



Don McIntosh, NorthWest Labor Press

Members of Burgerville Workers Union waged a four-day strike Oct. 23-27 at four Portland Burgerville restaurants to protest a company wage proposal they said would keep them in poverty. The two sides have been meeting since June 2018 to negotiate a first union contract for workers at locations that have voted to unionize. If they ever reach agreement, it would be the first union contract with an American fast food chain.

The strike was called after the company publicly announced that it will raise wages for all workers by \$1 an hour on Dec. 31 and set \$13.50 as the new base pay level at all stores, union or nonunion. That sounds more meaningful than it is: Washington's minimum wage will rise to \$13.50 on Jan. 1, and Oregon's Portland-area minimum wage will rise to \$13.25 on July 1.

Union bargaining team member Mark Medina, who works at the SE 92nd and Powell location, says the union looked at the unilateral announcement as the company's way of sidestepping the bargaining process and putting the union at a disadvantage. The strike began at 11:30 a.m. Oct. 23 at the 8218 NE Glisan St. location. Striking workers formed a caravan and traveled to three other locations, where workers joined them in walking out: 1135 NE MLK Blvd., 1122 SE Hawthorne Blvd., and 3504 SE 92nd Ave. Workers at a fifth unionized location, 19119 SE McLoughlin Blvd., didn't take part in the strike. At least initially, dining rooms closed at the struck stores, though managers continued to operate the drive-throughs.

Striking Burgerville worker Betty Buchanan makes

minimum wage — \$12.50 an hour — after nine months working the drive-through at the NE 82nd and Glisan location. "I'm on strike because it's not fair that we make minimum wage, when you know how much work we do and how hard we work."

Rather than maintain a constant picket outside the struck stores, strikers instead assembled with supporters for daily actions. On Oct. 23 they picketed the Rose Quarter location on opening night of the Portland Trail Blazers basketball season. On Oct. 24 they protested outside Burgerville corporate headquarters in Vancouver. On Oct. 25 a roving picket went from store to store. And on Oct. 26 they gathered at the Hawthorne store for a pancake feed with Industrial Workers of the World members from all over the Northwest.

Burgerville Workers Union is proposing that the starting wage be set at \$1 above minimum wage, rising 50 cents above that each year. The union also wants a clear process for workers to get full time hours: Most workers are scheduled just under 30 hours a week, which is the company's threshold for health benefits, said union spokesperson Emmett Schlenz.

Would paying more than minimum wage put Burgerville out of business? At the bargaining table, Burgerville is represented by Kristin Bremer Moore of the Tonkon Torp law firm. She's been very careful not to say the company can't afford pay increases, unionists say, because that would trigger an obligation to open the privately held company's books to prove it.

In the Oct. 16 press release announcing the raise, Burgerville said it secured a loan to make the wage increase possible. Burgerville's bargaining team has also thrown a legal curveball into negotiations, says Northwest Workers Justice Project attorney Kate Suisman, who's been helping the union in negotiations: The company claims it can't pay unionized workers more than workers at non-union stores because of Oregon's new pay equity law, which was meant to end discriminatory pay disparities.

Thus far, the two sides have tentatively agreed to several provisions: an option to bank an anniversary bonus to use as vacation pay, and a system enabling workers to donate sick leave to co-workers who face a health emergency. Schlenz said they also seemed close to agreeing to a policy giving employees more predictable schedules.

Burgerville has already implemented company-wide one of the union's key proposals: Tip jars and a tipping option in its point-of-sale systems. Tips are pooled among staff, and so far, they're adding 75 cents to \$1.50 an hour to workers' pay.

On 10/27/19, BVWU posted to supporters on Facebook:

"A four day, four store strike. We really did it. And today, we're back to work-both at our stores, and at the bargaining table. Faced with our collective power, Burgerville is ready to actually negotiate with us over wages, and it feels like we have a real path forward towards a fair contract and a living wage.

We shut Burgerville down this week, over and over and over. We made sure they had barely any customers on Blazers opening night. Dining rooms at striking shops were closed almost the entire length of the strike. We faced down intimidation from Joey Gibson and Patriot Prayer, and just kept rolling with our week of action. This is what worker power and solidarity looks like.

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Who Killed Wesley Everest? By Jess Grant

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his Veteran's Day marks the centennial of a bloody shootout in Centralia, WA between IWW members and a party of American Legionnaires bent on driving the Wobblies from town. The raid wasn't the only anti-Wobbly attack from that era; the Everett Massacre (1916) and the Bisbee Deportation (1917) had paved the way, while the Palmer Raids (1920) were the big finish to that wave of anti-Red hysteria.

There are four competing narratives about the events leading up to the shootout and the lynching of Wobbly Wesley Everest. The Legionnaires still maintain the fiction that they were innocent men cut down by a fusillade of IWW bullets while on a peaceful parade. Journalistic accounts, however, debunk this story: it's clear that the Legion's plan to raid the IWW hall was an open secret that week.

Labor has two narratives: The Wobblies believed they were defending their hall against an armed aggressor and were advised by their lawyer they had the right to do so and The trade unionists tried to co-opt the Wobblies' history by reframing Everest as an all-purpose labor martyr. These two versions clashed in 1997 when a Centralia business owner hired a muralist to paint Everest on his antique mall.

The academic point of view walks a middle ground. Though the Wobblies had the right to defend their hall, some point out how the union might have averted tragedy by making their intention to fight back better known. Instead, they lay in ambush waiting until the raiders burst down the door, then opened fire. Given the bad blood from the Everett Massacre, the Wobblies may have indeed been seeking payback.

Five Legionnaires died from gunfire and witnesses say they saw Everest shooting. In the immediate wake of the shootout, a group of men followed him to the riverbank where he shot another man before being collared by the crowd and hauled through town. Punched and heckled by the gathering townsfolk, Everest was nearly lynched at this point, but cooler heads persuaded the crowd to wait until dark.

By the time night fell, an angry mob of two thousand citizens had gathered outside the Centralia jail where Everest and other Wobblies were held. The crowd wanted vengeance, and the Wobblies inside feared for their lives. Suddenly, all across town, the electrical power went out and the town square went dark. Anonymous men forced their way into the jail, removed Everest from his cell, and pushed him into a car.

They drove him across town to a bridge over the Chehalis River where a smaller crowd gathered. A local farmer described what he saw,

"The man was struggling between the men who held him. They worked without a word. I saw them stop not far from the end of the bridge near the city and throw a rope over the cross beam. The body went over with a thud and then a shot was fired. Then more shots."

The local sentiment at the time held that Everest had gotten what he deserved and no effort was made to identify the men who lynched him. The case remains Lewis County's greatest unsolved murder. Wobbly lawyers interviewed witnesses at the time, however, and compiled a list of men seen in the lynch mob. The

list of suspects was never published or made public, and officials never interviewed them.

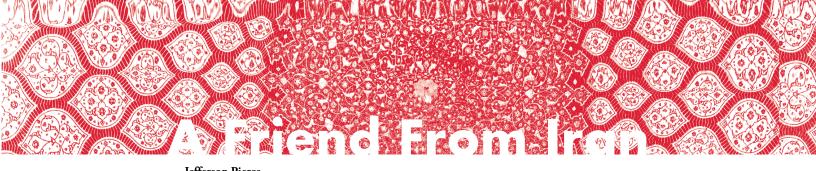
It was doubtful whether the list still existed. Oregon activist Julia Ruuttila had taken possession of Wobbly lawyer Elmer Smith's papers, but it was thought she'd lost them in a fire. The list somehow survived and can be found at the Oregon Historical Society—tucked away in plain sight for anyone to view.

A hundred years later, these men are dead, though some have relatives who live in the area. The list doesn't prove their guilt, but it may be the closest we ever get to creating accountability for the crime. Below are the names of the men who witnesses placed at the scene of the crime on the night of November 11, 1919:

John Stephens; George Stephens (Logger); Leo Stephens; Laurence/Loren Stephens (Laundry Driver); Henry Huss (Grocer); Lloyd Dysart (Attorney); Hank Andrews (Drayman); Earl J. Knecht/Knick (Driver); John Delaney; Fred Bogley; Lee Dunn; Claude Carter (Garage Man); Wilbur Patton (Gambler); Luther Patton (Constable); Fred Walters (Storekeeper); Joe Radek/Radick (Baker); Vern Ratcliff/Radcliff (Grocer); Richard Wyatt (Drayman); Harry Wyatt; E.E. Garlichs (Druggist); David Livingston (Doctor/Coroner).

IN MEMORY OF

WESLEY EVEREST



herman was a housemate of ours in Oakland. He was Iranian American and a former Navy Seal. After a number of years in the service of his adoptive Uncle Sam, he was discharged and honored with a minimum wage job at Walmart. Before moving into our house of collegey twenty-somethings, Walmart had canned him and he found a job driving cars back-and-forth for used car lots.

Sherman would bring me into his empty room to show me the English-language Iranian news on his laptop. He would sit on his folding chair above his inflatable mattress and show me beautiful photos of Iran and its people. From him, I first learned that Iranians were Persians (and Baloochis, Turks, Armenians, Kurds, etc. as well as Arabs); that Persian or Farsi was a different language from Arabic; that many Iranians were not Muslims (but Baha'is, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and atheists). He knew that I would be surprised to see that Iranians could be as light-skinned as Europeans and as dark-skinned as Africans. He knew it would astound me to see lush green forests, blue rivers, and snow-capped mountains - since all I had ever been exposed to was the stark, arid regions. Sherman opened my eyes to Iran.

Since the 2000s, popular knowledge of secular Iran has been coming to light in the US with gems like the graphic novel and movie Persepolis, the main character of which, Marji, grows up in a socialist, intellectual household. But conventional Americanwritten histories of Iran tend to discreetly delete the socialist element that fought both the Shah and the Islamists in the Iranian Revolution of 1979. (See Ben Affleck's Argo for a CIA-authored movie about a CIA-authored movie filmed in Iran.) When asked about Iran, most Americans have only a vague picture of Sally Fields in the 1980's propaganda movie Not Without My Daughter. In digging a bit deeper, however, the Iran-Iraq war, the "Iran-Contra Affair", Oliver North, the Beirut hostage crisis, the Iran hostage crisis, and the "October Surprise" all have revealing connections to the Iranian Revolution. (I deleted a huge paragraph attempting to summarize all of this — for your benefit, dear reader, and mine.)

From 1979 to 2019

ver the years, I have crossed paths with a handful of middle-aged Iranians, such as Ahmed in Vancouver; Kamran, Salma, and Vincent in Portland; Rashid and Mahmoud in the Bay Area; and Hassan in Los Angeles. Each of these individuals has struck me with their thoughtfulness and generosity. Some can be dark and intense like Ahmed. Others can be bright and lively like Kamran. Although many of them are Marxists of different tendencies, they are often the first to welcome comrades based on trust, rather

than ideology. I would suppose that many of them participated in the Revolution, or supported it in some way. However, they are typically he is a mortion

any personal involvement in the Revolution, either out of humility, or out of caution. On the forty year anniversary, mentioning your role in the Revolution might still tag you as an enemy of the Iranian State.

When I can get one of them to reminisce off the record, their stories often reveal a wisdom and hope that many of us need. Shahla, for example, whom I met in Tucson, left Iran right before the Revolution. She went back soon after and organized alongside other women. "It was a great flowering of celebration and renewal," she remembered. "The youth and the workers and everyone were in the streets. We had such great hopes. But the Islamists slowly strangled everything we did." In talking, she recalled how frustrating it was to get men, even from their own leftist groups, to support women's rights. "The men kept saying, 'Now isn't the time for those demands..." Many Iranian Americans, Shahla included, have never stopped organizing and are active in promoting worker's, feminist, and progressive movements both here and back home.

Civil War

ike that of Spain, Iran's revolution was a three-way war. After decades of struggle, the radical workers and progressive elements of society were prepared to toss out the Western-oriented monarchy of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Marxist intellectuals advocated for socialism. Communist guerrillas fought the army and other militias. University students protested for democracy. Women marched for expanded freedoms. Radical workers struck and occupied their factories, oil plants, and schools — all for a better society.

Equally powerful, popular, and diverse was the Islamist movement, with visions of its own for a new social order. Ayatollah Khomeini's wing of the Islamist movement was ruthless and determined, crushing rival parties and eventually consolidating their control over the movement. The Supreme Leader's faction triumphed over all the other Muslim organizations, as well as the socialists and liberals, and proceeded to target all free-thinking elements for elimination. Massacres, repression, and regressive laws soon followed. The progressive forces were outgunned as the new Islamic Republic turned back the clock.

Inspired to Struggle

s the door was closing on a free Iran, thousands of Iranian socialists made their way to Europe and North America. Since the 1970's, they have been organizing to support their

Radical workers struck and occupied their factories, oil plants, and schools

— all for a better society.

brothers and sisters who stayed to continue the fight. There is likely a small and active group of Iranian feminists and trade unionists in your town.

One such socialist was Mani. Sometime in the early 2000's, I attended an IWW meeting inside an Edmonton, Alberta Starbucks. The Branch was supporting an "Un-Strike" by Starbucks workers organizing with the Canadian Auto Workers union. The baristas displayed their tattoos, refused to wear their uniforms, ignored management, and generally broke as many rules as they could get away with - all while being paid! (A tactic that I still have not seen the IWW promote and employ the way we were born to do!) Sitting-in at the meeting was an older guy named Mani. He said he was there to check out the IWW and to build support for a general strike of public health care workers. After the meeting, I asked Mani how he had found the IWW. The rest of the day I followed Mani around town as he related his life story.

Mani told me that, of course, he was a Marxist who participated in the Iranian Revolution. He was a student at the time, organizing demonstrations against the Shah. The student movement was repressed, many were killed, and his student group, among others, fled the city, he said, and became guerrilla fighters. Others got out of Iran while they could.

This process happened again, I recall him saying, where Mani's guerrilla group was driven into the mountains and some escaped. Mani then fled to France. In France, he told me, he came across literature by and about the IWW and was fascinated by it. He then committed himself to returning to Iran and starting a new organization - a revolutionary workers' union - based on the principles he had read about in the IWW lit. I asked him some questions to get a picture of his IWWstyle syndicate to which he replied, "Well, all unions in Iran are illegal, and are armed, underground groups." This assertion is an exaggeration according to other Iranian activists; either way, his new union was again driven into the mountains and this time he fled to Canada. Years later, Mani was still at it, agitating for a general strike in his adopted home.

Befriending Iranians and learning about their revolution has been inspiring and humbling. But imagine the tremendous compliment! If Mani read about the IWW and was inspired to return to the fight with new vigor, surely learning about our Iranian fellow workers can do the same for us.

In a new era of American military aggression, where Iran is the faceless enemy (again), it is all the more vital to demonstrate that the Iranian people are our friends, comrades, and fellow workers.



10/16/19, 17:00: The phone rang with a local area code. I picked up and heard the recording play. "Hello, this is Janice Jackson, CEO of Chicago Public Schools." Glitching, it repeated the introduction. "Due to the potential strike by Chicago Teachers Union and SEIU, classes will be canceled tomorrow." Within a few hours, word spread through social media that CTU's house of delegates had voted to strike for the third time in 8 years.

As neoliberal austerity has crippled working class communities - closing schools, ravaging neighborhoods, and shuttering mental health centers—CPS students are paying the price. Class sizes are overcrowded with some kindergartens having upwards to 51 students and no school has both a librarian and a nurse—most have neither. The rapid gentrification of traditional working class communities is causing massive homelessness. At last count 16,451 homeless students attend CPS, mostly on the south and west side.

The city council voted just this year to provide 1 billion tax dollars to luxury mega-developer Sterling Bay, who is demolishing the industrial district of Goose Island and erecting skyscrapers, luxury hotels, and high-end retail. These projects will have their property taxes capped for the next 30 years, cutting off funds from schools and neighborhoods

to fill the pockets of LaSalle street brass.

10/17/19, 06:30: The sound of bucket drums and a megaphone beckon the October sun to rise. It is not yet daylight, but we are awakened by teachers at nearby Cooper Elementary on the line.

CPS has been further degraded by grifters and politicos into a pipeline to the prison system. Former CPS CEO Barbara Byrd-Bennett is quoted saying "I have tuition to pay and casinos to visit." They are currently in prison for pocketing millions of dollars in kickbacks in contracts that had that she arranged. Police officers wait with vans outside of schools to take children away to jail for their natural rebelliousness. Many of these students have endured extreme levels of trauma inflicted by conditions of poverty—gang violence, generations of unemployment, and a legacy of disenfranchisement on the basis of race and class. These children need resources—social workers, librarians, and teachers—not police and prisons.

10/18/19, 08:30: Teachers march from school to school, congregating in electric slides and cumbia dances. Donuts, tamales, and coffee are plenty, as well as families and students. Marches and pop-up rallies are on nearly every street corner. Ashland Avenue - Union Row - is a solid Red picket spanning 7 miles from North to South side. Elementary

children, running errands with their parents, can be heard chanting "CTU! CTU!"

Local media have lambasted the teachers for maintaining the strike despite an offer to raise teacher salaries 16%. The CTU has held firm that the working conditions of teachers in schools are the learning conditions for students in the classroom. A 1997 Illinois state law declares salaries as the only legal condition for strikes. The teachers have pressed forward regardless.

School support staff with SEIU Local 73 are also on strike, in a coordinated display of solidarity. Both CTU and 73 have agreed to stay on strike until both contracts are settled – once again, pushing beyond the limits of "permissible" action. The fact that this is an "industrial" strike, in the sense that the entire education industry is witholding their labor power, shows the deep class consciousness and advancement of the Red for Ed movement.

Despite the onset of cold, rainy weather, the teachers still picket schools every morning from 6:30 - 10:30. Marches from school to school congregate and wind through neighborhoods. Students have begun organizing, injecting new life into the movement. Elementary and high school students do not have a well-established student union in the city but this didn't stop neighborhood organizations from helping organize multiple student rallies. One student organizer remarked,



"This is a disruption caused by Chicago Public Schools and the mayor. We are 100% behind the teachers. We want to return to our studies, our sports, and our lives."

After the massive student-led march on Lincoln Yards, a multi-billion dollar luxury development subsidized by taxpayer billions, seven teachers locked themselves down in the corporate offices of developer Sterling Bay, demanding the expropriation of tax funds from developers to the school system.

The CTU has been able to mobilize an entire city with its labor organizing consisting of only 1% of its population. "We all have experience in organizing," one leader said, "different movements, struggles, and causes in our communities." This reflects the emphasis on social justice rarely if ever, seen in a contract fight. Teachers' unions and the labor movement at large are taking notice of their militant, confrontational tactics and how they are advancing not only the labor movement but a vision unconstrained by labor peace and the bourgeoise state.

Bob Bruno, labor professor from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, remarked to the Chicago Sun Times "It wasn't this kind of incremental improvement in a contract. It was really about this fundamental relationship of power and what the collective bargaining process would be allowed do."

Picking up my daughter's first report card of the year, her teacher thanked us for turning up to support the strike. The class analysed the strike through the book "Click Clack Moo: Cows That Type," while documenting the material improvement in their learning conditions through a flow chart on the wall. Possibly the most poingant lesson of the school year could be summarized by Special Education teacher Hilario Dominguez, who remarked after the ratification vote,

"I am proud of our fight. Teachers are the backbone of our country and we showed the nation that when it comes to our kids, we are also the muscle. My heart goes out to all my brothers and sisters in this fight. And to teachers across the city and country: Don't ever let up because when we fight, we win!"

Will this strike set off another wave of Red for Ed rank and file rebellion? Teachers in Indiana, barred from legally striking, have already shut down half of the state's school districts with a sick-out on November 19. The Militant History of Chicago Teachers

The unrest crescendoed until

April 1933, when teachers

stormed downtown banks,

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unpaid taxes.

CTU was organized as the Chicago Teachers
Federation in 1897. CTF allied with the Chicago
Federation of Labor in 1902 and founded the
American Federation of Teachers in 1916 as Local 1.
The Chicago Board of Education had recently passed
a rule which forbid teachers from joining other labor
organizations, and fired the CTF leadership.

Founding member and leading officer Margaret Haley lead the fight for causes such as women's suffrage, equal pay, and against corporate tax evasion. Eventually the CTF was forced to withdraw from CFL and AFT.

During the 1930's, business leaders retaliated against the militant CTF and refused to lend money for any city project they did not support. Their chokehold on city government was decried by the union as "financial fascism" - known today as "Broke on Purpose" "Many teachers believed

on Purpose." "Many teachers believed there was a nationwide plot by people of power and wealth to cripple public education and to restrict schooling to those who could afford it." Students began striking in solidarity with their teachers - whom would go up to 8 months without paychecks. The unrest crescendoed until April 1933, when teachers stormed downtown banks, smashed windows, and attempted to seize escrowed unpaid taxes. Hundreds of teachers were fired and back pay was issued the following October.

The CFT union was still banned, and teachers were divided into multiple groups organized by gender. CTU was chartered as American Federation of Teachers in 1937 and battled New York's Teachers Union over joining the CIO. CTU president John Fewkes led the charge in expelling the New York and Philadelphia locals from the AFT during anti-communist purges. Bargaining was still denied by the Chicago Board of Education. By 1948, actions and strikes were on the rise. An illegal strike was planned in 1963, but the city finally capitulated and agreed to bargain.

In the 1960's, Black teachers were denied the same pay and status as their white counterparts. Southern accents were decried as unprofessional and used to deny teaching position to Blacks whom possessed this linguistic characteristic. Instead they were classified as "Full Time Substitutes". They organized and began their own round of sickouts and strikes. In 1968

FTS's threatened to leave the CTU, which prompted their demands being taken up by the organization. The first official CTU strike was in 1969 and settled in a few days. The school board lifted provisions preventing Black workers from advancing their careers due to the organizing and militance of these workers. Black workers also won special education programs for students in need.

Seven more strikes would span the decades. Legislators sought to curtail the CTU and it's ability to strike. In 1997, Illinois raised the bar to require

75% approval for an educator's strike to be legal. During this time Neoliberalism would begin to rot the Chicago Public School system. Former Obama Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, while CPS president, crafted a disastrous plan: "Renaissance 2010".

Around one hundred schools shuttered or converted to nonunion charter schools or military academies. Cornerstones of neighborhoods were left to sit idle, mocking the children who had to cross new gang territories... territories drawn long ago in a city segregated racially.

In 2009, a small group of teachers founded the Caucus of Rank and File Educators. CORE organized around school closings and eventually won leadership of the CTU. Their first test came when mayor Rahm Emanuel seemed to further privatize and force austerity in education - bringing class sizes up to 55 and extending the school year with no increase in pay. The CTU joined with communities and won not only gains for teachers but also 600 art, physical ed, and music teachers to enrich the school day.

In 2016, a one-day strike was called and eventually ruled illegal. The billionaire governor Bruce Rauner was withholding state funds in order to try and bankrupt the district and state - breaking the back of public sector unions and opening another path for privatization. In 2018, charter schools organized and joined CTU - striking and winning the same levels of pay that their public school counterparts enjoy.

https://isreview.org/issue/86/peoples-historychicago-teachers-union

Lyons, Teachers and Reform, 2008.



n early October, Arise Chicago organized over six hundred Portillo's workers to take collective action to improve conditions at the local chain restaurant. Dozens of Portillo's workers recently contacted Arise about notification of their employer receiving "No Match" letters. Arise called for worker meetings, provided "no match" and workers' rights training, and supported leaders to organize coworkers. Leaders collected over six hundred signatures and created a workplace committee.

Over two hundred workers delivered the signatures to Portillo's headquarters this week. Thanks to the workers' organizing efforts, and with support from Arise, Portillo's did the right thing, and backed down from calls for voluntary termination, gave jobs back to anyone who was fired or left involuntarily, and paid back wages for time lost! The Committee is now organizing to further improve working conditions.

Workers have recently petitioned for a \$15 minimum wage, paper check stubs, vacations, and healthcare coverage among other issues. Management has refused to meet with the Portillos Workers Committee, and has hired a union-buster whose daily rate is \$3000.

WHAT IS A NO MATCH LETTER?

According to the Social Security Administration, "No Match" letters are educational tools for employers to learn to use the SSA databases and correct workers' information. The letters tell employers which workers have discrepancies in their information and ask for corrections in 60 days in order to deposit the worker's contributions in the correct account to for their benefits such as Medicare, retirement, pension, and

Discrepancies may be due to typographic errors, wrong birth dates, name changes such as married or divorced last names, and error while writing or typing many names in languages other than English.

The letters from the SSA specifically state "this letter is not related to work permits or immigration status of your workers". The letters also advise the employer to not "use this letter to take any adverse action against an employee, such as laying off, suspending, firing or discriminating against that individual, just because his or her SSN or name does not match our records. Any of those actions could, in fact, violate State or Federal law and subject you to legal consequences".

According to the Social Security Administration, they will not punish, fine or take any action against any employer who does not respond to their letters. In other words, the employer is not mandated to do anything.

SSA NO-MATCH LETTER? KNOW YOUR RIGHTS!

"This letter is not related to work permits or immigration status of your workers'

Remain silent about your immigration status, because this may carry legal consequences. If you admit to not having papers, your employer is mandated, by law, to immediately fire you.

This is a problem between you and the Social Security Administration in regards to your future benefits.

If the employer gives a deadline to "correct the situation", remind them that the letter says "60 days", not a week or 10 days.

If there is an error in your information, use the SSA Form W- 2C and make the

Do not resign or abandon your job.

Do not take any action or declare anything before getting the correct information.

REMEMBER. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO KEEP SILENT ABOUT YOUR IMMIGRATION STATUS!

Remembering Itche (Isaac) Goldberg By Raymond S. Solomon

A Century Devoted to Yiddish

His given first name was Isaac, but for as long as anyone can remember, everyone called him Itche. Itche Goldberg (1904-2006) was a writer, editor, translator, publisher, left-wing activist, promoter of women voting, director of a network of Yiddish schools, pro-labor activist, and advocate for the Yiddish language, Yiddish culture, and above all for the ethics of Yiddish civilization. Itche said that because he was non-religious, it did not mean he was anti-religious.

One of his activities was running Camp Kinderland for many years. It was open to children eight through sixteen. Its bunks were named after various leftwing and labor heroes and heroines such as Emma Lazarus, Anne Frank, Ernestine Rose, Hanah Senesh, Joe Hill and Harriet Tubman. Besides the usual summer camp activities, the education programs included peace, women's rights, civil rights, labor, mutual aid, friendship, social justice, and Jewish history with a decidedly Yiddishist orientation. The camp was started in 1923 by mostly leftist Jewish workers, some of whom mortgaged their homes to help fund the camp. The camp was almost closed down during the McCarthy era. Among the many notable Kinderland alumni are Ivy Meerolpol,

documentarian and granddaughter of the executed Rosenbergs, the actress Marisa Tomei, who starred in "My Cousin Vinnie", and Lawrence Bush, editor of Jewish Currents. My first encounter with Itche Goldberg was after my grandmother Bessie's death. Itche was the main speaker at her funeral. This was January 1969. I guess he was like a secular rabbi. He spoke about first knowing Bessie when she brought her young daughter Mildred (my aunt) for enrolment at for afternoon classes in a Yiddish School run by Itche Goldberg. He had a great understanding of my grandmother Bessie Solomon, her quest for social justice, her strong devotion to and her love of family, including extended family in Connecticut; and Bessie's strong nostalgia for Russia, despite the terrible persecution of Jews that she remembered. She left Russia in 1913, at about the age of 22, with three young children, joining her husband who arrived earlier. Itche tried to bring words of comfort to the children and grandchildren, and one greatgranddaughter. He talked about Bessie's life with her husband Samuel, "Shmuel the Barber," who had died a little more than six years earlier.

The next time I personally encountered Itche was when I worked with him in 1987, on the reprinting of his collection, "Yiddish Stories for Young People",

a collection of short stories by great Yiddish writers. At Itche's request, I was responsible for managing the reprinting. Itche was one of the few people I would do something for without payment. To my delight, he was satisfied with my work. I greatly valued his opinion. Like many Yiddishists, Itche Goldberg had a special love for Sholem Aleichem, as did millions of other Jews.

In an interview with Jewish Currents, Itche said he had a period when he wrote in Hebrew. So like Sholem Aleichem, who once wrote in Hebrew before becoming the greatest Yiddish writer, Itche wrote in Hebrew at a certain period. But he continued to write in Yiddish. Although he was non-religious, he had great feeling for religious Judaism and religious Jews. Itche Goldberg was a life-long firm believer in Yiddish culture, and the Yiddish language, and worked for its continuation. Sholem Aleichem and his world have, in a metaphorical sense, conquered the world, through the play and movie Fiddler on the Roof. The biggest blow to the Yiddish language was the Holocaust, in which over six million Jews were murdered, along with the Yiddish civilization of Eastern Europe. Today Yiddish is spoken among the ever-increasing number of Hasidic Jews. Maybe the revival of Yiddish is no dream.

SOLIDARIDAD

UNA REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES INDUSTRIALES DEL MUNDO - IWW • OTOÑO 2019 IEL SINDICATO IWW SE ESTÁ ORGANIZANDO Y CRECIENDO!

IUN AÑO ESTUPENDO PARA EL GRAN SINDICATO!

El Sindicato de Trabajadores de Burgerville (BVWU) en Portland esta bien involucrados en una serie de HUELGAS! Lo/as obrera/os de la cadena de comida rápida de Portland, Oregon estan haciendo un movimiento histórico que esta inspirando a trabajadores similares en todos partes. Los patrones de Burgerville no han estado negociando con buena fe y ahora la/os empleada/os estan artos de las tácticas de cerrojo de los jefes. Nuestra/os compañera/os han ganado concesiones como días pagados por ocho días festivos y un acuerdo sobre propinas, pero todavía no han obtenido los aumentos del sueldo que han estado exigiendo.

Los supermercados y los restaurantes siguen siendo lugares de actividad del IWW. Con nombres ilustres como la Familia Unida de Stardust en NYC, el IWW es conocido en la industria de hospitalidad por tener tenacidad de luchar para las condiciones mejores que todos queremos. En Montreal y Nueva York, la/os obrera/os de libre dedicación o trabajadores independientes se han estado organizando y ganando esfuerza. El Sindicato de trabajadores independientes, (S'ATTAQ del SITT-IWW en Quebec), celebró su Asamblea Estratégica en septiembre donde ella/os se juntaron e hicieron planes para exigir más de los empleadores deshonestos que siempre estan intentando de engañar a sus empleado/as. Mientras, lo/as Periodistas Independientes de la FJU, con base en Nueva York, se estan expandiendo por toda Norteamérica y ya han iniciado una pelea en contra de Barstool Sports sobre el derecho de sindicalizarse. En las Prisiones, el Comité Organizativo de lo/as Trabajadores Encarcelado/as del IWW (IWOC) sigue organizando en las cárceles y los centros de detención en Norteamérica y otros paises. Ahora el IWOC cuenta con cerca de 600 miembros dentro de las instituciones penales. Ademas cuenta con el apoyo de docenas de ramas afuera, muchos de los miembros son ex prisionero/as.

En la industria de Educación, el Movimiento de la Educación de Justicia Social (SJEM), IUB 620, Twin Cities, Minnesota y el Sindicato General de Educación del Sur de Puget Sound (SSGEU) (Estudiantes y empleado/as de la Universidad de Evergreen en Olympia, Washington) son los mas fuertes del sector mas activo para miembros del IWW. También nuestra/os miembros han participado en el movimiento de RedforEd que inundó el país en el 2018 y ha seguido en varios estados en 2019.

Las ramas de Seattle, Montreal, Nueva York, y California Sur han visto un surgimiento de participación, con el aumento de 100 a 200 miembros en cada ciudad. Eche un vistazo a la lista de ramas y campañas aquí en esta edición para ver como el IWW ha crecido en este año.

¿CARTA NO MATCH - SSA? ¡CONOZCO SUS DERECHOS!

"Esta carta no está relacionada con el permiso para trabajar o el estatus migratorio de sus trabajadores"

Guarde Silencio sobre su situación migratoria. No hable con nadie sobre su situación, pues esto puede acarrear algunas consecuencias legales. Si se admite no tener documentos migratorios correctos, el patrón está obligado a despedirlo de inmediato.

Este es un problema entre usted y la agencia Seguro Social (Social Security Administration) sobre tus beneficios futuros

No renuncie o abandone el trabajo solo porque el patrón recibió una carta No-Match.

Si el patrón le da un plazo, recuérdele que la carta dice "60 dias", ni una o dos semanas.

Si hay un error en la información, use la forma W-2C del Seguro Social para hacer la corrección.

No tome ninguna acción ni haga ninguna declaración son consultar antes y conseguir información correcta.

IRECUERDE! GUARDE SILENCIO SOBRE SU SITUACIÓN MIGRATORIA.

IBIENVENIDOS A TODAS LAS NUEVAS RAMAS DEL IWW EN AMÉRICA DEL NORTE!

Ramas nuevas incluyen Mid-Valley, Oregon, Virginia Oeste; Phoenix, Arizona; Huntsville, Alabama, y SJEM IUB 620 (trabajadores de educación) en las Ciudades Gemelas. Minnesota.

La Virginia Oeste GMB (Rama de membresía general) cubre todo el estado de West Virginia y algunos condados de Maryland y Ohio. Se formaron como resultado de las huelgas de trabajadores de educación del 2018, que reunieron a Wobblies de todo el estado para ayudar a la/os maestra/os a exigir mejores condiciones en las aulas. Desde entonces, se han comprometido a construir el Gran Sindicato al enfocarse en el apoyo comunitario con unidades de ropa gratuita; construir una densidad regional; y ayudar a la lucha educativa con la/os organizadores más militantes dentro de la Asociación de Educadores de West Virginia (WVEA) y la Federación Americana de Maestros (AFT). West Virginia GMB se unieron al Comité Coordinador del Sur del IWW debido a la capacidad de conectarlos con otros Wobblies en el Sur y en las montañas Apalaches que podrían ayudarles a organizar ciertas industrias y crear lazos más profundos entre su rama y las sucursales y redes más establecidas. (Gracias al Comité Coordinador del Sur)

La Phoenix GMB se reunió en junio del 2019 y desde entonces ha estado reclutando (ya tienen cerca de 70 miembros y partidarios). Aunque se concentró en el área metropolitana de Phoenix, la rama del 'Río Salado' ha estado ayudando a los comités del IWW en Tucson, Prescott, y Flagstaff. Emocionado por el movimiento RedforEd, que vio a 70,000 maestra/os de Arizona hacer una huelga y marchar sobre la capital (¡Gracias, West VA!), la Phoenix GMB ciertamente mirará a la industria educativa mientras investiga sus objetivos de organización sindical. La/os miembros del IWW en Phoenix también han estado construyendo empresas cooperativas y esperan tener un gran impacto en Arizona, suplantando un modelo de trabajo democrático en lugar de las dictaduras tradicionales dirigidas por los patrones. Anticipan trabajar con los GMBs de Los Ángeles y Albuquerque para fortalecer el IWW en el suroeste de los Estados Unidos.

Otra cosa para celebrar es que, despacito y silenciosamente, las ramas del Noroeste pacífico han crecido tanto en los últimos años. Ahora con la adición de la nueva rama "Mid Valley" del Río Willamette hay 10 ramas en el noroeste!! Del sur al norte son: Lane County (1!), Mid-Valley (2!), y Portland (3!), Oregon; Olympia (4!), Tacoma (5!), Seattle (6!), Everett (7!), Whatcom-Skagit (8!),

¿QUÉ SON LAS CARTAS NO-MATCH?

Son cartas para educar a los patrones para usar la base de datos del Seguro Social y corregir errores en las cuentas de los trabajadores, y le avisan qué trabajadores tienen discrepancias en su información, para depositar las contribuciones del trabajador en las cuentas "correctas" de sus beneficios de Medicare, jubilación, pensión, y otros.

Las discrepancias pueden ser por errores de escritura, fechas de nacimiento equivocadas, cambios de nombre (como de soltera a casada y al revés), y muchos nombres y apellidos en idiomas extranjeros, y las cartas dicen que "esta carta no está relacionada con el permiso para trabajar o el estatus migratorio de sus trabajadores".

Le advierten al patrón "no usar esta carta para tomar alguna acción en contra de un trabajador, como descansarlo, suspenderlo, despedirlo o discriminar en su contra porque su número de Seguro Social o su nombre no coincide con nuestros datos. Cualesquiera de esas acciones podría, de hecho, violar leyes estatales y federales y hacerlo a usted legalmente responsable de las consecuencias". El Seguro Social asegura que no hay castigos, multas ni acciones contra los patrones que no respondan sus cartas. Es decir, el patrón no está obligado por ley a hacer nada.

Estado de Washington; y en Columbia Británica hay la rama de la Ciudad de Vancouver (9!) y la rama de la Isla de Vancouver (10!). Además, pronto van a solicitar una Carta oficial para una rama en Spokane, Washington. Tantas ramas en una sola región! Que peligroso para los jefes del Noroeste! Si yo fuera un empleador, pensaría en mudar mi empresa a una región menos Wobbly, como el espacio exterior!

CONSEJOS PARA ORGANIZAR

El departamento de organización del IWW se especializa en ayudar a trabajadores a organizar un sindicato en sus trabajos. Aquí te ofrecemos un par de consejos para tener en mente mientras organizas a tus colegas.

Que alguien se identifique con una tendencia política no significa que esté a favor o en contra de una campaña sindical en tu trabajo. A veces, las personas conservadoras resultan ser los miembros más militantes de un sindicato, y los de izquierda pueden ser poco fiables o menos activos. No te dejes llevar por lo que alguien dice, sino observa sus acciones y así decide si son personas con las que puedes organizar la campaña.

Empieza organizando las personas más diferentes a ti. Una vez que ellos/as formen parte del comité de organización, procede con las personas más similares a ti (aquellos/as que compartan tus ideas o se relacionan contigo). De esta forma, te aseguras que el comité no es solamente un grupo de amigos, sino que representa la diversidad de tu trabajo.

Crea una lista completa de todas las personas en tu trabajo, y arma un mapa social donde puedas marcar las relaciones que tengan tus colegas entre sí, y también las relaciones que existan con los jefes y la gerencia. Este mapa visual te ayuda a entender quién se junta con quién, quienes son amigos del jefe, y quienes influyen a otros.

Dibuja un mapa físico (básicamente un plano) de tu trabajo. Marca áreas importantes como la oficina del jefe, la sala de descanso, las cámaras, las puertas, etc. Tener una buena idea de cómo está físicamente organizado tu trabajo puede ayudar la campaña más tarde cuando lleven a cabo una acción. Por ejemplo, si deciden entregarle una demanda al jefe, tienen que saber exactamente dónde está, y qué puertas tienen que cubrir para que no huya. Si quieres más información sobre cómo organizar tu trabajo, contacta al comité de entrenamiento de organizadores por e-mail a: otc@iww.org.



RESCATE DE ARCHIVO: CARTA DE SOLIDARIDAD DE 1924

Les envío esta carta que un amigo jubilado, José Antonio, me hizo favor de compartir. El abuelo de este compañero andaba con los Flores Magón, el junto con otros compañeros del pueblo de Melchor Ocampo, en el Estado de México, tenían un sindicato campesino, su abuelo y su hermano tenían relaciones sindicales con la IWW. Aún no me ha contado toda la historia, pero me dijo que intentará escribirla, como parte de la historia de su familia con la revolución y el sindicalismo. Este miembro jubilado es parte de nuestro grupo de compañeros dentro de nuestro sindicato.

Esta es una carta de invitación a ser parte de la red IWW en México al sindicato de campesinos de Melchor Ocampo, organizado por los familiares de uno de nuestros compañeros.

Espero les sirva para que puedan publicar algo de la IWW en México en la década de 1920; supongo que ahí hay más historia que se puede rescatar, pero ya será algo que veremos en un futuro.

> Saludos. Victor

SOLIDARIDAD El Periódico de los Trabajadores P.O. Box 753 Chicago, Illinois Chicago Agosto de 1924.

Estimados compañeros, Salud;

Hace unos días os hemos mandado unos números de SOLIDARIDAD, periódico de los trabajadores y órgano de los Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo; o sean los I.W.W.

Tenemos la casi seguridad que habréis sentido nombrar a esta organización y de que tal vez tengáis ya formado vuestro concepto de ella. Ahora bien; cuál es ese concepto?

Mientras el nombre de los I.W.W. ha llegado a todos los confin del mundo, pocos, poquisimos, con los que tienen un conocimiento perfecto de lo que ellos son y de lo que quieren. Amigos y enemigos tanto en el campo burgués como en el campo obrero se han ocupado extensamente de nosotros, pero casi nadie nos presenta en la posición justa y verdadera.

Como os consideramos amantes de la verdad y de la emancipación de los de nuestra clase, creemos que

vosotros estaréis interesados en conocer a la organización que tanto ha dado que hablar y que tan poco conocida es.

En una circular no os podemos dar una extensa información de lo que son y lo que quieren los I.W.W., por lo que os aconsejamos os subscribáis a SOLIDARIDAD, leyendo la cual os podréis informar, y os adelantamos estos dos puntos de nuestras creencias y propósitos.

Nosotros creemos que la humanidad está dividida en dos clases, la de los ricos y la de los pobres. Estas dos clases no tienen nada en común entre sí más que una lucha a muerte, porque la clase rica que nada produce y que para nada es necesaria se apodera del producto del trabajo de la clase pobre, que es la que lo produce todo y vive en la miseria.

Nosotros creemos que tenemos un solo enemigo, el patrono. Si declaramos la guerra a muerte al patrono, cuando él desaparezca, desaparecerán con él todos los demás parásitos que le sostienen.

Los trabajadores, a nuestro entender, todos tenemos un interés común, el de librarnos de la explotación de que somos objeto. Por esto mismo ningún trabajador puede ser enemigo nuestro. Tanto si es católico como si es anarquista, es hermano nuestro en explotación; podremos no estar de acuerdo con él en la manera de pensar, pero es imprescindible que nosotros estemos de acuerdo con él, y él con nosotros, en la manera de librarnos del yugo capitalista.

Debemos pues de dejar a un lado las cosas, que en la apariencia, no tienen una relación directa con el problema económico, y concentrar todos nuestros esfuerzos por la unidad en el terreno económico; después al través de la lucha, esta nos demostrará que resolviendo el problema económico los hemos resuelto todos



La formación de UNA SOLA GRAN UNION de todos los trabajadores controlada por ellos mismos desde el trabajo, es la que resolverá todas nuestras dificultades.

Sabemos que no faltan los críticos que se declaran enemigos nuestros dentro del movimiento

obrero, por causas que no explican claro y que no son capaces de explicar inteligentemente.

Nosotros como declaramos, no consideramos ni podemos considerar a ningún trabajador enemigo nuestro; nuestro solo enemigo es el capitalista.

Para que puedan enterarse mejor de nuestro programa, les aconsejamos se subscriban a SOLIDARIDAD el único órgano en español en la prensa obrera que explica, sostiene y defiende el programa de los Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo.

En las planillas adjuntas encontrarán las condiciones de subscripción.

En espera de tener una más estrecha relación en el futuro quedamos vuestros por la emancipación de los trabajadores.

Adolfo García

Redactor de SOLIDARIDAD

Frank J. Guscetti

Administrador dimitente

GUERRA DE CLASES -EXTRACTO DE LOS IWW DE ESTAMBUL SOBRE LA INVASIÓN TURCA DE SIRIA.

Por: İWW İstanbul – Dünya Endüstri İşçileri

Traducción por: Adri Clemente, Juventudes Libertarias

Hacemos un llamamiento para todos los trabajadores – aquellos explotados bajo este sistema, que están siendo empobrecidos cada vez más y que están siendo enviados a morir – no para participar en esta guerra, sino para unirse en su contra.

Mientras la guerra se libra en Siria, cuyo único propósito es la muerte, la destrucción y la pobreza, el gobierno del AKP ha empezado una campaña de ocupación que solo seguirá sembrando la discordia en la zona. Como en la previa ocupación de Afrin, esta operación muestra que el pueblo Kurdo no preocupa a ninguna potencia imperialista, como Rusia o los Estados Unidos.

Esta actuación es una continuación del exterminio y la negación del estadoKurdo basada en el rechazo a una solución pacífica al conflicto, y es parte delas fantasías imperiales del AKP, que solo complicarán el problema Sirio. Laprovocación de Turquía, con la ayuda de otros países, ha forzado a máspersonas sirias a abandonar su país, desencadenando una nueva olamigratoria que imposibilita construir viviendas para refugiados que fueronevacuados de las región fronteriza. Es una locura.

Eliminar a los Kurdos de la zona fronteriza descarta la posibilidad de unaresolución pacífica del conflicto. Esto empeora aún más la guerra y soloaumenta las probabilidades de que el caos se siga extendiendo por el Oriente Medio.

Consecuentemente, el salario de los trabajadores ya ha empezado a ser recortado para financiar las operaciones de Turquía. El significado de esta operación es "¿conoce el precio de una bala?"

El creciente nacionalismo y la militarización de Turquía solo fortalecen el sistema capitalista y los patrones que lo dirigen. Esta actuación y la crisis que está creando debilitan nuestra lucha contra el capitalismo.

Estamos completamente en contra de esta operación, ya que significa más muerte y pobreza para nuestra clase. Condenamos todas las guerras entre naciones como parte de nuestro patrimonio histórico. Creemos que la lucha contra esta guerra, y contra la mentira de la unidad nacional que el conflicto intenta impulsar, forma parte del deber histórico de la clase trabajadora. ¡No tenemos intereses comunes con los patrones y los gobiernos a su servicio!

Además, los trabajadores turcos y miles de otras personas han perdido la vida, se están empobreciendo cada minuto y viven aterrorizados debido a la guerra siria. Para poner fin a esta guerra los trabajadores del mundo deben organizarse y moverse. Debemos oponernos firmemente a la política de los estados que provocan, profundizan y hacen aún más destructivas las guerras libradas para

los intereses de la clase dominante.

Hacemos un llamamiento para todos los trabajadores – aquellos explotados bajo este sistema, que están siendo empobrecidos cada vez más y que están siendo enviados a morir – no para participar en esta guerra, sino para unirse en su contra.

Es hora de hablar sobre lo que podemos hacer contra esta guerra desde nuestros talleres, cómo silenciar a los chovinistas, cómo vencer el olor a sangre nacionalista en el aire y cómo detener la guerra y mitigar sus efectos. Estamos organizando trabajadores contra la guerra.

INMEDIATAMENTE! IAHORA!



NEGOCIOS ORGANIZADOS POR EL IWW (2019):

Empresas Capitalistas y Organizaciones sin fines de lucro

Community Conservation Centers, Berkeley, CA
Berkeley Ecology Center, Berkeley, CA
Stonemountain and Daughter Fabrics, Berkeley, CA
UAW Locales 2865 y 5810, CA
Mobile Rail Solutions, Chicago, IL
Grassroots Campaigns, New Orleans, LA
Stardust Diner, New York, NY
Burgerville, Portland, OR
Little Big Burger, Portland, OR
Janus Youth Programs, Portland, OR
Call to Safety, Portland, OR
Scottie's Pizza Parlor, Portland OR

Negocios Cooperativos del Consumador (con jefes)

Takoma Park Silver Spring Co-op (supermercado), Washington DC Central Co-op (supermercado), Seattle, WA Dil Pickle Co-Op, Chicago IL

Negocios Cooperativos (sin jefes)

New Indicator Collective (publicación), San Diego, CA Baltimore Bicycle Works, Baltimore, MD Red Emma's Bookstore and Cafe, Baltimore, MD North Country Food Alliance, Minneapolis, MN Phoenix Mental Health, Minneapolis, MN Paper Crane Press, Philadelphia, PA

Negocios autónomos de nuestros miembros

Evergreen Printing, Oakland, CA Primal Screens Screen Printing, Portland, OR Professional Roofcare, Bellingham, WA



Jonathan Grant Phoenix, AZ

Yo soy un socialista democrática, y creo en la posibilidad de un mundo sin clases, donde la explotación de uno por un otro ha sido eliminado. Había leído del IWW en cuentas de historia, y yo entendía que esta organización, sin ser

conectado a partidos políticos, había hecho buenas obras en el pasado, pero creía que la organización era inmovil - es común oír, en los Estados Unidos, que los sindicatos no van a continuar en el siglo XXI. Por eso, cuando oí que un camarada quería crear una nueva sección del IWW, era escéptico. Pero cuando asistí el primero conocimiento del grupo, estuve sorprendido por la cantidad de personas que eran interesadas. Es claro que, en una época que ha visto un resurgimiento de grupos izquierdistas, el IWW todavía tiene un papel - para organizar la clase trabajadora.

Me interesa mucho la posibilidad de conocer miembros de la izquierda que creen en la posibilidad de introducir democracia en el sitio de trabajo, en cualquier forma. Tengo dudas que podamos avanzar metas igualitarias en nuestra sociedad sin avanzar, a la vez, la práctica de democracia en más formas que elecciones cada dos años. Un socialismo sin la democracia es, para mí, ni práctico ni deseable.

Cesar Montero Los Angeles, CA



Me uní al sindicato después de 8 años de ser amigo de IWW. Inicialmente, dudé en unirme porque no veía mucho más allá de las actividades subculturales activistas habituales, pero después de asistir a una capacitación para organizadores, pensé que era el momento adecuado para unirme.

Lo que más me gusta del sindicato es el hecho de que las personas están construyendo poder en sus lugares de trabajo fuera de las burocracias tradicionales de los sindicatos convencionales. La idea de que las personas pueden tomar decisiones sobre su lugar de trabajo sin tener que responder a un cuerpo más grande y que la autogestión es posible es atractiva.



SOLIDARIDAD

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SUBSCRIPTIONS, WRITINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND ART: IW@IWW.ORG

FOR FRANK TERUGGI

(Killed in Chile, Buried in Chicago)

A simple rose
a single candle
a black coffin
a few mourners
weeping;
for the unsung brave
who sing in the dark
who defy the colonels
and who know
a new world stirs.

Dennis Brutus

Originally published: UFAHAMU: A Journal of African Studies Volume 4, Issue 2, 1973.



"WHO'S WHO AND WHY"

STRONGER I.W.W. PRESS

Let's Strike Back

CAPITALIST

Our Country is Not Free

Our Country is not free
There is no liberty
Oh can't you see?
Our laws enthrone the rich
Workers die in the ditch
Our rights torn stich by stich
Oh can't you see?
Our country's been at war
Two hundred years or more
Oh can't you see?

Young ones off fighting wars
Their parents fought before
They're killed on foreign shores
Oh can't you see?
Land of the thin blue line
That tyrants hide behind
Oh can't you see?
Victimless crimes they soar
Cops with machines of war
Blood cries up from our soil
Oh can't you see?
Our prisons fill the land

Countless just like the sand
Oh can you see?
Our pris'ners work the land
Slave wage paid for their hands
Here's Egypt's final stand
Oh can't you see?
Here we must take a stand
Against the ruling class
Let freedom ring
Turn war machines to plows
Crush prisons to the ground
Freed captives sing out loud

Let freedom ring
Workers let us Unite
Push onward in the fight
Let freedom ring
Soon a new day will dawn
Future liberation
Shining bright as the sun
Let freedom ring

FW HAMMONDS • IU 610

Operative 100: The Snitch that Maimed Texas Socialism

Steve Rossignol

t is no secret that throughout American history, the labor movement has been infiltrated by L government and corporations. This private spying business had its roots with the Pinkerton private detective agency, which, after the Civil War, earned the reputation as a paid strikebreaker and union buster. The Pinkerton business model soon led to a proliferation of private detective agencies dedicated to the same goal of the destruction of the organized labor movement. American industrialists employed them in the quest for profit and at the expense of its workforce as the struggle between labor and capital intensified into sometimes bloody conflicts. It should also be noted that the information provided by those agencies and agents often proved to be full of misinformation. The conflicts between labor and capital continued to build to a head in the early years of the 20th century. Working and living conditions were getting worse, the American farmer was being reduced to farm tenancy, American capitalists absorbed more capital and entrenched themselves into an economic dictatorship, the militant Industrial Workers of the World organized and responded with energetic unionization efforts, a growing socialist political movement emerged to challenge this economic hierarchy, the United States was entering the global arena as a major political and economic player, and the rumblings of war started in Europe.

Operative 100 begins.

n San Antonio in early May 1917, Special Agent in Charge Robert L. Barnes of the Bureau of Investigation (the predecessor to today's FBI), received a communication from James McCane of the McCane Detective Agency in Houston. The letter, dated April 19 from the McCane Agency's "Operative 100", was presumably important enough for McCane to forward to the B of I several weeks after its initial writing.1 Operative 100's "Special Report" from Canton, Texas, talked about how he had attended a meeting of an organization called the Farmers and Laborers Protective Association of America His report begins with a verbatim transcript of the constitution and by-laws of the FLPA and then reports that "the Constitution seems very conservative, but the inside working of the order is extremely radical. They claim to have organized in five states and the latest report shows 120,000 members".2 Operative 100 continues by describing some of the Masonic-like rituals of the organization and depicts a cooperative buying policy to by-pass local merchants. He describes them as "against militarism and obligates them not to go to war", and to stand as a "compact body" and "fight not for the mast[er] class but to fight the battles of the working class." 3 He concludes his report with "the I.W.W's or the B.T. of Ws [Brotherhood of Timber Workers] are not in it."4

By most accounts the FLPA was first formed in Leuders, Texas in November of 1915, most likely as an offshoot of the Oklahoma-based Grower's Association,5 but also with influences from the Texas Farmers Union, the Texas Land League, and other smaller farmers' cooperative associations. Politically, it was primarily composed of impoverished tenant farmers who probably voted socialist, as it appears its local chapters were primarily in areas of relatively vocal socialist organization. Whether Operative 100 fabricated his claim of 120,000 FLPA members or whether he was misinformed is unclear; at the time of its persecution the FLPA membership most certainly never exceeded 10,000 members.⁶ Even while FLPA organizer George T. Bryant exaggerated membership figures to the tune of 50,000 at the November 2016 convention of the Texas Socialist Party, in February 2017 the organization only had 2300 paid members.7

Operative 100's statement that there were no members of the Industrial Workers of the World in the FLPA was also in error, as it has been documented that there were several, including FLPA organizer George L. Bryant, Will Bergfeldt, Guy Cooper, and R.W. Mills. Most telling is Operative 100's statement that there were "no B.T. of Ws" in the FLPA organization. The Brotherhood of Timber Workers in Louisiana and east Texas had pretty much dissolved by the spring of 1913 following the Grabow Massacre, the failure of the Merryville Strike, and retirement of BTW President Arthur Emerson for reasons of ill health. Why would Operative 100 have specifically mentioned this in his initial report, over four years after the demise of the BTW? There can only be one logical answer to this question.

As an employee of the McCane Detective Agency, Operative 100 was probably instructed by his employer to determine if there were any signs of resurgence of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers within the FLPA and he was reporting back on that specific enquiry. The McCane Detective Agency itself, as a private business, was more than likely retained by a corporate sponsor to determine any FLPA connections with the BTW. The corporate industrialist most logically to have specifically feared the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and the IWW would have been the Kirby Lumber Company. The Kirby Lumber Company was vehemently anti-union, and certainly made extensive use of private detective agencies to surveille the activities of the BTW, employing the services of the McCane Detective Agency and the Burns Detective Agency, as documented within the pages of its corporate archives.8 When the Kirby Company organized the Southern Lumber Operators Association in 1907, the expressed mission statement of the Association was to "resist any encroachment of organized labor."9 Operative 100 followed up his report of April 19th with an additional report he started on April 21st and completed on April 28th:



Today, I received information through reliable sources, of above organization, that at the last state convention, there was in the delegation, Miners, Railroad Trainmen, Factory workers, Lumberjacks, and Farmers. All pledged for the protection and common good of each craft.

I have also learned that in case of labor troubles, they plan to destroy banks, and other large business institutions, which exploit the working class. Also that plans are laid and being laid to dynamite banks and other institutions."¹⁰

bjectively, Operative 100's second report is dubious for a number of reasons, not the least being the reference to the unnamed "reliable sources" which tend to cloud any professional investigation. Additionally, the FLPA state Convention referenced in his report actually transpired in early February 1917, a couple of months prior to 100's report. ¹¹ (It should be noted here that the February convention declined to affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World

and passed a strongly worded anti-war resolution wherein it was declared they would "refuse to shoot our fellow man.")¹² The sudden mention of an organizational plot to dynamite banks and business institutions is also highly suspect, but would work within the Operative's testimony of corroborating with other spectacular labor cases of the time, including the Mooney case in California. ¹³

In the same report, Operative 100 declares that Tom Mooney is a member of the FLPA14, an outright fabrication. A much calmer third report filed by Operative 100 on April 24th reports that women were now admitted into the FLPA and that communications were to be undertaken by secret telegraph. He also reports that he was not elected to the upcoming FLPA Convention in Cisco on May 5th, having been defeated by four votes.15 The admission of women had actually occurred at the February convention.¹⁶ Apparently Special Agent Barnes in San Antonio had some questions about Operative 100's reports; Agent W. W. Green in Houston is instructed to contact the McCane Detective Agency to determine the identity of Operative 100. Green is met with an outright refusal: McCane declined to disclose the name of the operative or to approve any plan to have such operative report direct to Mr. Barnes or any other representative of the Department of Justice for the following reasons: 1) That if the operative should be compelled to come from under cover it might become necessary to give up his employment or leave this part of the country or to forfeit his life, as he believed that the organization named was a dangerous body of men; and 2) That the McCane Detective Agency is a private organization operated for profit, and that operative 100 is a paid employee of that agency. He stated that any further information furnished or investigation made would have to be a result of arrangements to be made with the agency as an organization or with Mr. McCane personally. For such service a fee would be charged of \$8 per day and expenses, and no time limit would be set on the time necessary to secure results from the investigation.¹⁷ Agent Green expressed his skepticism to Barnes: It seems to agent that this

LOOK! MPORTANT NOTICE

Woods and Mill Workers Are On A
STRIKE AT MERRYVILLE
Against the use of the Black List

Stay Away From Merryville
Stay Away From Their Gunmen
Stay Away From Its Stockades
Stay Away From Its Peonage
Stay Away And Tell Others To
Stay Away And We Will Win

Any Assistance or Publicity Given the Strike Will Help Us Win

I. W. W. Strike Committee

investigation could be made more economically through the services of an operative to be sent out from San Antonio to report directly to Mr. Barnes, than through the use of the McCane agency, and with as good results. It should not be difficult for such operative to get in touch with this association, if in fact it really exists; and such an arrangement would eliminate any possible profit to the McCane agency in case it should develop that this report is without real foundation of fact and merely devised for the purpose of securing a profitable job from the Government.¹⁸

The May 5th Convention of the FLPA was held as planned at Cisco. Paramount on all the delegates' minds was the current war fever which was spreading through the nation at the time. The socialist movement in Texas, of which the FLPA was peripherally a part, was adamantly against any sort of United States involvement in the overseas war. The United States entered the war on April 6th, but there was strong sentiment against US involvement, and sentiment was especially vocal against the idea of a national conscription to fight the war. Delegates were instructed by FLPA Secretary Samuel J. Powell to decide "on what effort you want to take in our effort to defeat conscription."19 A "majority report" was introduced at the convention to urge the FLPA to take up arms and forcibly resist the draft, but the Convention ultimately voted for a "minority report" which called for a conference with other labor organizations and to refuse to sell crops to war speculators.²⁰ While there were no doubt hotheads in the FLPA who preached a militant opposition to the upcoming Selective Service Law, it must be emphasized that the FLPA as an organization did not advocate violence against the United States government nor corporate business. Meanwhile, Special Agent Barnes had taken Operative 100's inflammatory reports seriously enough to begin a B of I investigation into the purported allegations concerning the FLPA; he forwarded that information to the U. S. Attorney's office in Fort Worth. On May 8, Agent B. C. Baldwin reported that there was no charter or permit for the FLPA at the Texas Secretary of State's Office, and that the Secretary of State had no record of the organization.²¹ The previous day on May 7, the new U. S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas, Wilmot C. Odell, immediately answered Barnes, calling for an immediate investigation into the FLPA with the intent of obtaining grand jury indictments the following week, and to obtain the needed witnesses for those indictments.²² Odell's enthusiasm for prosecution was more than likely encouraged by a letter forwarded to his office on May 5th by Special Agent Barnes via Agent Will Green from the Postmaster of Cisco, R. A. St. John:

There are secret societies meeting all over this section of the country. They held a closed door convention here today. I am told that most of them are socialists. They are creating a systematic way opposition to conscription... I am sure that if this disloyalty is not checked that harm to our government will follow...Please answer promptly, I am anxious to do my whole duty.²³

Odell's case for prosecution was also presented in a letter on May 15th to U. S. Attorney General

Thomas Watt Gregory, which seemed to echo many of the allegations made in Operative 100's report of April 21st:



Concerning my letter May tenth regarding farmers and laborers protective association. Have absolute and conclusive evidence of well organized force throughout west Texas to forcibly resist conscription. State meeting held at Cisco, May fifth, with delegates from many Texas counties. Organization perfected.

Officers selected. Killing of conscription officers, destruction factories, bridges, and other property, advocated with [–] of violence against anyone disclosing purposes of organization. Members have been buying high power rifles and ammunition. Much uneasiness is aroused in communities where purposes organization are becoming known and some of informers think are in actual danger. Believe leaders should be indicted if possible with wide publicity, regardless of jurisdiction, this division, and re-indicted at Abilene if necessary. In view of importance and urgency would like to have your views as to best course to pursue."²⁴

he investigations against the FLPA began in earnest with the Bureau of Investigation now doing most of the leg work. A directive had been issued by the Assistant Postmaster General in Washington instructing local postmasters to surveille the mails to obtain more evidence on the FLPA.²⁵ The names of FLPA members were collected and their interrogations began.

Odell was concerned with finding the correct charges for which to indict the members of the FLPA. There was some discussion on whether the Neutrality Act could be used, or whether existing conspiracy laws could be applied. Unlawful assembly was another possible charge. After all, it would be difficult to prosecute for talking out against conscription if there were not a conscription law on the books. This issue was solved by the passage of the long-awaited Selective Service Act on May 18, 1917. It should be noted that the Selective Service Act did not prescribe any criminal penalties for speaking out against the draft or organizing against the draft. The only criminal penalties mentioned in the Act were for non-registration, punishable by a misdemeanor charge of one year imprisonment.26 The Espionage Act, passed by Congress on June 5th, would criminalize anti-war dissent and opposition to the draft. On May 19th, the day after the enactment of the Selective Service Act, Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas, William E. Allen, announced the discovery of a massive conspiracy to resist the draft on the part of the FLPA.²⁷

The "wide publicity" that Odell had mentioned in his letter to U.S. Attorney General Gregory had gone into effect.²⁸ The newspaper coverage extended nationwide. The New York Times reported that "The anarchists, the I.W.W. people, the always hustling, noisy advocates of disorder... are doing their best to encourage and organize resistance to conscription....The hour of patience is past. The hour of punishment, swift, implacable, just, is come."²⁹ The purge of the Texas socialist movement had begun.

he first indictments from the federal grand jury in San Angelo came in the evening of May 18th, just hours after the passage of the Selective Service Act. In the following days, hundreds of socialists, Wobblies, and FLPA members were arrested statewide, including Texas Socialist Party secretary William Thomas Webb, Socialist Legislative candidate J. L. Taff of Gilmer, FLPA organizer George L. Bryant, Wobblies R. L. Mills and Will Bergfeldt, and Socialist Party of Texas organizer Thomas A. Hickey, editor of the socialist newspaper The Rebel. Operative 100 was modest in his role as promoter of the initial investigation:

What I meant in previous report about keeping my name secret was not to let it out to the public. Press reports has given a Jones County man the credit.

That suits me O.K."30

Operative 100 also contributed to the FLPA round-up by providing the names of the members of his own and other FLPA locals, but stated that a lot of the rumors were "just idle talk started in a jocular way." In his report of July 9th, Operative 100 may have accidently identified himself as the Secretary of FLPA Local #101 in Canton. This post would have put him in a position to monitor FLPA correspondence, activities, and membership, and which would have justified his position as an undercover operative. In any event, by May 22nd James McCane had released Operative 100's identity to the Bureau of Investigation:

Mr. McCane came through this morning with the name and address of Operative 100, which has heretofore been refused.

The name is G.E. Mabry, Canton, Texas.
Mr. McCane states that this man has formerly been employed by the Wm. J Burns
Detective Agency, but that this is the first time he has ever been employed by the McCane Agency.
No money has been paid him so far in connection with this case. Mr. Mabry is a farmer and is very busy at the present with his crops." 33

Operative 100 was then released by the McCane Agency to be hired by the Bureau of Investigation.34 McCane had previously stated that Operative 100 was a paid employee of the McCane agency, but inconsistently suggests in his remarks to Agent Green that no pay was given to Operative 100. Giles Earl Mabry, Operative 100 of the McCane Detective Agency, was born March 12, 1889, in Stokes Township, Madison County, Ohio, the son of Earl V. Mabry and Mary Katherine "Massie" Cruise Mabry. He is living with his father and younger brother and sister in Burleson County, Texas, by 1910. His older brother, Liskie Terrence Mabry, was born in Virginia in August 1875. In 1912 older brother Liskie was employed as a private detective with the William J. Burns Detective Agency and the McCane Detective Agency in Louisiana. He was retained in that role as an undercover operative for the Kirby Lumber Company/Southern Lumber Operators Association. In his capacity as that operative, he joined the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in 1911 and infiltrated the inner ranks of the BTW as a statewide organizer for the BTW35 and provided regular reports to corporate management.³⁶ One of

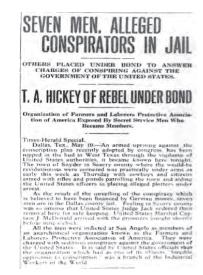
Liskie Mabry's exploits is particularly descriptive as it portrays how he and another "Operative 6" (presumably one "Hutchinson")³⁷ engineered the drunkenness of BTW organizer J. F. Cox into making statements in front of pre-arranged company witness about dynamiting the lumber mills at Warren. Operative 6 reported:

Why not blow up the whole saw mill?" Mabry is reported as prompting. "Mabry and I have all our plans laid out for this stunt coming off at Warren, Texas, and put them up to Manager J. H. Baber, who approved same." 38

iskie Mabry was called as the star prosecution witness for the trial of the 59 BTW unionists Ifollowing the deadly gunfight at Grabow, Louisiana on July 7, 1912 which killed six people, admitting to his undercover role, but swearing he had never organized the Timber Workers with the intent of betraying them. He also testified that he did not know if his brother Giles was a detective or not.39 Fellow Burns detective Tom Harrell also testified for the prosecution; Harrell had previously boasted about giving "a good beating" to I.W.W. Organizer E.F. Doree. 40 Giles Mabry was more than likely also employed by the Burns Agency at that time, in spite of Liskie Mabry's testimony. One of the aliases Giles Earl Mabry used in his lifetime was Earl Giles Wilson;⁴¹ there is a record of an operative named Wilson employed by the McCane agency for the Kirby Lumber Company. 42 On January 6, 1913, Liskie Mabry, acting as a Burns detective, was arrested in connection with a plot to kidnap and possibly murder I.W.W. organizer Covington Hall in New Orleans.43

The connection of the two Mabry brothers as detectives in the same agencies in the same area more than coincidentally seems to indicate that their undercover employment was underwritten by the Kirby Lumber Company. In this analysis, it appears that the destruction of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, as well as the destruction of the Farmers and Laborers Protective Association and correspondingly the Socialist Party in Texas, was a conscious effort initialized and orchestrated by corporate interests. One of the defense attorneys for the FLPA, William B. Atwell (formerly the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas and later a federal judge for the Northern District) speculated as much when he stated that the National Association of Manufacturers might have been behind the effort to dismantle the FLPA. 44 In 1911 the President of NAM was John Henry Kirby of the Kirby Lumber Co. 45 The government conspiracy case against the FLPA soon fizzled as it proved to be unsubstantiated. Of the hundreds of arrests made in May and June, only 55 indictments were returned. During the month-long trial in Abilene in September, the vast majority of the charges against the FLPA defendants were dismissed. Only three FLPA officers were eventually convicted on conspiracy charges—organizer George T. Bryant, Secretary Samuel J Powell, and President Zeph L. Risely. They were each sentenced to six years imprisonment.46

he damage had been done. The FLPA pretty much evaporated, as did the Texas Socialist Party. Operative Giles Mabry continued



his reports. On May 29, according to Agent W. W. Green in Houston, he has reported to the McCane agency and requested that "nobody be sent to Canton to meet him" as "the Lodge in Canton had been disbanded and his source of information cut off." As an afterthought, Green adds that "Mabry also stated that he was informed that a lot of guns and ammunition was stored at Thurber, Texas." The Bureau of Investigation on June 2 did not find any "intention on the part of members of the F. & L.P.A. at Thurber to oppose registration and conscription." 48

On June 26 Mabry wrote that "some believe that the radical actions of some of the general membership was brought on by German influence". His report was forwarded to Barnes via the McCane Agency, which suggests he may have still been on the McCane payroll, and implies that he may have been "double billing" the U. S. Government as well the McCane Agency. ⁴⁹ By June 26th, it appeared that the B of I no longer had any immediate need for Mabry's services. Mabry followed up on that with a telegram stating, "Mabry here. If wanted elsewhere same connection can report." He was called in to Dallas for a "consultation" as to what might be next. ⁵⁰

ollowing his consultation in Dallas, Mabry, also through the McCane Agency, expressed his willingness to possibly take a position out west, perhaps in Arizona. "An operation there would please me." But Mabry stated that he would not care to do open work in this case [the FLPA investigations], adding that "covered work would bring the best results."51 Mabry's willingness to have an assignment in Arizona may have been influenced by the fact that his brother Liskie was then living in Bisbee, employed as a miner⁵² and presumably involved in undercover detective work there. The Bureau of Investigation assignment might have been in conjunction with the I.W.W strike against the Phelps Dodge Mining Company. The infamous Bisbee forced deportation of 1186 Wobblies was to begin on July 12, 1917, about two weeks after Giles Mabry's letter. It is uncertain whether Mabry did go to Arizona.53 If he had been "busy with his crops", as previously stated, he may not have been finished on his farm in time to operate before the Bisbee deportation. For the next few weeks, he continues to send reports concerning the FLPA from Canton using his actual name of G. E. Mabry. On August 8, he reports from Thurber about how he is unable to obtain any information;54 his report from Strawn

on the 10th is similar.55 On August 11 Mabry is instructed to proceed to Ft. Worth to meet with the U. S. attorney, presumably in preparation for the FLPA trials;⁵⁶ on August 14th Mabry is back in Dallas, tracking down draft resisters;⁵⁷ on August 22 there is a report of a conversation with a neighbor.

Mabry's input with the Bureau of Investigation appeared to be waning in the latter months of 1917. He reported on another conversation with his FLPA neighbor on September 2; Mabry's report of September 13th to the B of I attempted to revive some of his previous missives, talking about "plans already layed [sic] to blow up rail way bridges and big business in general", but the person who gives him this information "did not devulge [sic] this mans name" who was the source.⁵⁹ November 30th he reported on a FLPA fundraising appeal letter for the convicted members of the FLPA, while warning of plots by the "radical element of the Socialist Party... I am also acquainted with some of the leading members of the Socialist Party."60 The Bureau files seem to be silent as to Giles Earl Mabry after this last report. There are some B of I files which talk of an "Operative 100" investigating the alleged prohibited sale of liquor to servicemen in New Orleans in February, 1918, and another report on April 24th, 1918 from an Operative 100 in San Francisco investigating a "pro-German" dentist, but whether this is Mabry is uncertain.⁶¹ In 1930 Mabry is in California with his wife Effie and five children, using his "Earl Giles Wilson" alias. He died May 11, 1943 in Imperial, California and is buried at Evergreen Cemetery in El Centro. His death certificate and headstone both use his alias. Earl Giles Wilson/Giles Earl Mabry's older brother

Liskie T. Mabry also continued his migration west to California via Roswell, New Mexico, where his son Liskie Tildon Mabry is born on October 21, 1913. The elder Liskie died in April, 1932, and is buried at the Nixon Cemetery in Charleston, Arkansas. 63 Earl Giles Wilson/Giles Earl Mabry's career as an private undercover detective operating as a paid informant for anti-union corporate interests most certainly had a devastating effect on the progressive forces of Texas socialism and the Texas labor movement. Even while a war-time hysteria may have influenced attitudes of patriotism in the state, his reports with misleading and nebulous misrepresentations had the additional effect of adding literal fuel to the flames. As Texas seems to have been one of the first places in the country in which the crackdown on anti-war dissent seems to have occurred, it is probably not hyperbole to state that Operative 100's role in all of this may have served as the prototype for the suppression of dissent in the rest of the nation.

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Labor activists Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were convicted of the July 22, 1916 Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco, in a case which allegedly involved provocateurs. Mooney was fully pardoned in 1939.
 Special Report", April 21, 1917.
 Jibid, April 24th, 1917
 Wilson, ap. 16
 Wilson, ap. 16

- 15...lbid, April 24th, 1917

 16...Wilson, p 10.

 17...WW. Green to R.L. Barnes, May 5, 1917, Old German Files, Bureau of Investigation 18...lbid.

 19..."Letter of S. J. Powell to FLPA Locals", April 17, 1917, cited in Wilson, p. 13

 20...Wilson, p. 14.

 21...B C Baldwin to R L Barnes, May 8, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

 22...W C Odd! to R.L Barnes, May 77, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

 23...R A St. John to R L Barnes, May 5th, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

 24. W C Odd! to Autorney General, May 15, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

 25...C B Anderson, Inspector in Charge, to R L Barnes, May 22, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

- C. D. Anderson, inspector. in Comp. of the Bles.
 Section 5, Selective Draft Law, Public #12 65th Congress, HR 3545, May 18th, 1917.
 "Staggering Plot of Conspiracy Against the US Discovered", San Angelo Weekly Standard

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 6... Section 5, Selective Draft Law, Public #12 65th Congress, HR 3545, May 18th, 1917.
 27... "Staggering Plot of Conspiracy Against the US Discovered", San Angelo Weekly Standard, May 20th, 1917.
 28... As asmple of the headlines from the newspapers of the day reflect the media campaign that was waged by the Department of Justice.
 29... "The Anti-Conscriptionists", The New York Times, May 31, 1917.
 30... "Special Report. #100-1917, Farmers and Laborers Protective Association. Investigation", Operative 100, June 8, 1917. p. 2, Bureau of Investigation files.
 31... Bid, also "Special Report", Operative 100, July 9th, 1917.
 32... "Special Report", Operative 100, July 9th, 1917.
 33... W. W. Green to R. L. Barnes, May 25, 1917. Bureau of Investigation files.
 34... James McCane to Robert L. Barnes, June 9, 1917. Also Robert L. Barnes to G. E. Mabry, June 6, 1917. Bureau of Investigation files and R. L. Barnes to Agent Charles Breniman, June 9, 1917. Barnes specifically instructs Breniman to employ Mabry as an individual and not as a member of the detective agency.
 35... The East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture 1870-1950, Ruth Alice Canter. Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogodoches, Texas Outhern Lumber Company Records, Box 199, Folders 1,2,34, et. seq., East Texas Research Center. Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogodoches, Texas Southern Lumber Operators Association, February 12, 1912, in the Kirby Papers.
 30... CP. Phyers, Manger Mills and Logging, Kirby Lumber Con, to M. L. Alexander, Manager, Southern Lumber Operators Association, February 12, 1912, in the Kirby Papers.
 30... The Rebel, Vol. 2, #7, November 2, 1912, p. 3
 40... Operative 3, (E. J. Franz), Silsbe, Texas, Crotober 21, 1912. Kirby Papers.
 41... https://www.ancestry.com/mediaui-viewer/tree/115199803/person/270137985065/media/cbe33de-ybch8-455-e-163-2e019488a7342-phsrc-ysj37&_phstart-successSource, accessed June 24, 2019

- the Bortland Operative 100 does not coincide with that of Mabry.

 54. G. E. Mabry to W. E. Allen, Thurber, Texas, August 8, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files.

 55. ...Bid, August 10, 1917.

 56. ...Report of Agent Charles E. Breniman, August 11, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files.

 57. ...G. E. Mabry to W. E. Allen, In Re A E Lowe, Alleged Slacker, August 14, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files.

 58. ...Report of Agent E. M. Spencer, In Re Farmers and Laborers protective Association, September 4, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files

 59. ...G. E. Mabry to G. E. Bereniman, Canton Texas, September 13, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files.

 60. ...G. E. Mabry to Robert L. Barnes, Canton, Texas, November 30, 1917, Bureau of Investigation files.

 61. ...Report of American Protective Leagus #2, February 9, 1918, Bureau of Investigation files also Reports of February 26 and April 14, 1918.

 62. ...https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/187151238/earl-g_-wilson , accessed June 24, 2019

- 63...https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/45632288/liskie-t-mabry , accessed June 25, 2019

Factors that Set the Pace of Workplace Organizing

Political organizing can sometimes feel like going over a waterfall. Things move too fast and there are a hundred things running through your mind. This is the kind of organizing we're often told stories about in media and which many of us try to emulate, consciously or not. Other times, organizing can feel like sailing across the ocean with only the faintest breeze. You think through every possibility of how to speed things up but the situation dictates that you take a more steady approach.

I've had more than a few unflattering stray thoughts comparing the slow pace of organizing at my work with the pace of organizing at other people's workplaces. But if your organizing isn't the spitting image of impending revolution, that's actually ok. If you're putting in the effort and seeing progress, even if slow, your organizing can be as valuable as any other organizing.

Labor organizing with the goal of building a committee of workers at the workplace who are willing to take action is a slower kind of organizing than in other forms of political struggle. I've been part of numerous community campaigns that either had shorter-term goals or that were largescale mobilizations in reaction to some horrible policy or event. In all of those cases, whether they succeeded or failed, big things happened quickly. A typical campaign like this might look like a bunch of protestors showing up to a public government meeting to protest. With enough people, enough energy, and the willingness to keep going to meetings to disrupt them until a demand is met, this can be a very effective way to win short-term gains. The flip side of this kind of organizing is that the campaigns and groups that come together quickly and burn bright tend to do so for not very long. Talking with coworkers about workplace issues can be a long, gradual, and very rewarding experience.

This kind of organizing is less about raw numbers and intensity of energy over a short time frame and is more about building up trusting relationships with coworkers over months and years that then form the basis for political action at the workplace. Quick and large campaigns tend to mobilize those people who are already passionate about an issue, while slow and steady campaigns tend to be about reaching out to people negatively affected by but not presently active around an issue and working with them gradually to come up to collective solutions to the problem. This kind of problem-solving is inherently politicizing for many. While slower organizing is less likely to win big demands quickly, it has the immense benefit of bringing more people into and thus growing our political movements instead of just re-mobilizing the same people protest after protest.

While workplace organizing of this kind is more akin to racing as the tortoise than the hare, it can be made even slower still by the particular conditions of your job. Your specific workplace conditions set the pace that your organizing takes. Slower organizing is not less valuable than faster organizing, and the same approach can't be taken in all conditions and we shouldn't expect that it could.

From surveying workplace campaigns over the years and looking at my own organizing, I've compiled an informal list of factors that seem to set the pace of workplace organizing. Many of these factors overlap with each other but are also partially distinct. With a better understanding of organizing at our workplaces, we can set more realistic and helpful expectations and goals.

Your Boss

It's the boss who has the mostly unilateral authority to determine job tasks, working conditions, and punishments and rewards for workers. What workers

think of their boss is perhaps the main, though not necessarily dominant, determinant of whether workers are interested in organizing. How your boss approaches the workplace has everything to do with how you should approach the workplace as an organizer, including how quickly you proceed. (Hot shops are workplaces where people are especially agitated with a significant number of the staff ready to either take militant action like walk out on strike or to just quit in frustration. The dynamics at play in hot shops are complex and a whole other beast than I can get into here. In this article, I stick to organizing campaigns that move slowly or quickly but ignore the explosive situations in hot shops.) Among the most important aspects of the boss that the workers are impacted by is their personality. Are they kind, mean, open and honest, passive aggressive?

In addition to the boss's personality, the other main aspect that workers experience is their management style. Do they give workers a lot of room to do their work, do they micromanage, are they egoistic, do they put in work too, do they claim credit for more or less than they do, are they competent at their job? Bad bosses are the antagonist of most dramatic organizing stories. Getting coworkers to think seriously about their stake in having respect on the job is often the kindling for a big campaign that can be started sooner than later. The usual workplace organizing playbook is designed mostly with this situation in mind.

I have a friend organizing in a large workplace where the boss is a cartoon villain. The boss communicates with staff mostly through assistant supervisors, doesn't make eye contact with most staff, rarely talks with most of them, is widely viewed as just not being that good at her job, and takes every opportunity she can to cut corners on employee working conditions and pay. While that makes the job a stressful place to work, it also makes it relatively clear whose interests the boss represents, which is a crucial point in talking with coworkers to take action to improve conditions. If your boss is nice and competent, your organizing is likely to take a different path. In those cases, trying to tell your coworkers why they don't like their boss when they, in fact, don't think that is a losing strategy. So if your workplace is so perfect that you wouldn't change anything, congrats! But for the vast majority of people with nice bosses, there's still plenty of problems in the form of low wages, lack of essential benefits like health care, understaffing, overworking, poor training, safety problems, discrimination and microaggressions, and so on. In the nice boss situation, you have to take a somewhat more circuitous route of building relationships with people, helping people care about how they're treated, and working with them to take action in spite of having a nice boss. This is frankly a more gradual process than one where you can polarize a workplace against the image of the bad boss and bad working conditions together. It's not necessarily any more difficult than organizing against a bad boss, but it probably will take longer and you will have to be creative in finding ways to build up a committee of workers on the job willing to take

How exactly to organize against a nice boss deserves its own blog post, but here I just want to note its effect on the speed of your organizing.

The Level of Open Agitation among Coworkers

If people at work are openly upset about working conditions, that's often a starting point for talking about organizing. If your coworkers don't talk openly about workplace problems or find ways to "get by" without bringing them up or thinking about them, organizing then often takes the form of more slowly building trusting relationships with coworkers to the point where they do feel comfortable talking about what things affect them at work.

I talk about how to build relationships with coworkers in this other blog post, but here I just want to point out how this can be a longer organizing game than where people are ranting in the breakroom about Phil being the worst boss on the planet.

Staff Turnover

Staff turnover at a job can be due to all sorts of reasons. It might be due to bad working conditions, it might be because the job is seen by many as a short-term gig or some other reason. At a previous job of mine, every one of my coworkers was either doing it on the side while in college or were planning on going back to school soon. Whatever the reason, there's a sweet spot of staff turnover that lends itself to a quicker pace of organizing. If the turnover at a job is too high, say workers stay less than a year on average, it can be hard to build up the relationships and skill sets necessary to build up coworkers as strong organizers in their own right before they leave. If the staff turnover is too low, and workers stay at the job for 8+ years, then it can be difficult for an organizer to gain the respect and trust of long-time coworkers over a shorter time frame. Also, workers who have been around a long time are often more set in their ways, think they know everything, or have come up with ingrained and sophisticated coping strategies that are difficult to change.

I'd say a workplace where workers stay an average of 3-ish years is ideal for quickly building up a robust and sustainable organizing committee. This isn't to say that high- or low-turnover workplaces are impossible, only that in a high turnover workplace it can take a while to find an organizing partner(s) interested in being around for long enough to have an impact. In a low-turnover workplace, you have to put the years in to really establish your relationships with coworkers and build up your presence. Turnover rate helps set the pace.

Job Security

If people feel relatively secure in keeping their job, this can embolden them to take organizing more seriously and be willing to take action that might otherwise have greater risks in some other workplace. One thing that can help with this is having a mainstream union, knowing that it's usually harder to fire someone for organizing when a workplace has a contract. A tight job market or someone's strategic position in a company can also contribute to increased job security. Organizing always entails risks, but if the risks are a little lower, then people can more easily and sooner take action to make things better.

How Social People Are at Work

If workers get along with each other at work and there's already a good foundation of friendliness and solidarity between coworkers, this can speed up considerably the relationship-building component of organizing. On the other hand, if workers keep to themselves, you'll have to put more time into first creating those connections that are essential for organizing.

Having an Organizing Buddy Early On

This last one is cheating a little bit because it's not a workplace condition like the others above but has to do with your coworker relationships over which you have more immediate control. But I feel like including it because it can greatly accelerate your organizing.

Starting to organize at work by oneself is a difficult task. When it's done successfully it's kind of a wonder to behold because organizing a workplace is so complex and can take a long time depending on the other factors noted above.

But if you have an organizing partner in crime, especially early on, you have that much more organizing capacity, that much more mutual support, that much more time to come up with and bounce ideas off each other. The usual organizing steps can be walked through that much faster. Finding an organizing buddy early on is usually due to at least a little pure luck, which is why I think it belongs partly to workplace conditions. You either find someone else at work with an existing interest in and some experience with organizing or maybe you and a fellow organizer both get jobs intentionally around the same time at the same workplace.

Conclusion

An incredible amount of my own growth as an organizer has been figuring out how and why my own experience has been different from those I've read about and talked to. The realization that there are factors in the workplace that set the pace of organizing has been very useful for me. I no longer see my own efforts in so negative a light for not having been as quick to organize as others. Besides sustaining my self-confidence, this has helped me gauge my mindset to the particulars of the workplace I'm at. Putting a relative time frame on my organizing trajectory keeps my mind on my goals and helps me properly assess how it's going. Assessing one's organizing at the right time-scale prevents one from either frantically changing strategies too frequently in such a way that prevents anyone from having a chance to succeed and from staying the course on a strategy long after it's stopped producing results.

I've had to unlearn the relatively lightning pace of activism that I've been accustomed to in past non-workplace based organizing campaigns I've been a part of. Now I can think about building up a workplace organizing committee at work over a few years and feel good about that time frame. While the fruits ripen more slowly, I wouldn't be doing this if I also didn't think the payoffs were higher.



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