long list of ignored complaints and broken promises. This sickout was remarkable because Georgia state law prohibits public employees from even advocating for any work stoppages, much less participating in them. Furthermore, there was no union involved behind the scenes. The drivers took a huge, risky step with their own power, a direct result of their own organizing.

“What’s outrageous is that [the administration] acted like they had no idea all this stuff is going on.” Sheila Bennett, president of the bus driver’s advisory committee, said. “The bus drivers are sick and tired of being sick and tired... I don’t care if you’re Bill Gates driving a school bus you should get paid for what you’re worth.”

That Friday, after the first day of the sick-out, the district administration sent police to the homes of seven drivers, including Bennett, to issue a notice of termination. This was a clear move to scare drivers from continuing with the sickout.

That Saturday, drivers held a mass meeting, inviting members of the Atlanta General Defense Committee to participate. Drivers had been organizing in a variety of ways since 2005, but things had changed. “We were a force to be reckoned with when they saw that all of a sudden we had 500 drivers, little bit more, that could shut this thing down,” Bennet said.

Of course, there were politicians at this meeting and at many after it, coming out of the woodwork attracted by the activity of the drivers. These politicians were publicly siding with the drivers while hoping for votes. “What they often were circling around and doing,” Kei — a member of the Atlanta GDC — said, “was offering to help set up closed-door meetings. [They said] ‘We’re people with power, there’s other people with power like the board of education, the superintendent, and we can broker a closed-door meeting with you and the board of education because that’s how things get done’”. “The drivers have been struggling since 2005 so they’ve been in closed-door meetings over and over and over and nothing’s come of it”.

Besides the politicians, other unions were interested in the drivers. Over the last decade, several unions have tried and failed to organize them: the National Education Association (through their local affiliate, the Organization of DeKalb Employees, which explicitly states that it is “not a union”), the American Federation of State, County, and

Municipal Employees, and the Teamsters. In each case, the drivers have felt that these unions have either abandoned them or just didn’t respect them. For example, drivers made a big effort to organize through AFSCME in 2011, but AFSCME’s primary goal was to get an agreement with the county to have dues automatically deducted from the driver’s paychecks. When the county would not agree to this, AFSCME disappeared and left the drivers in the lurch.

When the group from the Atlanta GDC first began working with the drivers, the goal was to help the drivers recognize their power and the level of organization they had already achieved, to recognize that they didn’t need any outside saviors to help them and, in fact, will never be able to rely on any outsiders who claim to be saviors — including the GDC or the IWW. The original goal was not to sell the IWW as “the right union” for the drivers but to help the drivers build on what they had already achieved.



The rww was discussed at several points and never hidden but the focus was on building the independent capacity of the drivers. As part of this, they worked with the drivers to develop an identity as “DeKalb Drivers United”, giving a name to an idea that would not require an outside group to make it legitimate.

In the aftermath of the sick-out and the firings, the primary goal became to win reinstatement for the drivers through collective action and public pressure. As long as the county had the power to fire leaders with impunity, it would be difficult to make any other progress. Over the course of several months, several complementary tactics were used. Press conferences were held in front of the school board offices. There was a rally at the state capitol. Parents organized a petition to support the drivers. People spoke at school board meetings to make it clear that this issue was not going away. All of this was organized by the drivers, and the Atlanta GDC was clear that one of its goals was help the drivers build up their skills and confidence to organize these kinds of actions as much as possible.

In the course of this organizing, the Amalgamated Transit Union also approached the drivers. ATU is one of the oldest unions in Atlanta, with a collective bargaining agree-

ment at MARTA, the regional transit system. Because the drivers already had begun to think of themselves as DeKalb Drivers United, they didn't feel initially reliant on the ATU but saw them as more of a coalition partner. The GDC didn't discourage the drivers from engaging with the ATU because they thought it was important for the drivers to have the chance to make their own decision about what kind of union to organize with.

As a result of the campaign, the county said in July that the drivers would be rehired but they made no move to actually bring them back on the job. Around that time, a district-wide meeting was held. This was a meeting for all the school bus drivers in the district to assemble in one place, to orient themselves for the new school year. The drivers decided to use this as an opportunity to hold a large press conference and agitate on behalf of the fired drivers, handing out flyers and speaking with everyone who came to the meeting. “The county was scared”, Kei said. A few days later, the drivers were fully reinstated and back on the job.

After the drivers were rehired, it wasn't clear what the next organizing steps were and without a clear strategy for a path forward, energy faded and meetings petered out. In

October, the rww members who had been working with the drivers decided to check in with social leaders and, at the very least, continue what had been a productive relationship. This led to deeper conversations about what had happened with previous unions, what made the rww different, and why we had focused on supporting the driver's organizing rather than just getting them to sign up into the rww right away. This led to a small committee of drivers re-forming and deciding that they wanted to move forward on organizing a union with the rww and push forward on all of their continuing grievances.

By early January, the school board had begun to talk about “step raises” for all employees, though what they meant by that was unclear. This was one of the biggest things that drivers had been fighting for: prior to 2008, DeKalb County School employees, including the drivers, had received step raises, which gave clear pay increases based on years of service. Another big demand is for itemized paychecks —exactly how the drivers are compensated is a mystery to the drivers and anyone who's viewed their pay stubs. The drivers are told they're compensated at an hourly rate, but they simply receive a check every other week, with no hours or any other details listed. Nothing

ever seems to add up right. A driver might be told their hourly rate is \$19/hour, but after a year of working 40+ hour weeks, their take-home pay might only be \$21,000, even though \$19/hour for full-time work should come out to around \$39,000 — almost double what they actually earn!

Eventually, the county came out with a plan to pay all school employees a higher rate beginning January 15th. When the 15th passed and drivers didn't see a change to their paychecks they were understandably upset, as were teachers and other support staff. The county tried to claim it was an honest mistake and drivers should understand, but not all of them were buying it. "They had an emergency meeting of the board members", Bennet said, "guess who's not getting any money? The bus drivers."

The drivers were agitated and called for meetings with a focus on taking action and building unity with teachers and other district workers.

On Friday, February 15th, the drivers met to discuss affiliating with the rww. By this time, those present had been working with the union for ten months and knew quite a bit about our organizing philosophy and tactics but it was the first formal consideration and

the first pitch by the organizing committee for why they should join.

"The biggest thing was that direct unionism means you guys are the union," Kei said, "no one's coming in from the outside to save you. There's no paid staffers so if we're doing this it's going to be you guys leading it and we're here to advise and support ... but it won't look like what you're used to".

They were well-received. "I like the union because it's for the people, by the people," Bennet said, "and I like that because at least you know whatever you put in, that's what you're gonna get."

The drivers present at the meeting voted to form a union through the rww, which would be open to all school employees. Many of the drivers present took out red cards on the spot, and several filled out delegate applications, excited about the promise of running their own union. "With the union, they are able to sustain organizing in a way they haven't been able to do before," Kei said. Since then, more drivers have continued to join, and the union has also made inroads with other DeKalb County School employees.

DeKalb County School employees have an uphill battle, but one that's uniquely suited to the direct action tactics

of the rww. The standard bureaucratic-contractualist model that most unions rely on is simply unworkable in Georgia, especially for public sector employees. "Right-to-work" means that the standard model of dues check-off and mandatory union membership aren't going to work. There are additional restrictions imposed on public sector workers, restrictions which conservative unions such as AFSCME or AFT have been unwilling to organize against or challenge in any way. The next step is to push the district to negotiate solely with the union and not through the advisory committees who are half-elected by the bosses. A tactic they're using to help with this is the creation and distribution of anonymous surveys for the drivers and other school employees, so they can better discern grievances and use them to create a case for why the union is a better representation of school employees' interests. Having a fighting union in public education is a new thing for Georgia, although it's part of a broader movement, with the United Campus Workers simultaneously organizing at the University System of Georgia, and the ongoing nationwide waves of strikes among public education workers (including bus drivers and other support staff). This is a beginning; there is much more to come. ●

PRISON STRIKE!

X389468 Reviews last year's prison revolt

From August 21st to September 9th, 2018, incarcerated people nationwide struck over their abysmal living and working conditions in US prisons and in protest of the prison-industrial complex that disproportionately targets Black men and other people of color. Though hardly the first event of its kind in recent history, like all prison strikes it's remarkable considering the relative complacency of the US labor movement as a whole and the extreme repression that participants in prison strikes face. Strikers in prison can look forward to such joys as getting their visiting and phone call privileges revoked, having their mail withheld, or being placed in solitary confinement. Yet incarcerated workers still struck, demanding better working and living conditions aimed at putting an end to the prison-industrial complex as we know it.

The motivation for this strike is attributed to a riot in April at the Lee Correctional Facility in South Carolina, which left seven incarcerated people dead — making it the deadliest riot in a US prison in the last twenty-five years. The incarcerated folks at the facility report that the riot was provoked by the guards, who then refused to intervene or provide medical attention for any of the inmates for hours after the riot started. It was in the aftermath that organizers decided there needed to be a nationwide prison strike to bring attention to the suffering of incarcerated people in the United States.

The nationwide strike and the demands that accompanied it were primarily designed by incarcerated organizers with the particular needs and circumstances

of the incarcerated population in mind. Many were affiliated with organizations like Jailhouse Lawyers Speak and the Incarcerated Workers' Organizing Committee and used carefully-laid communications networks to get the word out to other prisons and allies on the outside. The ten demands of the nationwide prison strike were:

1. Immediate improvements to the conditions of prisons and prison policies that recognize the humanity of imprisoned men and women.
2. An immediate end to prison slavery. All persons imprisoned in any place of detention under United States jurisdiction must be paid the prevailing wage in their state or territory for their labor.
3. The Prison Litigation Reform Act must be rescinded, allowing imprisoned humans a proper channel to address grievances and violations of their rights.
4. The Truth in Sentencing Act and the Sentencing Reform Act must be rescinded so that imprisoned humans have a possibility of rehabilitation and parole. No human shall be sentenced to Death by Incarceration or serve any sentence without the possibility of parole.
5. An immediate end to the racial overcharging, over-sentencing, and parole denials of Black and brown humans. Black humans shall no longer be denied parole because the victim of the crime was white, which is a particular problem in southern states.
6. An immediate end to racist gang enhancement laws targeting Black and brown humans.
7. No imprisoned human shall be denied access to rehabilitation programs at

their place of detention because of their label as a violent offender.

8. State prisons must be funded specifically to offer more rehabilitation services.

9. Pell grants must be reinstated in all US states and territories.

10. The voting rights of all confined citizens serving prison sentences, pretrial detainees, and so-called "ex-felons" must be counted. Representation is demanded. All voices count.

All of these demands honor the basic human rights that are all too often denied to people who are or have been incarcerated, a fact that takes on a particularly sinister aspect when one considers the systemic racism prevalent in the US criminal justice system. The timing of the strike was also significant as the planned dates from August 21st to September 9th coincide with the 47th anniversary of revolutionary George Jackson's death in San Quentin and the anniversary of the Attica Prison Riot, respectively.

Initially, prisons in seventeen states planned to take some form of action relating to the national strike, either through some form of work stoppage or a hunger strike. Information concerning prisons is usually scarce even in the best of times, so the exact number of strikers is not known. Many prisons took preemptive action to prevent any sort of inmate protest by locking down their facilities or by placing individuals who have been labeled as leaders in solitary confinement. The incarcerated organizers gave out little information

to those on the outside in fear of this kind of retaliation. Part of the reason that plans for a national strike were only made in seventeen states was because reliable communications and networks of organizers had not been established in those facilities by the groups that planned the national strike. What is known is that there were actions taken by facilities all over the US and that several facilities holding immigrants for deportation also saw hunger strikes in protest of their treatment by US officials and ICE.

Allies on the outside assisted with the nationwide prison strike primarily through phone zaps and noise demonstrations. Phone zaps were the more common way to show solidarity and provide support as noise demonstrations require physically going to a prison and making a lot of noise outside. Usually, phone zaps are started when organizations like IWOC hear of a striker being severely repressed by prison staff or when a facility is particularly egregious in its treatment of the incarcerated population as a whole, and then the organization sends messages to outside allies telling them to start a phone zap. This author took part in a phone zap that had the participants gather together in a small group, determine which official to call first (such as the Attorney General or the individual in charge of that particular facility), and take turns calling. Sometimes the phone is answered and sometimes it's not. When it's not, all of the participants in the phone zap call at once with the aim of tying up the lines until someone answers. Occasionally the callers get sent to voicemail, which provides an opportune time to play pre-recorded music loudly into the phone. When a call is answered, the participants in the phone zap put them on speakerphone and everyone takes notes on what is said. Usually there is a script of what questions to ask and what statements to make about the situation, but sometimes conversations with officials

require some improvisation. Another favored tactic by the author's group of phone zappers was to use fake names and to pretend to be journalists from an obscure publication, or students working on a project for school. Even though the facility in question might be on the other side of the country, allies can still be in danger because of their activism and may still face retaliation.

Once the strike was set into motion, details started to trickle out of prisons and into public view. The October 15th update from the Prison Strike Media Team reported that allies and incarcerated people in twelve states were able to give some details of the repression against the incarcerated strikers and their supporters. Many facilities reported that staff were physically abusing strikers, destroying their personal possessions, and placing jailhouse lawyers in solitary confinement to prevent them from providing services to fellow inmates. In facilities where repression was the most prevalent, prison officials refused to acknowledge there was anything happening — a fact which can be confirmed by the author, who participated in several phone zaps to various facilities. Some of the repression affected allies on the outside as well; for instance, two letters from Florida Times-Union journalists to the Okeechobee Correctional Institute concerning the strike were rejected for supposedly being a threat to “the security, order, or rehabilitative objectives” of the facility. Many allies in Ohio were

also permanently banned from visiting prisons, and Leslie Hernandez, the mother of whistleblower Aaron McDonald, is currently facing charges for her organizing work on the outside.

As far as it's known, none of the ten demands have been fully met by the powers-that-be in the country, though some progress has been made in some areas, such as the restoration of voting rights to formerly incarcerated individuals in Florida. Another action is being planned for this year, though the exact nature and timing is still unknown. There will likely continue to be prison strikes such as this as long as the ten demands continue to go unmet and as long as incarceration exists in the United States. ●

To find some history on prison strikes and retaliation faced by participants:
<https://theintercept.com/2018/08/21/prison-strike-2018-attica/>

To find a statement by the spokesperson for Jailhouse Lawyers Speak: <https://www.sfbayview.com/blog/2018/11/outside-support-grows-as-prison-resistance-continues-with-ongoing-strikes-and-prisoner-led-initiatives?rq=prison%20strike>

The full statement released by the Prison Strike Media Team: <https://incarcer>





SOUL *of the* RUSSIAN PEOPLE

*Non-Bolshevik Socialist In
Revolutionary Russia*

Raymond S. Solomon

If you have read John Reed's *Ten Days that Shook the World*, you'll know the hope with which the 1917 October Revolution —known in Soviet literature as “the Great October Socialist Revolution”—began

But Russia today, after 100 years, has not fulfilled that hope. No longer having many of the socialist benefits of the Soviet Union, it still has the state surveillance apparatus. Soviet Russia industrialized, wiped out illiteracy, developed a good educational system, had great achievements in the performing arts, especially classical music and ballet, was the first country to enter the space race, had free medical and dental care, and beat Nazi Germany in what was the most bloody war in history. Soviet Russia lost over 20,000,000 people during the Second World War — what the Russians call The Great Patriotic War — a death toll greater than any other nation.

We can contrast all that to Stalin's purges, Arctic slave labor camps, the imposed Ukrainian famine in the 1930s which killed millions; and the trials and deportations of massive numbers of Communists and anarchists. When I was a teenager my father told me about a small book called *The Kronstadt Rebellion* by Alexander Berkman. Berkman writes about the heroic effort to make the Bolsheviks live up to the true spirit of the Russian Revolution and to

the soul of Russia. The Kronstadt rebellion, conducted in 1921 by the sailors and workers on ships and in the nearby fortress, was the last left-wing rebellion against the Bolsheviks in revolutionary Russia. As Berkman explained from his then-recent experience and observations, Russia had undergone an agonizing civil war. The population lived under extreme austerity. With the impending conclusion of the Russian Civil War (1918—1921), people were demanding improvements in living conditions. Many workers in revolutionary Petrograd started to strike, which was met with repressive action. The revolutionary Kronstadt sailors aboard their ships, together with the civilian population in the Kronstadt fortress, rebelled in solidarity with the workers of Petrograd.

The Kronstadt sailors' demands included free elections to the Soviets by secret ballot; freedom of speech and press for peasants, workers, left-wing parties, and anarchists; the rights for peasants to establish businesses providing they didn't employ outside labor; the freeing of political prisoners; and an independent commission to look into conditions in the state prisons.

The Kronstadt sailors were among the greatest, most efficient, and bravest fighters in defense of revolutionary Russia against the White armies and the foreign interventionists. Russian sailors have a long revolutionary history, famously illustrated in Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin*.

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and other anarchists proposed mediation between Kronstadt and the Bolsheviks, namely a team of five negotiators, including two anarchists. The Bolsheviks did not take up the proposal. Led by Leon Trotsky, the Red Army brutally crushed the rebellion. First, there was bombardment, which was fol-



Goldman and Berkman

lowed by a brutal attack. In *The Gulag Archipelago*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn described the slaughter of Kronstadt sailors and the deportation of many of them to the camps.

Paul Avrich's book *Kronstadt 1921* gives important information on this period and a moving account with sympathy for the Kronstadt sailors, including their demands that the Bolsheviks live up to the original principles of the revolution. But Avrich also presented what he considered to be legitimate Bolshevik concerns. Just as America had a Red Scare, Russia had a White Scare.

His data does not support all his conclusions but, despite my differences with Avrich, I admire him as a great historian

In *My Disillusionment in Russia*, Emma Goldman briefly, but significantly, discusses the rww. When in Russia, Goldman was asked when revolution could be expected in America, and she answered that it wouldn't be any time soon. Few Bolsheviks, she said, understood America. Only the rww was revolutionary and nonviolent in its approach. Wobblies pioneered nonviolent civil disobedience, using these tactics in the 1930s sit-down strikes, especially when the Congress of Industrial Organizations was organized, and again in the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s.

Goldman noted that some former American Wobblies had come to Soviet Russia, but had then taken up attitudes against the union. Although she was not in agreement with everything the rww believes, she thought it was the only true revolutionary force in America and was therefore destined to play a most crucial role in the future of the labor movement in the United States.

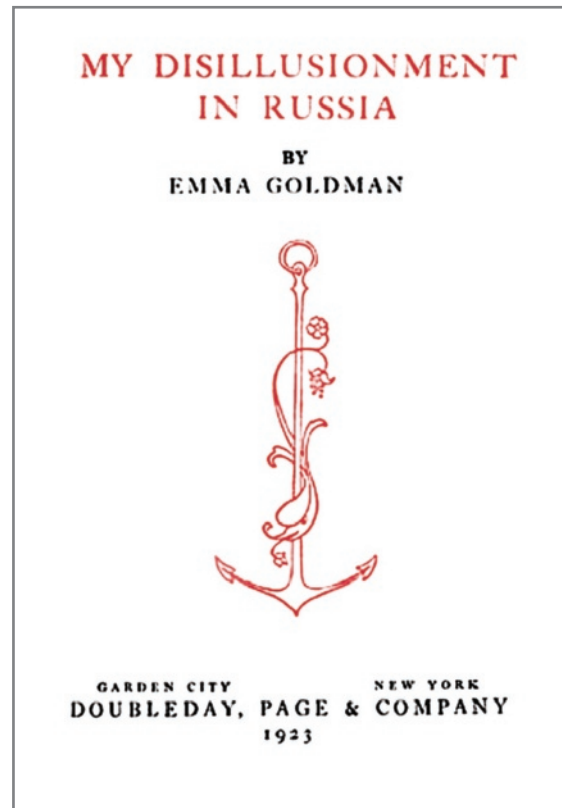
Goldman not only advocated for the Wobblies while she was in revolutionary Russia, but also supported the rww in America during some of the worst persecution that Wobblies suffered in her adopted country. In *My Disillusionment in Russia* Goldman wrote: "Between 1910 and 1914 I carried on my work, publishing *Mother Earth*, and prepared a series of lectures...but in the summer of that year new trouble began... It was during the free speech fight of the rww in San Diego." Many of the young Wobblies had been beaten by vigilantes and rushed back to Los Angeles as refugees in their own country. During this free speech

fight Dr. Ben Reitman — Goldman’s lecture manager — was kidnapped from Los Angeles and brought to San Diego by an anti-Wobbly mob made up of “respectable” citizens who prided themselves on not being in the working class. They stripped Ben Reitman and branded the letters “I-W-W” into his butt. During that time period, as recorded by Goldman and others, Wobblies were often banned from towns and ordered by public notice to leave. Many were tarred and feathered in the process, some were murdered. Goldman stood with them all in their fight for free speech rights.

Much of *My Disillusionment in Russia*, published in 1923, was based on the record of Alexander Berkman’s diary of 1920-1922, which eventually became *The Bolshevik Myth*. Goldman originally wanted the title to be “My Two Years in Russia” and was upset by the change of title without her knowledge or approval. Furthermore, only about half the book was published. When Goldman complained, Berkman had the second half as *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* published. The text being reviewed here is the complete two volumes.

In *My Disillusionment in Russia* Goldman writes of her meetings with Peter Kropotkin, who she knew from his visit to America as well as from her time in London. At that time England was the only European country to admit political refugees. Kropotkin, like many other anarchists, had hurried back to Russia after the February 1917 Revolution — according to the Julian calendar— and subsequently told Goldman of all the terrible things the Bolsheviks had done which he’d witnessed while there.. Goldman asked why he didn’t speak out. Kropotkin answered that it was because of the invasion of Revolution-

ary Russia by other nations in support of the reactionary White Russians in the civil war. These invading nations included Great Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Finland, and Poland. The White



Original Pressing 1923

armies, combined with the invading Polish army, murdered about two hundred and fifty thousand Jews during the Russian Civil War. This was a holocaust before the Holocaust. Goldman wrote about the aftermath of these pogroms during the Russian Civil War in both *My Disillusionment in Russia*, and *Living My Life*.

Kropotkin blamed the allied blockade for depriving the Russian people of much needed food and medicines. Under these conditions, Kropotkin told Goldman, he could not publicly speak out against the

Bolsheviks. However, he sent a very strong protest directly to Lenin on the subject of Lenin's policy of taking hostages:

“Vladimir Ilyich, your concrete actions are completely unworthy of the ideas you pretend to hold. Is it possible that you do not know what a hostage really is — a man imprisoned not because of a crime he has committed, but only because it suits his enemies to exert blackmail on his companions?” “If you admit such methods, one can foresee that one day you will use torture, as was done in the Middle Ages.” Goldman, for the first time in her life, refrained from speaking out on an injustice — because of the foreign interventionists and blockade against revolutionary Russia. Kropotkin asked Goldman not to lose hope. The Russian Revolution was more far-reaching than the French revolution, he told her.

Goldman met with many people in her travels to the land of her birth. Her most disappointing meeting seems to have been with the Russian writer Maxim Gorky. This was the Gorky who in Czarist days, together with Leo Tolstoy, spoke out against the pogroms and the anti-Semitic Russian newspapers. Emma went to him as a tortured person. She had high hopes for the Revolution, but also saw developments she didn't like, such as the imprisonment of fellow anarchists and other political dissenters, the closing of newspapers, and summary political execution. Goldman desperately wanted to maintain her original hope and faith and thought that perhaps Gorky could give her some perspective, advice, consolation, or encouragement. After all, she had given lectures on Gorky in America. He was one of the writers she admired most and without reserve. But all he could tell Goldman was that she should visit Kronstadt, because the

sailors there were “instinctual anarchists.” A search on YouTube for “Kropotkin's funeral” reveals a moving event. A mass of people attended, including representatives of the Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Russian anarchists, deported American anarchists, and Socialist Revolutionaries. Some anarchists were even temporarily released from prison so they could attend. Both Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman helped plan the event and are present in the film. Although Peter Kropotkin was not religious in any sense, his daughter Sasha was. The funeral was thus conducted in the rites of the Russian Orthodox Church, with accompanying Russian Orthodox funeral music. As recorded by Goldman, a massive crowd gathered, including people from the village where Kropotkin spent his last days. Kropotkin died shortly before he could witness the crushing of the Kronstadt Rebellion and told Goldman that he believed the spirit of the Russian people would prevail. In *My Disillusionment in Russia*, Goldman records that Kropotkin believed the Russian anarchists made two basic mistakes in: (A) not emphasizing syndicalist labor unions and (B) not developing producers' cooperatives.

But the biggest factor in the obstruction of Russia's progress was the allied military intervention and blockade of Revolutionary Russia during the Civil War, which caused millions of deaths and much suffering. Towards the beginning of his diary of Russian events which became *The Bolshevik Myth*, Berkman records the aftereffects of this atrocity. The Russian Civil War, with the actions of the Allied Interventionists, caused famine, massive numbers of refugees, disease, and the violent deaths of millions. ●

HELP

— THE — INDUSTRIAL WORKER

We need Writers, Editors, Photographers, Designers, Typographers, Cartoonists, Illustrators, Videographers, Coders, Web Designers, Art Directors, Bloggers, Social Media Gurus, Archivists, Doodlers, Calligraphers, Thinkers, Talkers, Listeners, Train Hoppers, Hobos, Wobblies, Strikers, Rakes, Louts, Scoundrels, Typesetters, Printers, Linotypers, Deliverers, Distributors, Clerks, or anyone who pursues one of the myriad creative endeavours it takes to produce a magazine and website for promoting all of the beautiful revolutionary activities of the One Big Union.

**INTERESTED PARTIES
PLEASE CONTACT IW@IWW.ORG**

International Women's Day: Atlanta

Wobblies March to Break Rape Culture

On February 28, 1909 the first International Women's Day was celebrated in New York City after a suggestion by activist Theresa Malkiel and was organized by the Socialist Party of America. The following year, women attending the International Socialist Women's Conference proposed the establishment of a Women's Day and in 1910, over one million people gathered globally to celebrate International Working Women's Day.

targeting one of the city's most popular bar and nightlife scenes. We were there to be loud, be disruptive, and to make a statement that we will not sit quietly while people in our city are targeted by and victimized by rape culture.

Planning for the event deliberately centered the women and non-binary people in our GDC and relegated men to acting exclusively in support roles. We contacted dozens of feminist and women's

everyone's faces out here so late at night. When the General Defense Committee started talking about plans for women's day, we had a lot of options in front of us. We decided to settle on rape culture because it's one of the most dangerous and disgusting issues our society faces today. I do wanna keep this brief, but keep in mind as I'm speaking, at least six people will have been sexually assaulted in the United States. But always, where there's oppression, there's resistance. We're gathered here today because we are pissed the fuck off. Our statement tonight isn't that we're here to play nice. We won't negotiate with rapists. We won't ask nicely. We are here tonight to demand our rightful place in these streets. We're here to take back these streets; this is our time, this is our night. We're here to get rowdy. We're here to make noise. We're here to terrify abusers. We're here to cause a disruption and if we disrupt even one sexual assault, we will have done our job. Let's fucking do this."

Shortly after midnight, we began to make our way to our targeted area on Edgewood. People chanted, played drums, and carried signs and banners to deliver our message. We handed out a zine that had been created by the organizers that included statistics on sexual violence as it affected various marginalized communities, including incarcerated women, immigrants, and people of color. The zine also contained information about resources for people who had experienced sexual assault and alternatives for contacting the police.

We marched up and down the street for around an hour, completely shutting



Twitter @IMWofA

As with many radical left-wing movements, International Women's Day has seen itself co-opted by the establishment and has become divorced from its working class roots. This year, however, as a show of solidarity with movements and strikes around the world being organized and supported by our fellow anti-capitalist unions in the International Confederation of Labor, the Atlanta General Defense Committee sought to reclaim this holiday.

Rape culture is a pervasive, destructive part of our patriarchal culture and its impact on the women and non-binary people of Atlanta is no exception. For IWD 2019, we decided to hold a Midnight March down Edgewood Avenue,

groups operating on local college campuses, rape crisis centers, Women on the Rise, and the Sex Worker Outreach Project. Our goal was to create a space that was inclusive of all women and non-binary people, especially those who face additional marginalization due to race, non-cis/heteronormative identities, differences in abilities, immigration status, or occupation as a sex worker.

We gathered shortly before midnight at Krog Street Market, a few blocks from Edgewood, to gather, distribute signs, and to hear from one of the organizers, who read a few words to inform the crowd of why we were gathered there that night: "Thank y'all for being here. It makes a strong statement to see ev-



Twitter @IWWatI

down vehicle traffic along that stretch, stopping occasionally to hear remarks given through a megaphone. The drumming and chanting continued and some members of the march lit flares or set off purple smoke grenades to draw attention. The police were ever-present and blocked the road to prevent cars from coming through. At one point, they informed us that they were going to be reopening the road and that we needed to get out of the street. However, we were not done. We continued with our action.

The response to the march was overwhelmingly positive. Many people from the bars or waiting outside cheered in support. That did not mean, however, that our night was entirely conflict-free. As stated, the police did attempt to shut down our action before we were ready to leave. An officer walked through the crowd where he was quickly surrounded by drummers and people chanting “Cops are rapists!” until he retreated back to his fellow oppressors. As we continued to march down the middle of

the street, we were faced head on in opposition by a police car surrounded by police officers. Organizers leading the way decided not to back down to the cops’ power move and marched straight forward draping a banner inscribed with “Rapist Scum Your Time Has Come” over the police and their car. As the banner dragged over one police officer’s head, he attempted to snatch the banner from the organizers hand, but she did not give in to his intimidation tactics. She held fast to her banner and ignored his aggressive attempt to disrupt our display. Her grip was stronger than his, and he was left dumbfounded in front of his peers, surrounded by rowdy protesters.

The only real low point of the night, however, occurred near the end of the march when a driver who was apparently fed up with us blocking the road, leaned on their horn while a trans woman was trying to deliver a statement. One man watching from the sidewalk encouraged the driver to drive through our march and repeatedly misgendered and insulted the woman speaking. Members of the march moved in

to respond, at which point they were rebuked by another attendee who implored them to ignore the man, relying on the rhetoric of “Love beats hate.” We still managed to hold the space until the speaker was done with her remarks before we moved on. Outside of this incident, our action was largely a success.

Going forward, our GDC needs to have a discussion on how better to communicate our expectations to attendees, notably that we do not support or encourage individuals to “peace police” the actions of others and how they respond to agitators on the sidelines.

Overall, however, the event was a victory. We mobilized around 100 people to take the streets of the city at midnight on a Friday, disrupting one of the nightlife areas of the city. We held our space until we decided that we were done, resisting attempts by police and civilians to interfere. We were loud. We were seen. We were heard.

See you next year for IWD 2020!



Twitter @IWWatI

South Sound General Education Union Notches a Win

Press release by SSGEU

To Whom It May Concern,

On November 7, 2018, the Industrial Workers of the World South Sound General Education Union delivered a demand letter to the administration of the Evergreen State College calling for:

- The immediate end to the hiring process of another campus police officer
- The immediate hiring of two full-time positions, one in Political Economy and one in Arts (either Theatre or Photography)

As of today, we are now proud to announce that Evergreen's administration appears to be meeting our demands. A campus police position vacated in 2018 will no longer be filled, and although the hiring processes are obfuscated by university bureaucracy, we have it on good authority that new positions have been opened in Political Economy and Community Media. We extend our thanks to all the fellow workers and comrades who joined us in solidarity over the past three months. Furthermore, we call upon you to join us in vigilance, to make sure that the administration does not fall back into their old ways. If they do, we will be ready to resume our campaign until these demands are met.

The South Sound General Education Union continues to fight for popular control of educational institutions —not control by donors and the employing class, under whatever name they may go by. The police, acting as the military arm of the international program of austerity, have no place on this or any campus. A program of cuts and belt-tightening is the first prescription in a course of bad medicine, too often followed up by union-busting, political repression, and privatization.

We call on all members of the campus and surrounding community of the Evergreen State College to join us in a victory social on Wednesday, February 27th, to celebrate our victory and build towards our next steps. Location and time to be announced.

Solidarity Forever!



A Short History of the South Sound General Education Union

Originally printed in The Line

We were born June 3rd of 2018, on the rooftop of a “leftist” shop called Kinoki in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico.

Our initial meeting was inspired by the struggles that the working class were fighting throughout the world. However, we were especially awed by the statewide teachers’ strikes occurring in the United States this past year, and the revolutionary uprisings which the CNTE (National Organizers of Education Workers), a radical union of Mexican teachers, initiated—such as the 6 month long 2006 Oaxaca Commune in response to police repression of the union’s yearly occupation of the city’s main square, and the caucus’s blockades of major roads and airports in retaliation to their demands being unfulfilled.

With the rising worldwide movement of education workers, we sought to bring this struggle into the south Puget Sound region.

Because the bureaucrats in the education business unions have consistently undermined worker militancy and solidarity by negotiating with the capitalists without the consent of the rank and file, we decided to form a revolutionary alternative to these craft unions.

As we were packed inside a van leaving a Zapatista municipal center known as Morelia, our first version of the union’s points of unity were formed. This version emphasized our desire to organize education industrially rather than by craft, and to have schools be run democratically by the people who attend and work in them (students, faculty, and staff).

The months of September and October were a long grind: revising the union’s points of unity, forming our own preamble and deciding how we would gain power.

They wish to co-opt the union into avenues they can more easily control such as the faculty union and the student union, which is really more like a student government organization and does not have co-governance.

We slowly acquired a consistent membership and we gained a consistent core once we, the IWW South Sound General Education Union, decided on our first campaign. This campaign demanded that the Evergreen State College not hire another cop, and instead fund two full time teaching positions; one in political economy and one in the arts (either theater or photography).

These demands were formed as a result of the college laying off over 20 positions during the summer of 2018, primarily in the art departments. As well, a political economy faculty member was not hired that summer, despite the fact that the department was labeled “top priority” for hiring.

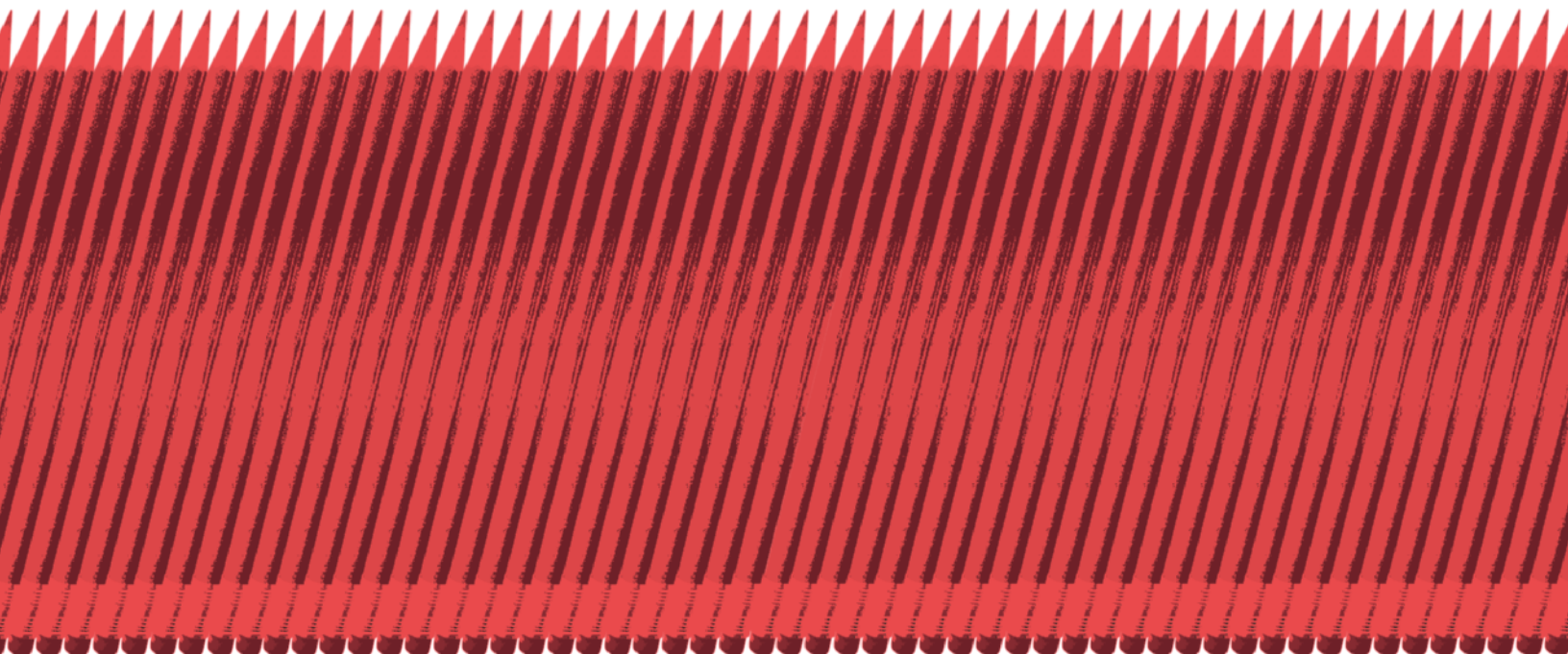
As of this writing, the school seeks to hire another cop, using the excuse of “mandated budget allocation” to not concede to our demands. Many students were angry about the layoffs as well, with some of them organizing large petitions to prevent the layoffs; yet, the administration ultimately ignored them. To debut our union and campaign, we conducted a rally on the central square of the

Evergreen State College. Over 100 people showed up, making it the largest protest that happened on campus since the 2017 Spring uprising. We also marched into the office of the president and provost to read our demands, handing over the demand letter. We dispersed after the demand delivery.

As of this writing, the administration has responded by portraying us as “illegitimate”. They wish to co-opt the union into avenues they can more easily control such as the faculty union and the student union, which is really more like a student government organization and does not have co-governance.

The South Sound General Education Union will keep fighting! If you work in the education industry, whether K-12 or higher ed, whether as a teacher, student, or a cook, get in touch with us and get organized!

The Line is a publication of the Olympia General Membership Branch of the IWW. You can read more about them at OlympiaIWW.com



COMICS



Leftist Comics
"One Big Union"

Ah! I've found you, union organizer! Prepare to lose your job!

Not so fast, Mr. Exploiter! Everyone, get out your red cards!

LET'S ORGANIZE!

POOF!

Sabo-cat?! I knew it!

I'm totally prepared for you.

No, I'm Syndi-cat. I'm the One Big Union you've been hearing about. Prepare to be organized, capitalist pig!

Noooooo!

X389468

Leftist Comics
"How Woddies Write Songs"

Being in jail sucks. I'm so bored.

I know! I'll write a song about my experiences!

...they go wild, simply wild, over me... S.F.

X389468

Leftist Comics
"Worse Than A Communist"

Are you a communist? No, I'm worse.

Worse? What's worse than a communist?

Hold on.

Everyone, get out your red cards!

Let's Organize!

POOF!

What are you?

I am Syndi-cat, the One Big Union with the power to take away all your profits!

Oh.

X389468

I know! I'll write a song about my experiences!

...they go wild, simply wild, over me... S.F.

X389468



Industrial Worker
 PO Box 180195
 Chicago, IL 60618 USA
 ISSN 0019-8870
ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED



**Periodicals Postage
 PAID
 Chicago, IL**

Application for Membership Aplicación para Membresía

I affirm that I am a worker and that I am not an employer. [Afirmo que soy trabajador/a y no soy empleador.]

I agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization, and will study its principles and acquaint myself with its purposes. [Pacto de obedecer a la constitución y las reglas de esta organización, y estudiaré sus principios, y me informaré de sus objetivos.]

Name/Nombre: _____

Address/Dirección: _____

City/Ciudad: _____ State/Estado: _____

ZIP: _____ Country/ País : _____

Email: _____

Telephone/Teléfono: _____

Employer/Empleador: _____

Occupation/Ocupación: _____

I would prefer to receive copies of the IWW's General Organization Bulletin in paper form, by mail (Default is electronic, by email). [Prefiero recibir copias del Boletín General por correo. (No sobre e-mail)]

I would like information about the IWW's General Defense Committee. [Me gustaría recibir más información sobre el Comité de Defensa General.]

Dues Rate Based on Monthly Income	Cuota Dependiente de Paga Mensual
Under \$2,000 = \$11 per month	Menos que \$2,000 = \$11 por mes
\$2,000 – 3,500 = \$22 per month	\$2,000 a 3,500 = \$22 por mes
Over \$3,500 = \$33 per month	Mas que \$3,500 = \$33 por mes
Initiation fee is equal to one month's dues.	Iniciación = cuota de un mes

For more information, please go to
<https://www.iww.org/content/join-one-big-union>

Preamble to the IWW Constitution

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 the 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 that 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 has 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 in 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 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.