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Industrial Worker

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SUMMER 2017 #1780 VOLUME 114 NO. 3 $4 (U.S. IWW members) / $6 (U.S. non-members) / $7 (International)

BISBEE

THE WORKING CLASS & THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COM MON. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE AS LONG AS HUNG ER & WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE & THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE

7.12.17

★I★W★W

Bisbee Deportation: Miners detained in baseball park, July 12, 1917 in Bisbee, Arizona. Photographer unknown. Preamble medallion by artist Laurie McKenna.

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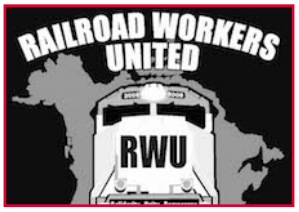

The Voice of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

Industrial Worker

Official periodical of the
Industrial Workers of the World
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Cover Photo: Photograph scan created by Arizona Historical Society. Striking miners and others rounded up by the armed posse on July 12, 1917, sit in the bleachers in Warren Ballpark. Armed members of the posse patrol the infield.

Printer:
Sommers and Fahrenbach, Inc.
Chicago, IL

Next Submission Deadline: September 20, 2017

U.S. IW Mailing Address:
Industrial Worker
Post Office Box 180195,
Chicago, IL 60618

ISSN 0019-8870

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

Subscriptions
Electronic subscription for IWW members: Free
Annual print subscription rate:
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Annual bundle subscription of 5 copies (20 total):
- U.S. Subscriptions: $60 USD
- International Subscriptions: $80 USD

Published quarterly in the winter, spring, summer, and fall.

Articles not so designated do not reflect the IWW's official position.

Press Date: July 25, 2017

Regarding the article on Direct Action in the [May Day] issue of the *Industrial Worker* I would like to take exception to the author's definition.

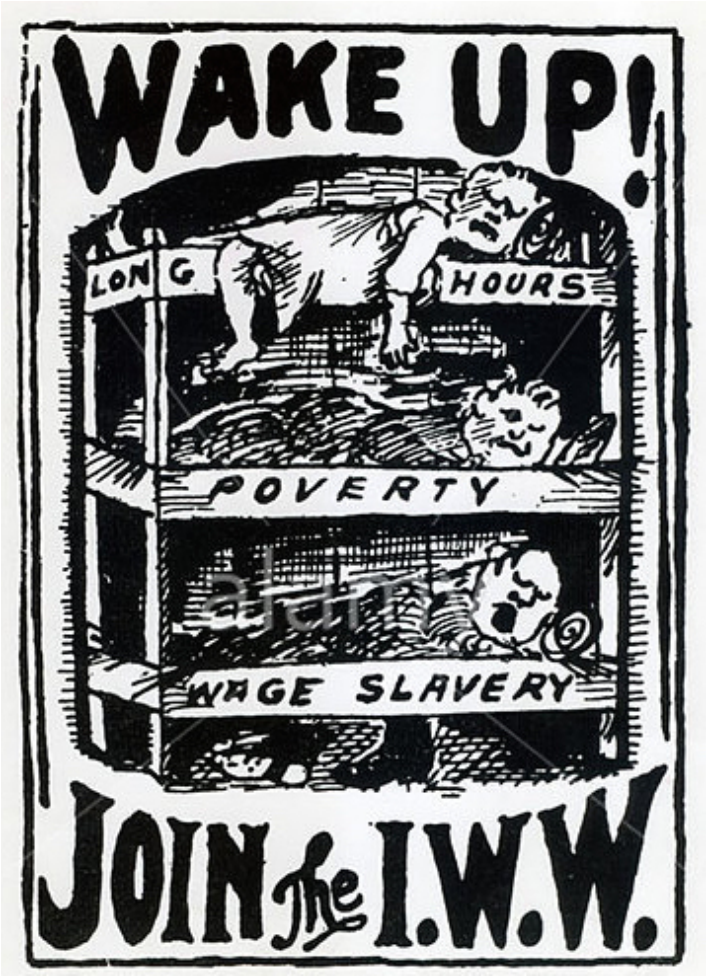
Direct action as seen by [our] union can be defined as the use of any tool, tactic or strategy that workers can control themselves. It means using tactics which directly address the issue. It is straight forward and simple. It succeeds or fails according to how good the idea is, how forcefully it is applied, and how appropriate it is to the situation.

Voting for candidates who promise to fix problems is not direct action. To strike, to slow down, to sit down on the job are direct actions. To walk the picket line with a fellow worker from a different trade, from a different shop, from a different nation is direct action. To symbolically protest by hanging signs on coat-hangers on a fence in hopes that it will build support or sympathy for a cause is in no way direct action regardless of the validity of the protest.
for the works
DJ Alperovitz

I was really confounded by the 'Coat-Hanger Direct Action' article in the last *IW*. That was not direct action, no matter how described by the well-meaning author. It was a political protest. Yes, it did help get results but they were legislative, not economic. In IWW we use 'direct action' to refer to actions taken directly against the boss to assert worker control in the workplace and gain improved conditions on the job. We should never use the term to refer to political protest directed at legislation; that only waters down our message and our own usage. IWW produces a pamphlet called "Direct Action" and it makes no reference to political protests, only to work-to-rule, slowdowns, quickie strikes, sick-ins, etc. Our One Big Union booklet discusses Direct Action specifically as economic. I have never heard the term used in any IWW publication to refer to anything else. Others may use the term in different ways to include marches, hanging signs on fences, or political occupations. Martin Luther King famously used it to refer to a situation where a crisis was created in order to demand a response. Fair enough, but that is too vague for the purposes of worker actions and for IWW specifically. With IWW membership growing so rapidly, I think it is important for IWW publications to use consistent messaging and to be thoroughly versed in IWW practice and policy, so that's why I'm writing. Wobblies should know what they mean when they say 'direct action'. Please be more careful with how terms are used. Actions speak louder than words, but words also speak, particularly when we control our own press.
For the OBU,
x331980

Dear Fellow Workers:

President Harry S. Truman proposed National Health Insurance in 1945, plus giving adequate medical facilities throughout the country, including rural areas and so-called disadvantaged areas in our cities. Additionally he wrote about "Safe water systems, sewage disposal plants and sanitary facilities" throughout the nation. Not only do we not have that, but Flint, Michigan has had a crisis of unsafe and unhealthy water due to a terrible "Emergency Manager" law and false economy. And the nation has put up [with it] for a long time.
In solidarity,
Raymond S. Solomon **IW**



GCI NLRB win

June 4, 2017
Fellow Workers,

On behalf of the Ypsilanti GMB, I am proud to announce the NLRB election win that they are enjoying as of Friday against Grassroots Campaigns Inc. (GCI). Their election victory today means that the IWW now has another federally recognized union shop!

I wish to wholeheartedly congratulate the fellow workers at GCI and in Ypsilanti on their stunning success! Their victory is representative of what we can do when we stand in solidarity with one another.

For the Growth and Prosperity of the One Big Union,

Derek Milbocker
Branch Secretary-Treasurer
IWW Detroit GMB

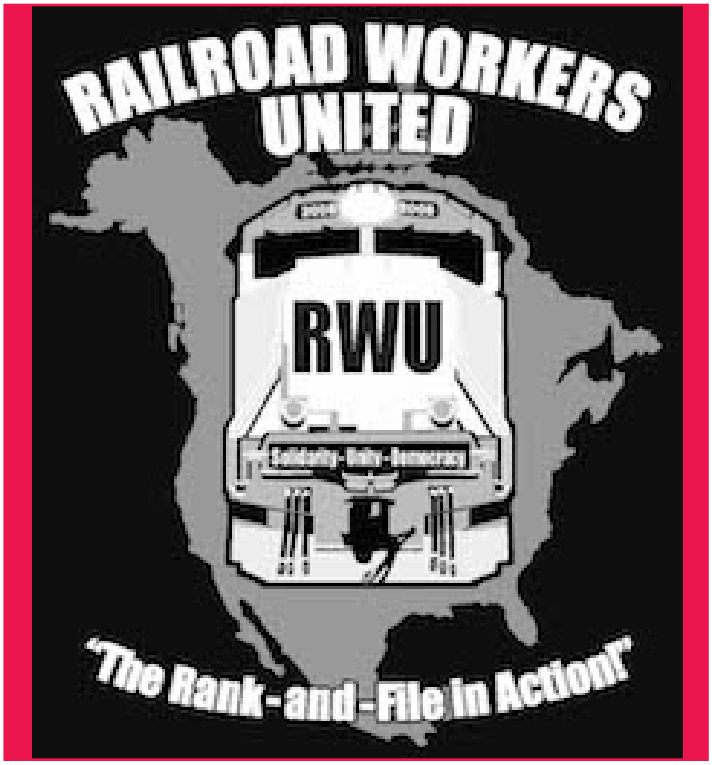
An open letter to our allies in the fight for safe rails and a sustainable environment

July 6th marked four years since a runaway train carrying volatile Bakken crude crashed and burned in the small town of Lac-Mégantic, Quebec, killing 47 and destroying half the town. It's time to recommit to making sure tragedies like this don't happen again. It's also the right time to speak up against the criminal trial beginning in early September this year, that unfairly and inaccurately hangs the Lac-Mégantic crash on two railroad workers.

Some of us focus on how dangerous this kind of cargo is. Trains carrying volatile crude are called "bomb trains" for a reason. Some of us focus more on rail safety, no matter what or who is on the train. We push for safer work schedules and big enough train crews to handle an unusual situation or an emergency. Railroad managers push hard to squeeze every dollar they can out of every train run. The Lac-Mégantic train had a dangerous cargo, a single crewmember, and work rules that cut the margin of safety down to just about zero. The result was a disaster that still impacts the Lac-Mégantic community.

You'd expect railroaders to point the finger at management. But we're not the only ones. Multiple government safety investigations and independent journalists looked at what happened in Lac-Mégantic and came to the same conclusion. Railroad management policies made this kind of runaway train crash likely to happen sooner or later. Lax government oversight looked the other way until it did.

You would think that four years later there would be stronger safety regulations on every railroad, with extra layers of protection for dangerous cargo. Sadly, this is still not the case. Railroad policymakers are still cutting corners and government regulators are still looking the other way.



They want people to believe that the big safety problem is a few careless railroad workers.

Even after all the reports and exposes, the Canadian and Quebec governments are still not going after the railroad policy makers and their unsafe policies. Instead railroad workers Tom Harding and Richard Labrie will be on trial this fall in Quebec. The managers who made the critical policies will not even get a slap on the wrist. That's just wrong, and it guarantees that the danger continues. Every year since the crash, the number of reported runaway trains in Canada has increased. That's a sign of a reckless culture, not the actions of two railroad workers one night in Quebec.

Whether your main issue is the environment, community safety, rail safety, or workers' rights, it comes down to stronger government regulations and stronger railroad safety policies, with real community and labor enforcement. The two railroad workers were not the cause of the Lac-Mégantic crash or any of the runaway trains since then. They are not the ones still running trains right through the town of Lac-Mégantic, ignoring the demands of the survivors for a simple rail bypass. The people in Lac-Mégantic know that sending Harding and Labrie to prison won't address any of their problems with the railroad. But if that happens, you can bet the government will close the book as the official verdict on Lac-Mégantic and railroad management will be standing there with them.

Railroad Workers United marked the Lac-Mégantic anniversary wherever we were. We stood in solidarity with the people of Lac-Mégantic like we have for four years, and talked about rail safety. That's who we are.

And we made sure to point out that scapegoating two railroad workers for this tragedy will make railroads and communities across the continent less safe.

We hope that when you held public commemorations this year, you made this point your way. Blaming Harding and Labrie for the Lac-Mégantic tragedy weakens all of us and all our causes. So all of us have to speak up.

Justice for Lac-Mégantic requires dropping the charges against Harding and Labrie.

Railroad Workers United
Solidarity | Unity | Democracy
The Rank & File in Action!
railroadworkersunited.org
info@railroadworkersunited.org **IW**

Western Wobs gather for Regional Organizing Assembly

By x331980

Nearly thirty IWW members met in Olympia Washington over the Memorial Day weekend for the biannual West Coast Regional Organizing Assembly (ROA). Members came from branches at Vancouver Island, Whatcom-Skagit, Seattle, Olympia, Portland, and Las Vegas for presentations and discussion on IWW organizing campaigns. The presentation by young women workers from IWW's Burgerville Workers Union inspired all and the applause was long and loud. We posed for a solidarity photo to encourage the BVWU campaign.

Another enlightening presentation told of lessons learned from hot shop campaigns, such as United Campaign Workers and others in the region. The talk included a workshop based on details of actual hot shop calls received by Portland IWW; we all role-played responses to such out-of-the-blue calls for assistance. Fellow Workers Ash and Alex told us of work by Portland IWW's on behalf of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC). A very knowledgeable and thoughtful talk on the "sword" vs. "shield" aspects of US labor law by FW Luis was among the high points of the weekend.

We heard an orientation to the IWW's Organizer Training 101 from FW Greg and learned that several IWWs are attending Training for Trainers in the Twin Cities later this summer, swelling the number of OT instructors in the region. FWs Dylan and Tuck shared brief histories of the origin and activities of fast-growing branches in Olympia and Whatcom-Skagit. They described what has worked—and not worked—to build better General Membership Branches, gain members, and initiate campaigns there.

Fellowship and solidarity were a big part of the assembly. There was plenty of time for IWWs to meet members from other places and make connections for coordinated organizing and outreach projects, or to just get acquainted. The revolution is personal, and such contacts make IWW's member democracy much stronger.

The next West Coast ROA will be in 2019. **IW**

Wobblies at the Regional Organizing Assembly in Olympia, WA

Community organizing versus workplace organizing

By Austin Biddle

There seems to be a dispute arising about exactly how the IWW should organize, either community organizing or workplace organizing. I do not think these two things are mutually exclusive; I think one can be done without compromising the other. For instance, my hometown of about 5,000 people is an economically depressed town where there is an opiod, epidemic and crime is on the rise. The conditions are such that I can organize the community and build up enough community solidarity that we can influence local politics and create a more working class-friendly community. This will undoubtedly have a positive impact on local workplaces as the solidarity will spill over into the workplace. If it is not a union shop, it will be much easier to then organize that workplace, as the foundation of solidarity is already engrained within the people.

This approach may not suit all communities, however. More affluent communities where the economy is good and generally things are good overall are not conditions in which community organizing will be easy or even possible. Therefore in situations like this it may be more logical to focus on organizing workplaces of the local people. This will have the same effect as community organizing in that the solidarity of the workers will spill out into the community, and then it will be much easier to organize that community. The foundation of solidarity has already been built in the workplace.

Currently I am organizing my old

Continued on page 9

One organizer's perspective on what drew them to the General Defense Committee

By x382089

The election of Donald Trump was a shock for me. I had visions of state power accelerating its assault against immigrants, of police violence escalating, and of an emboldened far right attacking people on the streets.

I have been organizing with the IWW for some time. I was drawn to the union because of its long history and its approach to class struggle. The militant labor-based radicalism appealed to me. I liked that the union was nonsectarian, and it had a historic affinity with anti-authoritarianism, anti-oppression, direct action, and direct democracy. I also felt that the left needed structured, dues-and-membership-based organizations in order to develop and maintain its members' skills and build power from one fight to the next.

After the election I wanted to prepare for a right-wing onslaught. I'd been thinking about the need for community defense-based organizations for a while, but suddenly it seemed urgent. I wanted to work towards building a group that could help our region be prepared for what I feared was coming. I wanted that group to be situated within the IWW to build on the strengths that drew me to the union. Fortunately, the model to do that already existed.

At convention in 2016 I had been impressed with the report of the General Defense Committee (GDC). Fellow workers, starting in the Twin Cities, had been building the sort of organization I wanted to see in the Pacific Northwest: A diverse group of people—members of the Incarcerated Workers' Organizing Committee, the African People's Caucus, and veterans of Anti-Racist Action—was taking the IWW's working-class organizing outside the shop. People of color and white radicals were coming together in one group, united by common politics. They were taking a holistic approach to resisting the spectrum of oppression that the owning class brings to bear on the rest of us, not only with anti-fascist and anti-police violence organizing, but also with harm reduction-based drug-user support and sexual violence-survivor solidarity. They were organized, they were growing rapidly, and they were doing amazing work.

I came to appreciate what the GDC was doing more over time. The barrier that confronts the working class isn't simply capitalism; it is a white-supremacist, imperialist, hetero-normative, patriarchal capitalism. It confronts us in the workplace, but also on the streets of our towns and cities, in prisons, and in cultural and political institutions. The working class isn't a unitary identity: It is divided by fissures that the ruling class has always used to divide us. The IWW has always understood this, shown by the union's historic efforts to organize the working class and its insistence that this include women, people of color, immigrants, and all other workers together right from the outset.

We can't stand aside in the face of the worst attacks on the most vulnerable members of the working class because they are perpetrated on the streets or in bars and alleys instead of on the job. For an organization as heterogeneous as the IWW to have credibility among all working people, we have to be involved in struggles that inordinately impact the most marginalized workers. If we show up for these fights, we earn respect and our strengths are given an opportunity to shine. It allows us to highlight how far-right agendas are dangerous and show that divisive attacks on working people can lead to a common catastrophe that only a united front across the working class can counter.

Assaults on working people are already escalating. In Olympia, Washington, where I live, we recently have seen Nazi skinhead organizing, vicious attacks on trans people, a racially motivated knife attack against an interracial couple, an attempt to run over two black youths, the shooting of two young black men by police over an attempt to steal a 12-pack of beer, and multiple demonstrations organized by the far right and attended by right-wing militia members, white supremacists, and bikers. On Inauguration Day in nearby Seattle, we saw the shooting of an IWW and GDC member by a Trump supporter. We can't depend on the police or the legal system to defend us; the state is not neutral. The only sane response is to organize for the defense of the working class.

The GDC approach to the rising tide of right-wing violence and fascism has been mass-oriented anti-fascism. This doesn't mean dressing like a ninja and punching Nazis (though most of us in the GDC appreciate and approve of a good Nazi-punching). The GDC as an organization doesn't take that approach. We also think there are limits to what can be achieved by an elite vanguard carrying out technical operations against their counterparts on the other side. Those fights are often vital, but we believe that major victories depend on working people finding their own power en masse and beginning to build a new world in the shell of the old. We organize, we work in solidarity with the goals of oppressed people, we build capacity to help provide security for targeted communities, we gather intelligence, and we work to share the skills and lessons we have learned widely.

What I would most like to see my fellow workers take away is the value of the work the GDC is doing for the working class and the union. I encourage you strongly to support the GDC. Become a member. Form a local, if you don't already have one where you are. Then organize and fight back! **IW**

Revolutionary unionism or white workerism: The choice facing the IWW

By Brandon S. and Natalia R.

One hundred years ago, on August 1, 1917, Frank Little was lynched while organizing copper miners in Butte, Montana. Just one week earlier, at a General Executive Board meeting in Chicago, he was the lone voice calling for the IWW to oppose conscription for World War I, in line with the 1916 Convention's anti-war resolution. The rest of the Board refused out of fear of repression, and saying that they should keep focusing on workplace activity. Frank's last letter before his murder was to "Big" Bill Haywood, the GEB Chair, urging him to have the GEB come out against conscription. As Frank predicted, the repression came anyways, and Big Bill died in exile in Russia.

We are seeing history repeat itself in bizarre, pathetic miniature. As a union, we haven't adequately acknowledged the reality of increasing state repression and a growing, violent far-right. We haven't acknowledged the growing possibilities for the IWW to expand as people are attracted to our model: The recent spike in membership is dismissively referred to as a "Trump bump." We barely responded to the attempted political murder of one of our members in Seattle, or to the mass arrest and felony charges of many of our members at the protest of Donald Trump's inauguration. More recently, we had nothing to say or do after the racist murders in Portland, despite the Ferguson solidarity motion from our 2014 Convention that commits us to organizing against white supremacy. The IWW has an incredible opportunity to grow and to make itself relevant in this moment, but we are stuck at an impasse and seem paralyzed. How did we get here, and how can we get beyond it?

The same tension between narrow economism and revolutionary unionism that we faced in 1917 is still with us, and in many respects our vision of "the working class" hasn't changed since then. Many working class people don't see a relevance in our model, and that fault lies with us, not with them. Specifically, we fail to engage with struggles related to race and gender, especially when they happen outside the workplace. The tension between revolutionary unionism and economism is really a tension between a holistic revolutionary unionism and white workerism. (I am adapting the concept of white feminism, a term often used by women of color to describe the ways that the "official" feminist movement focuses primarily on the needs of straight, cis, upper-class women, to the exclusion of other women.) We say that our mission is to build a revolutionary movement of the entire working class. We can't do that if we fail on race, gender, or other oppressions that involve non-workplace struggles. This is an urgent, life-or-death situation for the union.

It is crucial for us to link together struggles against racism, sexism, and class exploitation and oppression. It's not about figuring out how to "add" anti-racism and anti-sexism to an otherwise awesome program that is totally focused on the workplace. It's about figuring out how to find the intersections of those struggles from the start. (I will come back to this point.)

This isn't just about a few individuals. This is about an overall culture within the union that often elevates a "workerist" identity politics, and a narrow focus on "pure" workplace organizing, over a coherent, holistic revolutionary unionist program. We won't solve this just by dealing with a few individuals and going back to "how it was." We need to examine where this economism comes from, and then develop a revolutionary program that will make us relevant to the entire working class.

CLR James has a great perspective on the way that independent struggles can and do reinforce each other. To paraphrase him, the independent black movement has its own validity and vitality, it has deep historic roots in the US, it can intervene with terrific force on the nation without needing to be led by the labor movement, it can exercise a powerful influence on the wider working class, and it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism. Describing a 1943 rebellion in Detroit, he writes: "the struggle which began by Negro militants in the Negro community fighting purely for Negro rights ... resulted ultimately in—let us put it mildly—the beginnings of an alliance, a political alliance between the Negro community and the organized labor movement in Detroit."

According to James, the independent black struggle at the time brought the labor movement along behind it. These struggles intersected and mutually reinforced each other, and it wasn't just a case of "the class struggle" coming first. We've seen this more recently with the 2005 "Day Without an Immigrant," which brought May Day back to the US, and which most business unions eventually joined. Very recently, we saw it with the reaction to the racist murders in Portland, with the transit drivers' union explicitly opposing the mayor's call to increase police presence on the trains. It is impossible to imagine any union taking such a powerful anti-cop line before the Ferguson rebellion. (When Oscar Grant and Philando Castile were murdered, neither of their unions did anything, because they have entirely limited their scope of action to the workplace.)

The Twin Cities IWW and General Defense Committee (GDC) in recent years have built a powerful living example of holistic revolutionary unionism. Their participation in Occupy attracted many folks who wanted to organize at work. Some of them got jobs at UPS and tried to agitate around "traditional" workplace issues like poverty wages, abusive managers, or dangerous working conditions. Their coworkers basically ignored them. In 2014, when the struggle exploded in Ferguson, they discussed stopping police shipments to Ferguson, and this immediately generated a ton of excitement, leading to the infamous "Hands Up, Don't Ship" action. As they said, "We want to put forward a simple idea: We shouldn't be forced to contribute to racism, brutality, or murder in order to pay our rent." This created a positive feedback loop, where they successfully fought several firings, created more high-paid jobs in their building than came from the '97 strike, and confronted sexism, homophobia, and transphobia among their co-workers (which they wrote about in *You better work: Queer/trans*/feminist worker stories*.)

"Hands Up, Don't Ship" contributed to the formation of the African People's Caucus (APC) in the Twin Cities branch. When Jamar Clark was murdered by Minneapolis police in 2015, and an occupation began in front of the police station, the Twin Cities IWW, GDC, and APC participated very heavily. Their commitment during this occupation seems to have been a watershed moment for the branch. The branch had begun to make itself relevant to the struggles and oppressions that many working class people of color experience outside of the workplace. Recently, the APC, GDC, and the IWW's education workers committee (Social Justice Educa-

tion Movement or SJEM) successfully worked together to prevent construction of a youth prison. SJEM has also recently successfully reversed racist firings in schools through mass action involving education workers as well as the community.

Instead of learning from the Twin Cities, a vocal group of members have tried to minimize this development, arguing that anything being done outside of strict workplace organizing is a "distraction," or that "it's not IWW work." This has become especially common since Trump's election, as many branches and GDC locals have found new relevance in the Twin Cities model.

The IWW is the only organization in North America that teaches workers how to fight at work without relying on a reformist business union. That is incredibly important, but it can't be everything. Our implicit idea of the "average" worker is wrong and exclusionary. It envisions someone without any struggles outside of their workplace, nor having to deal with sexism, racism, homophobia, or ableism in their workplace. In short, we have assumed the "average" worker to be a white, able-bodied straight male US citizen with a job and no kids. We'll only move past this by recognizing and confronting it.

Ironically, white workerism has hit a wall in its ability to find relevance for the IWW model at work, while the branches basing themselves on holistic revolutionary unionism have seen a surge of new workplace campaigns. We saw in the Twin Cities that the experience with workplace pickets and at UPS prepared the branch to engage with movement against police terrorism, and that years of radical organizing among education workers prepared them to organize against the construction of the youth prison, both of which then reinforced possibilities for workplace organizing. The workplace and non-workplace organizing are both independently important, but together they have mutually reinforced each other and led to a wider and wider arena for struggle in the Twin Cities. This has also begun to happen in Raleigh-Durham and other cities.

This is an exciting thing for all of us to see and support. One of this article's authors was skeptical about the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC) and the GDC until eight months ago but realized they were wrong. The explosive growth that they are enabling as they make the IWW relevant to very different groups of workers from the ones we have appealed to in the past deserves to be recognized, celebrated, and encouraged.

There are two choices facing us right now: We can continue to cling to a narrow vision, close our eyes to what is happening around us, and languish in obscurity, as any future working-class rebellions leave us in the dust. Or, we can embrace a holistic revolutionary unionism, and form a meaningful part of a creative, militant, and rebellious class-wide movement that simultaneously challenges all oppressions and prepares for a post-capitalist society.

If we're serious about growing and becoming relevant to the entire working class, it's way past time to confront, cast out, and finally abandon white workerism. **IW**

Photo by Daniel Hosterman

June 10, 2017, Raleigh, NC, United Against Islamaphobia and Racism Rally. Organized by Movement to End Racism and Islamophobia, NC Asian Americans Together, and Muslims for Social Justice, who asked IWW and Redneck Revolt to help organize/lead the mass demo.

Continued from page 6

hometown, which is a far different place than when I lived there as a child. I am organizing workplaces there and in my current city of Toledo. I plan on organizing both the workplace and my community and am working with others in this process. I think it is a bit short sighted to focus on one or the other, as both can be done simultaneously. Sure, it requires a lot of work, but that is our job as organizers. While we may work tirelessly, at the same time we must be wise in our work so we aren't wasting valuable time. If the intended community does not meet the conditions that make organizing a possibility, then the organizer should focus on the workplace, which almost always meets the conditions required for organization.

I would likely never go into an affluent community and try to convince them that they need organizing or to join the IWW. What need do they have to organize if they are well off? What need can the IWW fulfill if they already have good paying jobs and the community is working well for them? In that case, I would focus on workplaces first before approaching the community. When the community is in bad condition, it is far easier to organize because they have a need for it. The IWW can fulfill this need.

Essentially we should be doing both but be doing them in a productive manner and not spending time exclusively on one or the other. Let your organizing never cease; no matter where you go you should be organizing and educating people. But be cautious in that you could be spending time on something that will never come to fruition. There are people, for instance, that choose to be willfully ignorant and no matter what you say they will not hear you. **IW**

The Bisbee Deportation

The Undesirables

In the dawn hours of July 12, 1917 in Bisbee, Arizona, two major mining companies and the Sheriff armed roughly a thousand citizens known as the Loyalty League. They rounded up 1,196 striking miners at gunpoint, marched them to the town baseball park four miles away, loaded them onto cattle cars, and banished them to the desert of New Mexico. They were accused of being subversive, anti-American Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) or Wobblies. Possible motivation seems to hinge on the climate of fear WWI was creating and corporate concerns surrounding strikes, production, and labor.

The use of the term "deportation" creates the impression that this was an immigration event, but the Federal Government had nothing to do with this action. People were not removed from the country; they were removed and banished from their homes in Bisbee, Arizona. The Federal Immigration Act of 1917 broadened immigration restrictions against certain groups that were deemed "undesirable." The list of undesirables included political radicals, anarchists, paupers, and contract laborers. What beliefs about the Wobblies and their social and political views made it possible for a group of citizens to disregard constitutional law and act on the copper industry's behalf to remove "undesirables" from their homes?

Conceptual and performance artist Laurie McKenna's interpretation of the historic event known as the Bisbee Deportation, which was a criminal act against workers and citizens by copper companies, local law, and a group of men known as the Loyalty League, asks, "Where are we politically and socially, 100 years later?"

"The Undesirables" is McKenna's creative interpretation of the Bisbee deportation. She has studied and considered: Wobblies, corporate power, xenophobia, propaganda, labor, fear mongering, and the suppression of leftist political parties. The work-in-progress art installation is guided by the IWW slogan THINK IT OVER. This art project commenced in April 2015, with a research-phase drawing and guerilla art-flyer posting.

McKenna explained, "In early 2016, I did an art action of rubbing a 1917 penny in a gallery setting. The penny rubbing is the endurance part of this project, and the results will be part of my installation during the week of July 12, 2017, in Bisbee, Arizona, in the gallery of Central School Project. I am doing rubbings of a 1917 penny 1,196 times—one for each man deported—now each with their own square and named. This action is referencing the rubbings of gravestones as a commemorative act. Most of the deported moved on to find work elsewhere. This is my laborious memorial to them. All will be part of the installation. The event will include the presentation of a fabricated penny smasher machine, the exhibition of my artwork, printed matter, and a performance that includes projections and sound art."

The penny machine is the mechanical and conceptual heart of the project. These vending machines known as penny presses are located at the sites of tourist attractions (there are two in Bisbee). They flatten pennies and imprint them with images commemorating historical moments, industries, or locations.

"I am appropriating this machine to subvert its mainstream intentions," said McKenna. "It will vend four distinct embossments of my design. Most machines create a souvenir that carries little meaning. I am creating designs that are counter to bland memorialization."

The exhibition includes penny rubbings of a 1917 penny for each deported man and a custom-built penny press vending machine that has four designs commemorating the deported: the Undesirables themselves, radical labor leaders the Magón brothers; Rosa McKay, a left-wing state legislator of Arizona; and the IWW's Preamble. Also included is her curated series of pamphlets, sound art, and text-based artwork. "The Undesirables" includes a gallery talk, which McKenna has named the Gallery Rally. **IW**

Thursday July 12, 1917

Article written for **Appeal to Reason** (Girard, Kansas)

By Mrs. Rosa McKay, Member Arizona House of Representatives
Published by Julius A. Wayland, Sat., Aug. 18, 1917

For fourteen years I have claimed Bisbee as my home. But after Thursday the twelfth of July, I hang my head in shame and sorrow for the sights I have witnessed here. When the full truth about Bisbee reaches the outside world, it will be looked upon with deserved aversion.

In this article I shall give an honest and unbiased statement, from the fair and impartial standpoint, of the labor situation in Bisbee today. I belong to no labor organization or mining corporation. I am merely an onlooker and a spectator, and a firm believer in the constitutional rights of all American citizens, whether by birth or naturalization, the rights that our forefathers fought, bled and died for.

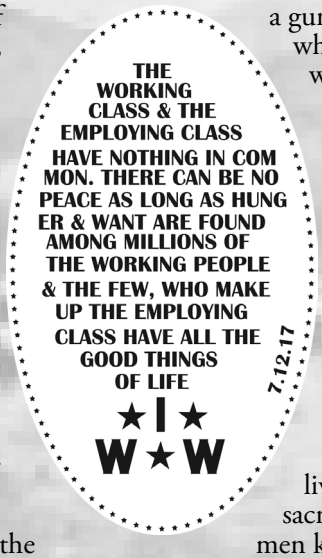
On June 27 of this year the Industrial Workers of the World declared a strike here, and the majority of the workers of the district responded. It is claimed by the union officials that eighty percent answered the call, while the companies, through the press, conceded thirty percent. However, that matters but little; the fact is that the companies were crippled, one shutting down entirely, and the production of the copper was curtailed to a great extent.

It was admitted by hundreds of men that I talked to personally, that the demands off the strikers were very reasonable, and that the men asked for nothing that they were not entitled to, being the abolishment of the sliding scale, the medical examination, and a flat daily wage of six dollars for eight hours. There were a few other demands of less importance, all for the betterment of conditions of all the underground workers.

During the two weeks that elapsed between the calling of the strike and the deportation, to my own knowledge and observation there were no acts of violence committed, and the law was abided by and obeyed to the very utmost. The men all seemed patient and cool and at all times conducted themselves in a gentlemanly manner.

On the eleventh day of July, the city park, that was built with money contributed by the public and dedicated to the use of the public, was closed to the strikers. There were many among them that had contributed. That being the only place where they could hold their public meetings, it hurt, of course, but they took it calmly and good naturedly and many remarked that perhaps it was for the best.

On the following morning a posse organized by the sheriff Harry Wheeler of Cochise County, and composed of in the neighborhood of a thousand men, the majority of the business men of the district and the "Workmen's Loyalty League" which comprised all the men that remained loyal to the companies, invaded the entire district, armed with guns of all sizes and descriptions. Some had clubs. Every man who was known to be, or who declared himself to be a striker or strike sympathizer, was taken peaceably or by force, and marched down, at the point of a gun, to Warren, where they were interned at the park and a little later loaded in cars and sent out to Columbus, New Mexico.



Two lives were sacrificed. One of the men killed was a company employee, and a member of the sheriff's posse. The other man who forfeited his life was a peaceful law-abiding citizen, of an excellent character and reputation. He was not member of the I.W.W. but had come out on strike, because he believed that the demands the boys were making were fair and reasonable, and if he could not help their cause he would not deter it. Many other good, loyal American citizens, good workers, old timers, property owners, taxpayers took the same stand. Had this man belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World, this sad tragedy would no doubt have been averted, for their policy was law and order, and each member was instructed to offer no resistance, resort to no violence, no matter what took place.

This man had not been counseled, he had no instructions other than those his own free conscience gave. So he said the night previous to a friend, when he learned of the raid that was to take place, that "if they came after him they would have to take him dead," for he had committed no crime, violated no laws and he did not care to be disturbed. He must have meant what he said, for that fatal morning, when the deputy walked up to the steps of his door and knocked, he asked who was there. He was told it was an officer of the law, who wanted him. He asked if he had a warrant and what the charge was. He was told there was no warrant and that none was necessary, and if he did not come right out he would be dragged out. His reply was a bullet in the officer's face. As he stepped out on the porch to see who the man was that was intruding upon his rights, another deputy stood in the yard nearby and shot him through the heart, thereby doubling the tragedy. ...

For the first time in my residence in Arizona I was insulted by some of those gunmen, I also saw a man wearing a star strike a woman in the chest, and there were other such cases, from all I can learn.

On visiting Columbus, New Mexico, where the deported men were in camp, a week later, I called on one of the military officers in charge and asked him if he would give me some information that I was looking for. The information that I was seeking was to find out definitely the correct and exact number of married men, etc., and he furnished me with the following:

Married Men	433
Men with Children	309
Registered for the Draft	472
Paid up Liberty Bonds	205
Membership for the Red Cross	520
Property Owners	266
Naturalized Citizens	468

Is the American government, that we have loved and upheld since our birth, going to stand for such lawlessness and deportation?

Will Uncle Sam investigate this matter and bring those responsible for these detestable and shameful acts to account?

All these facts, upon investigation, can be substantiated by eyewitnesses; A federal investigation is surely in order.

Appeal to Reason was a weekly left-wing newspaper published in Girard, Kansas, from 1895 until 1922. From 1901 onwards, it was considered the bastion publication of the Socialist Party. **IW**

Los Hermanos Flores Magón

Brothers Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón were born in Oaxaca and educated in Mexico City, where they founded the newspaper *Regeneración* and the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) to agitate for the overthrow of President Porfirio Díaz. Díaz, who ruled Mexico with an iron fist from 1884 to 1911, had opened the country to massive foreign investments, particularly in mining and railroads. He was called "the mother of foreigners and the stepmother of Mexicans." Ricardo Flores Magón began as a reformer intent on overthrowing the dictatorship, but by 1910, when the Revolution began, he declared himself an anarchist—against the state, the church, wage slavery, and property rights.

The Flores Magón brothers were imprisoned in Mexico, then forced into exile in the U.S. in 1904, where they formed alliances with socialists and anarchists and resumed publication of *Regeneración*. Ricardo became an organizer with the IWW.

The brothers were harassed by private detectives in the pay of Mexican authorities and by U.S. officials; they and their associates endured deportation, extradition, and incarceration; and *Regeneración* was shut down again and again. In 1918, Ricardo was tried and convicted for sedition, sentenced to 20 years in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas, and died four years later. Though the Mexican Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution requesting Ricardo's corpse, U.S. authorities denied the request:

> The undersigned Deputies, animated by the desire of rendering posthumous homage to the grand Mexican revolutionary, Ricardo Flores Magón, martyr and apostle of libertarian ideas, who has just died poor and blind in the cell of a Yankee prison, propose that this honorable Assembly pass the following resolution: That there be brought to rest in the soil of his native land, at the expense of the Mexican Government, the mortal remains of Ricardo Flores Magón. We request that this be acted upon immediately without reference to committee.
>
> (Signed) Julian S. Gonzalez, Antonio G. Rivera, E. Baron Obregon, J. M. Alvarez Del Castillo, A. Diaz Sóro Y Gama, and others.
>
> *Hall of the Mexican Congress, Mexico, D.F., November 22, 1922*

In 1945, Ricardo's remains were taken from his grave in Los Angeles and repatriated. Lauded as a precursor of the Revolution of 1910, his coffin was met at the border and escorted to Mexico City where he was given a state funeral. IW

Mexicans and the Bisbee Deportation

By Beth Henson

When prospectors hit pay dirt in southern Arizona during the 1870s, Mexicans had been doing hard-rock mining since the sixteenth century. Mexican miners crossed the border both ways in search of work. Radical and anarchist ideas circulated easily as well, through the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) led by the Flores Magón brothers and their newspaper, *Regeneración*. Douglas, Arizona, was an important magonista center, with 300 members in its club "Libertad." The magonistas were anarchists and ignored the border—they recognized no government or national boundaries.

Numerous incidents preceded the IWW Deportation in Bisbee. In 1903, Mexican miners struck at the Clifton–Morenci mine and were defeated by a torrential flood. In Cananea in 1906, they struck for equality with U.S. workers. That strike was suppressed when the Sonoran governor called for help from U.S. volunteers, many of them Arizona Rangers. In 1915, a seventy-five percent Mexican workforce struck at the Clifton–Morenci Metcalf mine again, this time winning substantial improvements. In April 1917, labor resistance at the Nacozari mine closed it temporarily. In June, workers at the nearby El Tigre mine went on strike.

Mexican miners on both sides of the border raised the same demands: equality with non-Mexican workers, higher pay, and better conditions. *Regeneración* circulated widely among these militant workers and many were members of the PLM, whose agents moved continually among Arizona–Sonoran mining camps, including those in Bisbee.

U.S. labor unions excluded Mexican workers, weakening their own cause. Bisbee was a "white man's camp," where Mexicans were kept from doing skilled underground work, no matter how experienced they were. Phelps Dodge & Co. practiced a dual-wage system, with a different hourly rate for Mexicans and non-Mexicans, even for the same jobs. Living conditions were also discriminatory.

Unlike other unions, the Wobblies championed the "unskilled" worker and were truly internationalist. They had extensive ties with the magonistas and engaged the first Mexican organizers in Bisbee. Many Bisbee Mexicans were veterans of the 1906 strike in Cananea. One strike demand was that above-ground wages be doubled while underground rates be raised only 5%, abolishing the dual-wage system. But the strike was defeated. Even though only 13% of the deportees were Mexican workers, more than double that number of Mexicans were deported, targeted by vigilantes even if they were not striking workers. Later investigators gathering testimony about the deportation failed to interview any Mexicans.

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The Apostle

By Ricardo Flores Magón

Crossing fields, crossing highways, stepping over the thorns, walking between the rocky highlands, consumed by the ravenously thirsty dryness in his mouth—that is how the Revolutionary Delegate goes on his intended undertaking of persuading—under the avenging sun, it seemed, daringly hurling him with its fierce flames; but the Delegate does not stop; he does not want to waste a minute. From some shacks come out rotten mean dogs, to chase him, as hostile as the miserable dwellers of those shacks, laughing stupidly, ignoring the apostle, who brings them the good news.

The Delegate moves forward; he wants to get to that group of nice little houses close to the bottom of the high mountain, where he has been told there are some comrades. The heat of the sun is unbearable; hunger and thirst debilitate him as much as the tiring walk; but his lucid mind has the fresh idea as clear as the water from the mountain, beautiful as a flower, where there is no place for the threat of the tyrant. So is the idea: immune to oppression.

The Delegate walks, walks. The deserted fields oppress his heart. How many families could live in abundance if all this land would not be controlled by a few ambitious people! The Delegate follows his way; a snake rattles under the dusty bush; the crickets fill the noisy rumor of the hot ambient; a cow moos from afar.

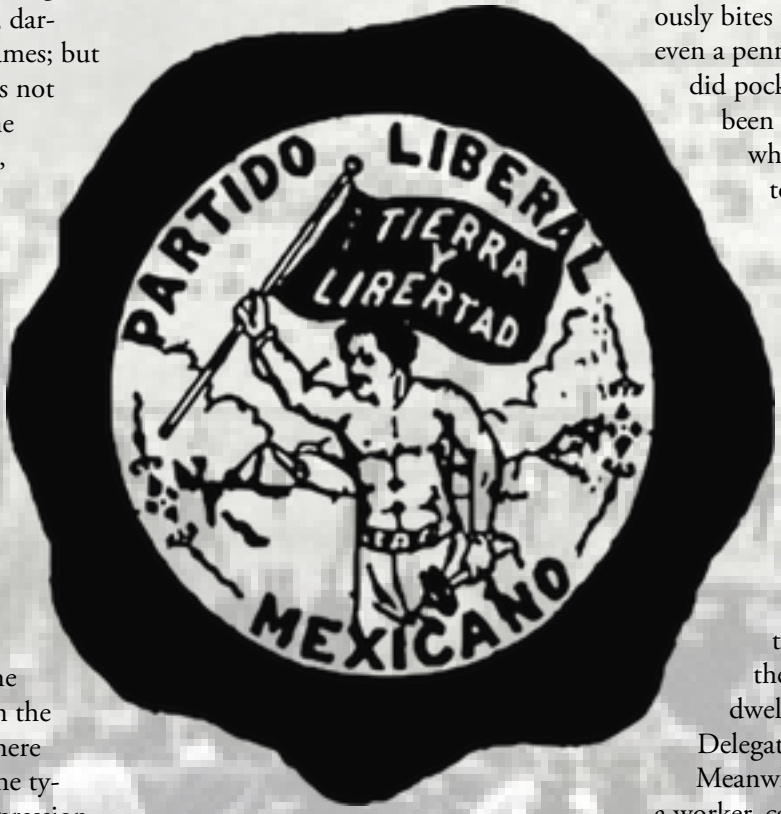
Finally, the Delegate arrives at the village, where—he has been told—there are comrades. The dogs, alarmed, bark. From the doors of the small houses, indifferent faces lean out. There is a group of men and women under a porch. The apostle approaches; the men see him and contract their eyebrows; the women see him with distrust.

"Good afternoon, comrades," says the Delegate.

The group looks at each other. Nobody answers the greeting. The apostle does not give up, and again says:

"Comrades, the propagandist continues, the tyranny is swaying; strong men have taken arms to demolish it, and only we hope that all of us, without exception, help in any manner we can those who fight for freedom and justice."

The women yawn; the men scratch their heads; a hen crosses between the group, followed by a rooster.



"Friends"—continues the indefatigable propagandist of the good news—"liberty requires sacrifices; your life is hard; you have no satisfaction; the future of your children is uncertain. Why are you indifferent before the abnegation of the ones who have thrown themselves into the struggle on behalf of your happiness, to free you, so your little children would be happier than you? Help, help however you can, give part of your salaries to promote the Revolution, or bear arms if you so prefer; but do something for the cause, at least propagate the ideals of the insurrection."

The Delegate pauses. An eagle passes, swaying in the clear sky, as if it could have been a symbol of the thought of that man who, being among human swine, would keep himself very high, very pure, very white.

Bugs, buzzing, in and out of the mouth of a sleeping old man. Men, visibly worried, were leaving, one by one; the women had all left. Finally, the Delegate is left alone with the old man who is sleeping away his drunkenness and a dog that furiously bites the flies that suck his coat. Not even a penny had come out from those sordid pockets, not even glass of water had been offered to that answering man, who, casting a compassionate look to that egoistic and stupid den, started to walk toward another shack. When he passed in front of a tavern, he could see those miserable men he had spoken to, drinking huge glasses of wine, giving the bourgeoisie what they did not give to the Revolution, clinching the chains of their children, with their indifference and selfishness.

The news of the coming of the apostle had extended around the whole town, and, the alerted dwellers closed their doors when the Delegate would approach.

Meanwhile, a man, who appeared to be a worker, came heaving towards the police office.

"Sir," said the man to the police officer, "how much do you pay for handing over a revolutionary?"

"Twenty reales," said the officer.

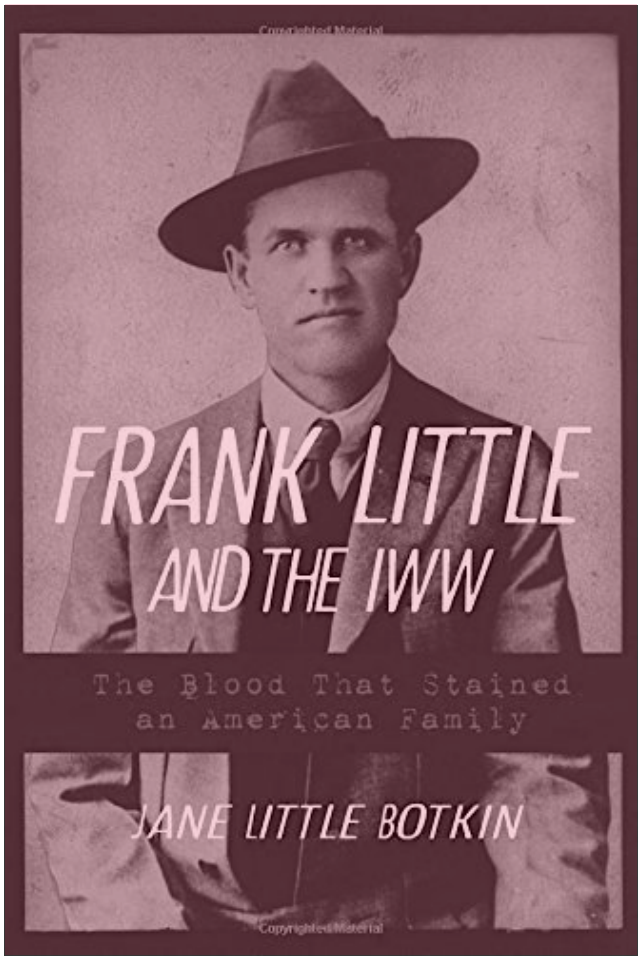
The dealing was done; Judas had lowered the tariff. Moments later, the man, tied elbow to elbow, was pushed to jail. He fell, and as he kicked out, was lifted by the executioner, amongst the laughing, drunken slaves. Some kids were enjoying throwing handfuls of dirt into the eyes of the martyr, who was no other than the apostle, the one that had crossed fields, traveled highways, over hawthorn, pebbly land, dried, thirsty mouth devouring him, but with a lucid, clear mind, carrying with him the idea of regeneration for the human race, by way of comfort and freedom. **IW**

(From *Regeneración*, no. 19, January 7, 1911.)

Frank Little and the IWW:

The Blood That Stained an American Family

Franklin Henry Little (1878–1917), an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), fought in some of the early twentieth century's most contentious labor and free speech struggles. Following his lynching in Butte, Montana, his life and legacy became shrouded in tragedy and family secrets. In *Frank Little and the IWW*, author Jane Little Botkin chronicles her great-granduncle's fascinating life and reveals its connections to the history of American labor and the first Red Scare.



Beginning with Little's childhood in Missouri and territorial Oklahoma, Botkin recounts his evolution as a renowned organizer and agitator on behalf of workers in corporate agriculture, oil, logging, and mining. Frank Little traveled the West and Midwest to gather workers beneath the banner of the Wobblies, making soapbox speeches on city street corners, organizing strikes, and writing polemics against unfair labor practices. His brother and sister-in-law also joined the fight for labor, but it was Frank who led the charge—and who was regularly threatened, incarcerated, and assaulted for his efforts. In his final battles in Arizona and Montana, Botkin shows, Little and the IWW leadership faced their strongest opponent yet as powerful copper magnates countered union efforts with deep-laid networks of spies and gunmen, an antilabor press, and local vigilantes.

For a time, Frank Little's murder became a rallying cry for the IWW. But after the United States entered the Great War and Congress passed the Sedition Act (1918) to ensure support for the war effort, many politicians and corporations used the act to target labor "radicals," squelch dissent, and inspire vigilantism. Like other wage-working families smeared with the traitor label, the Little family endured raids, arrests, and indictments in IWW trials.

Having scoured the West for firsthand sources in family, library, and museum collections, Botkin melds the personal narrative of an American family with the story of labor movements that once shook the nation to the core. In doing so, she throws into sharp relief the lingering consequences of political repression. **IW**

Retired from a thirty-year teaching career in Texas public schools, Jane Little Botkin is an independent historian.

Frank Little and the IWW by Jane Little Botkin is available from online booksellers, in bookstores, and directly from the University of Oklahoma Press: 1 800 627 7377 or *www.oupress.com*.

Revolutionaries on Revolution

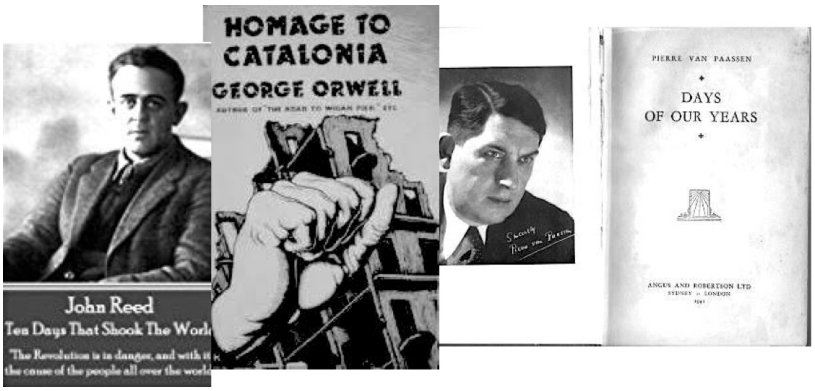
By Raymond S. Solomon

Three visionaries who tried to radically change the world—who aimed at ending starvation, poverty, exploitation, and war—were John Reed, George Orwell, and Pierre van Paassen. Reed's vision was rooted in the Industrial Workers of the World, the Mexican revolution, the IWW-led strike in Patterson, New Jersey, and the hopes of Russia's revolutionary workers. George Orwell had seen the beginnings of socialism in the Anarcho-Syndicalist revolution in Spain, and he wrote about far-reaching reforms needed in Britain and the need for world-wide efforts to bring the standard of living of the world up to that of Britain. Pierre van Paassen's socialist vision was rooted in his Calvinist faith.

John Reed believed in the IWW, as I wrote about in a previous article.[1] This was Reed's predisposition when he went to Revolutionary Russia during the time of the provisional governments in 1917, after the abdication of the Czar in March 1917. In *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Reed conveyed the hope, solidarity, and the support of different political parties that accompanied the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917. *Ten Days* was read by many people who could feel what Reed observed. These people included Wobbly organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and Lenin himself.

But Russia today has hardly fulfilled John Reed's hope. Under the Soviet government Russia had made great strides. The number of doctors was dramatically increased, illiteracy was wiped out, the USSR led in the space-race, many scientists and engineers were educated, and there was a large degree of industrialization. In contrast, there were mass deportations under Stalin, there was an imposed famine in Ukraine during the 1930s, purges took place in which hundreds of thousands of people were shot, and the executions included among its victims many Russian Communist Party members. And in post-Soviet Union Russia, the proverbial baby was thrown out, but the proverbial bath water was kept. One example is that many seniors live in dire poverty because they have lost their pensions. Russia has a cruel capitalistic economy. What went wrong?

Part of the answer can be found in George Orwell's writings, especially *Homage to Catalonia*. In late 1936 and early 1937, in Red Barcelona, Orwell was enchanted by a society where "the working class was in the saddle," the factories were taken over by workers, and militia members and peasants on the Aragon front lived on the basis of equality. But the only meaningful quantity of arms that the Spanish Loyalists had was from Soviet Russia. And in stages, the revolutionary nature of Spanish Loyalist society was curtailed, because of the Communist demands to postpone the revolution. Finally, in June of 1937, the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) was suppressed and its members were executed and jailed. Orwell, who was in the POUM militia, and his wife had to flee Spain. What happened to POUM members was part of the purge campaign that was also happening in Russia. Great revolutionaries gave false confessions to collaborating with the Nazis. In 1961, the Soviet Union's Communist Party Chairman Nikita Khrushchev publically acknowledged that these were false confessions.



Pierre van Paassen was also spellbound by Loyalist Spain. He had interviewed Anarcho-Syndicalist leader and Loyalist general Buenaventura Durruti, whom he was especially impressed with, as he was with the resistance to the July 1936 attempted fascist coup. Two elements about the Spanish Civil War that van Paassen covered that were missing from Orwell's experience are that the Catholic Basques were integral to the defense of Loyalist Spain: Priests in the Basque had for years been organizing labor unions, and Basque Catholics fought heroically for the Loyalists; and the Calvinist movement in Spain was active during the years of the Republic, 1931–1939, when freedom of religion was finally restored, after centuries of inquisitional rule. Van Paassen pointed out that many people in the heavily atheist province of Catalonia started to send their children to the Calvinist schools. This new Spanish Calvinist movement was noted in the U.S. magazine *Presbyterian Time*s. Van Paassen reported that as Franco's fascist forces gained ground, many Protestants were executed. That is why van Paassen's chapter on Spain is titled "L'Infame"—translated as "The Betrayal." Christians killing Christians was a betrayal.

Van Paassen, in this autobiography, whose title *Days of Our Years* (published in 1939) was taken from Psalm 90 and elsewhere, wrote about the African slave trade, current during the 1930s; Mussolini's brutal war against Ethiopia and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's heroism in resisting this outrage; the physical beating of Leon Blum, France's Popular Front Prime Minister, by Fascists; and Hitler's threat to the very existence of Europe's Jews. Van Paassen felt this threat, because in an early interview, he had looked into Hitler's eyes, when the "evil one" was ranting against the Jews. He remembered the Russian pogroms, all the Jewish refugees in Holland from these pogroms during his youth, and the prayers of Holland's *Kleine luyden* (little people), "Calvinist shopkeepers and farmers," on behalf of the dispersed and persecuted Jews, and praying for their restoration to the Holy Land. Van Paassen wrote about the coming Second World War. He firmly believed that Britain's policy of appeasing Hitler, under Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain was done in the hope that Nazi Germany would attack the Soviet Union.

All three authors believed in worldwide labor solidarity as a means to build a better world.

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The political culture of the IWW during its first 20 years

By Jaime Caro-Morente, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The union Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), launched in 1905, is a *rara avis* within the American labor movement. Although the American labor movement was very strong, its trade unions were the most conservative among the international labor movement. However, the IWW was an American union that was "radical"—working to solve problems by getting to the bottom of them. If we get an understanding of why the IWW was born and its political culture, we will be able to understand the transformation within the American society in the last years of the 19th century.

Some historians have set two different phases for the evolution of the American labor movement. In the first phase, that covers most of the 19th century, the labor movement was led by immigrant workers. During the second phase, the labor movement was led by the home-grown American workers. These phases can be extrapolated to the political field: We have the Socialist Labor Party whose leader was an immigrant, Daniel de Leon, in the first phase; while in the second phase we have the Socialist Party of America of the well-known Eugene V. Debs.

The Industrial Workers of the World has a "preferred seat" in the pantheon of the radical unions of the United States due to their early success and the repression they suffered on hands of the State and the private armies (like Pinkerton Agency) that nearly destroyed them. In my opinion, the most important thing in this union is their unique political culture, which gave them their success and made their existence possible in its actual context without deep changes.

Historians have been unclear on how to classify IWW's ideology, as either socialist or anarchist, because they have in their rank and file leaders of both labor political cultures, which have always been assumed to be enemies. From the first historian who researched them, Paul Brissenden, up until the 1970s, a *status quo* was set in the studies about them: They were socialist in their first years, and when the schism within the Socialist Labor Party occurred and the political clause took effect, anarchists. This is a simple assumption that requires us to make a deeper study of their political culture and otherwise makes their history unintelligible to us: Why does an anarchist union have strong links with a socialist party in a socialist strike, such as the 1912 Lawrence strike? Why were they part of the Second International debating with Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg? How is possible that an anarchist union decided to join the Communist International for two years?

There were two historians who reopened the debate about the political culture of the IWW: Melvyn Dubofsky and Paul Buhle. In their studies, both historians reached the conclusion that the current theoretical framework was useless, and a new one was needed. Buhle was the historian who managed to study the IWW with an open mind to create a new framework: The IWWs were socialists; they read Marx but they did not agree on everything with him. They used anarcho-syndicalist tactics; they did not want to conquer the State; and, the most importantly of all, they were American born within an American history with their own experiences in the labor movement.

I would like to begin the analysis of their political culture, an "American socialist," with the picture of the labor leader "Big" Bill Haywood proclaiming on the 27th June of 1905: *Fellow Workers! This is the Continental Congress of the working class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism.* In this proclamation, our

main hypothesis is condensed: that the IWW's ideology comes from the United States Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and that the socialist political culture of the IWW is a labor reformulation of the previous one, with the help of the Marxism.

Jefferson and Madison created the ideological corpus of the new republic influenced by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes and his book *Leviathan*. When the war for independence was won by the rebels, Jefferson and Madison started focusing on individual liberties, thinking that the new State created was going to be a major threat to them. If they did not protect individual liberties, the State could take them away from their citizens and enslave them. We all know the Jeffersonian dream of the agrarian republic in which every citizen has their own land to ensure their economic independence. We also know Madison's main ideas through the *Federalist Papers*, where he links the idea of democracy with the Jeffersonian dream: If the people do not have their own land and property, the democracy is impossible. In other words, liberty and democracy are only assured if the people have economic independence and are the owners of the means of production. Madison went further than this, stating that people cannot wield democracy and liberty if they do not have economic independence, so, anyone who wants to live in a democracy must have property.

The tremendous industrialization in the United States towards the end of the 19th century, was a shock for the population: The "new progress" and modernity were condemning a major part of the people to inequity and misery. Some people developed new ideologies in an attempt to respond to and remedy this misery, but these ideologies were brought in by immigrants—such as Marxism or anarchism. The American people still believed in the dreams promised by the new young Republic. The first American union that sought to resolve the misery within American society was the Knights of Labor, but that ended in failure following the Great Southwest railroad strike of 1886. However, in 1905, the IWW was launched being able to articulate a new discourse within the American political culture and bring hope to the people.

In 1905, many leaders of the American labor movement met in Chicago. This meeting's aim was to find an ultimate solution to the industrial conflict and the class struggle. The final proposition was clear: The workers had to seize the means of production, to be owners like in Jefferson's dream—where this was only in this way can democracy exist, but based on the ideas of Madison, the new concept of the Industrial Democracy. This was their main idea, but they needed further political ideas to articulate a cogent discourse, so they brought in ideas from early Marxism and the Anarchists.

The Founding Convention of 1905 has often been studied by historians as if there were a tacit agreement in between the three "souls" within the IWW: the Syndicalists, the Marxists, and the Debs socialists. However, there was no such agreement: There was a reformulation among the three ideologies to create a new political culture acccessible to all of them instead, with the presence of anarchists like Lucy Parsons, Carlo Tresca, and Emma Goldman. This process of political reformulation was led by the syndicalists, Father Thomas Hagerty, "Big" Bill Haywood, and William Trautmann.

The IWW built itself based on "aims": A large number of ideologies were represented at the convention, and some of them in direct opposition. Therefore, the most logical way to build itself was to set two types of aims: short term and long term. The IWW was created with pragmatism, yet it set some lofty aims that went further than any of the ideologies that influenced its creation. A new hegemony within the labor movement had been formed, and it belonged to the IWW.

Once the common postures about the aims were established, they were defined: In the short term, improvement of the conditions of life for all workers. In the long-path, the abolishment of the capitalist system, and the establishment of worker-controlled industry in one big union, the IWW.

The first aim was to protect and improve the conditions of life of all workers. The second in recognition of socialists, Marxists, and anarchists: to abolish capitalism. And the third was in recognition of syndicalism: Through the IWW, the workers would control the means of production and distribution in the new system. Once the wage system was abolished, workers would realize the Jeffersonian dream. Despite the fact that for both Marxism and anarchism, the workers must seize the means of production when capitalism is abolished, the syndicalists wanted to seize the factories as collective property reflecting their American socialist political culture.

The IWW has dedicated the major part of its existence to their first aim, organizing strikes and protesting in the "freedom of speech phase," but they did not leave their second aim behind, and tried to educate their members. We must not forget the significant educational and propagandistic machinery of the IWW in its first years.

The confluence of different political cultures and ideologies was what provided them with strength and success until the Third International. It was an American union, but it was radical in trying to link Marxism and anarchism. The label "One Big Union" was a reality, not a dream. The IWW accomplished being one of the biggest unions in the United States and the most powerful, including the American Federation of Labor.

I would highlight three milestones and successes of the IWW within the global history of the labor movement. First the representatives of the IWW, Socialist Party of America, and Socialist Labor Party passed a resolution at the Second International in Stuttgart (1907). In this Congress the IWW debated as equals—within Marxian theory—about the labor movement nature and the relationship between its two "agents": the Union and the Party. The "big leaders" in Marxism—the European Marxists, including Lenin, Kautsky, and Luxemburg—thought that the Party was always more important than the union, and the Party, as proletarian vanguard, must lead the labor movement as well as the unions. IWW passed a resolution on the equality between the two agents: Party and union had equal importance within the labor movement.

The second milestone was the internal debate within the IWW regarding their participation in the Third International. This debate was divisive, but ultimately, because of the Soviet position, the IWW decided not to join the Third International, to stay true to their political culture: Seize the means of production without the need to conquer the State.

This second milestone links with the third: By staying within their ideology, they had remained alive up to that point, so they could take advantage of the particular state of affairs in capitalism at that time.

Today it is a reality that American Capitalism and its values, the American "way of life," have become dominant in the world. However, a union that stems from socialist and anarcho-syndicalist values and is as international as the IWW can take advantage of this conjuncture in order to expand their own revolution and unionism. We must not forget that philosophers such as Noam Chomsky, a Wobbly, have drawn from the IWW's key concept of Industrial Democracy the basis to frame the debate of "democracy against Capitalism." **IW**

Dem. N.C. governor signs anti-farmworker union bill, opening door to more attacks

By Mike Elk, *Payday Report*, 7/13/17

Earlier today, North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper, a Democrat, signed the state's Farm Act, which prohibits farmworkers' unions from collecting union dues directly from workers' paychecks.

Labor activists say that the provision in the bill, SB 615, was aimed at the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which represents 10,000 farmworkers in North Carolina. Earlier this year, FLOC was able to force a major settlement from North Carolina State Brent Jackson.

"This attack on farm workers' rights is most likely in retaliation for a series of lawsuits brought by farm workers and their union (Farm Labor Organizing Committee) over wage theft and mistreatment on several farms in Eastern NC — including one owned by Sen. Brent Jackson, who sponsored this bill and chaired the Senate conference committee" said North Carolina AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer MaryBe McMillian. "It is a clear conflict of interest and blatant abuse of power for legislators who are also growers to push policies that allow them to gain more and more profit on the backs of their workers."

Organized labor had hoped that Democratic Governor Roy Cooper would veto the bill, meeting with him twice to lobby against it. Yesterday, however, they received word that the Governor intended to sign it.

"We got a call from his office yesterday evening and were told that it was the fact that they don't have the votes to stop an override, and that the Democrats in the North Carolina General Assembly were not all on the same page [on the bill]," says FLOC Vice President Justin Flores. "However, both of those were not necessarily true, so we really don't know the true motivation. This is an embarrassing show for a Democratic governor and the reason Democrats keep losing."

Republicans hold supermajorities in both the state House and Senate, enabling them to overturn Cooper's veto as long as the caucus sticks together. In 2016, a three-judge panel on the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina found that twenty-eight of the state's 170 legislative districts that were drawn in 2011 when the Republicans took power were "racial gerrymanders in violation of the Equal Protection Clause," and ordered the maps be redrawn and special elections called in 2017.

Photo credit: Facts Figures and the Future

Last month, the Supreme Court agreed that the districts were racially gerrymandered, but vacated the order for new special elections, meaning that North Carolina voters will very likely have to wait until at least 2018 to vote for legislators whose seats haven't been ruled to be in direct violation of the Constitution.

Considering the legislature's very public hatred for him, however, Cooper could have vetoed the bill as a protest against the anti-union provisions of the bill. He did not. And after Cooper signed the bill, the outrage from organized labor in the state was near unanimous.

"We are deeply disappointed that Gov. Cooper plans to sign the Farm Bill (S615)," said N.C. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer MaryBe McMillian. "This legislation singles out farm workers and undermines their freedom of association and ability to collectively negotiate for better wages and working conditions."

Labor groups in the state, including FLOC, the North Carolina AFL-CIO, and UE Local 150 plan to hold a rally at the Governor's office next Tuesday to protest the Governor's decision, as many fear that the governor's failure to veto the bill will lead to even more attacks against unions by the legislature.

"It's a warning sign for people in our movement that we need to remain vigilant," says North Carolina Public Service Workers Union UE Local 150 organizer Dante Strobinho.

Another anti-labor bill, SB 375, would eliminate dues check off for public employees; that bill passed the Senate in April. Strobinho fears that Cooper signing SB 615 opens the door to even more attacks on unions in a state that already has one of the lowest membership rates in the country.

"They always try to attack the most vulnerable first. They try to attack Muslims, they try to attack Latinos, they try to isolate them. However, the general population isn't isolated," says Strobinho. "They start these attacks to create wedges. They are trying to start an avalanche to attack all workers and eliminate payroll deduction for public employees."

FLOC also vows to challenge the measure in court. They say that the measure violates their right to assembly and the constitutional rights of farmworkers by eliminated dues check off just for farmworkers and not other organizations such as charities like the United Way and other unions.

"This type of abandonment of immigrant workers is nothing new from the Democratic or Republican parties. We've been excluded from every labor law reform since the racist-exclusion of farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act in 1935," says FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez. "We plan to challenge this bill in the courts, as a violation of farmworkers rights to freedom of assembly and speech and continue our fight for better wages for immigrant families in the state."

Mike Elk is a member of the Washington-Baltimore NewsGuild and is the senior labor reporter at *Payday Report*.

Payday Report is a community supported labor-reporting project. We depend on our readers to be able to tell the stories of workers in the South. To donate, go to *http://paydayreport.com/support-our-work/*. **IW**

Pay equity: Back-to-back wins for women athletes

By Muffy Sunde
Freedom Socialist newspaper, Vol. 38, No. 3, June–July 2017
www.socialism.com

Ice hockey's U.S. Women's National Team (USWNT) beat their governing body, USA Hockey, in March and took women's fight for living wages a huge step forward. Long notoriously underpaid, hockey's women players were expected to keep winning world medals while working for about $1,000 per month, for six months, only in Olympic years, and on less than half the food allowance of male players.

The team definitely earned the right to a raise. It holds six world championship trophies and silver in successive Olympics. Their demands were minimal by sports standards: decent pay, benefits, investment in youth programs and an end to practices like being forced to fly coach while the men's team flies business class. Bosses stonewalled until the women announced a boycott of the upcoming world championship. Management then tried to recruit scabs. The response from other professional players, high schoolers as young as 16, and tavern teams was to tell USA Hockey to get lost.

Solidarity wins a round

On the eve of the world championships, unions representing players for the National Football League, the National Basketball Association, the Women's National Basketball Association, and Major League Baseball, all announced support for the USWNT. When men's team players started saying they would also refuse to play in the world championships, management folded. While USNWT didn't win pay equity with male players, their victory is impressive. They went from an every four years pittance to a guaranteed $70,000 per year, chances for bonuses, equal meal money, travel accommodations and insurance with male players, a commitment to develop young players and greater promotion of the women's game.

Winning is contagious

One week after the victory in hockey, the U.S. women's soccer team won a new contract with USA Soccer. The settlement followed a rancorous year-long battle in which the union filed sex discrimination charges against management with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and USA Soccer bosses sued the *union* for demanding a new contract. The agreement provides wages of up to $300,000, parental leave, and player input on longstanding grievances regarding working conditions, travel, and accommodations.

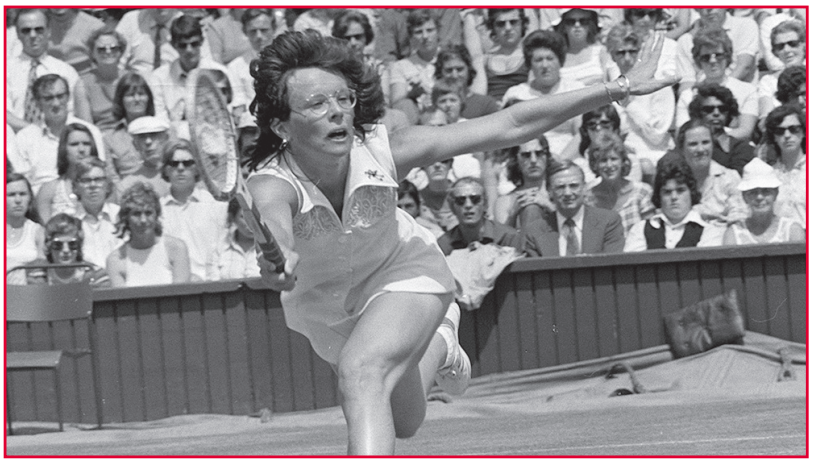


Photo credit: Variety.com

Athlete and tennis great Billie Jean King

Far from over

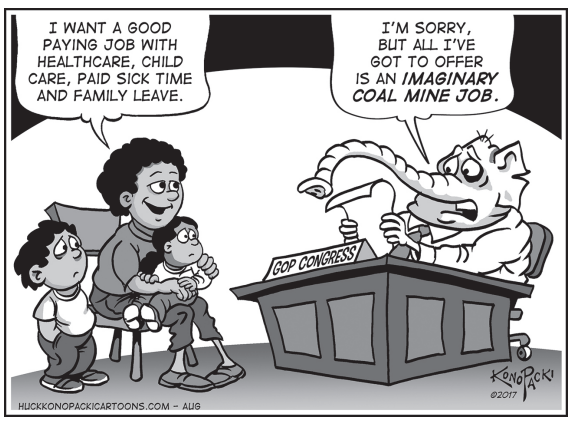
Female athletes have fought sex and race discrimination for decades—for the right to compete at all, for the right to get paid, and for the right to equal pay. Women's pay has always been a fraction of that paid to male athletes, regardless of how much revenue the sport makes. Lower pay for women means higher profits for team owners.

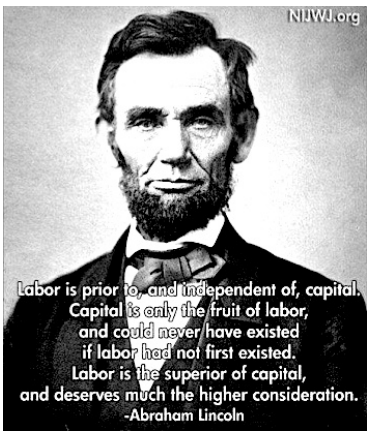
The modern women's movement won the 1972 Title IX amendment to the Higher Education Act that banned discrimination in any school receiving federal assistance. Women's college sports grew swiftly, growth that led to more professional women's sports and to the fight for equal wages in the modern era. Billie Jean King threatened to boycott the 1973 U.S. Open Tennis Tournament, forcing equal pay from an unwilling management. It took until 2007 and Venus Williams' demand for equal pay to force the Wimbledon tournament to equalize the purse. Now, although tennis is the most lucrative sport for women, outside of the four major tournaments, women's purses average 80 percent of that paid to men.

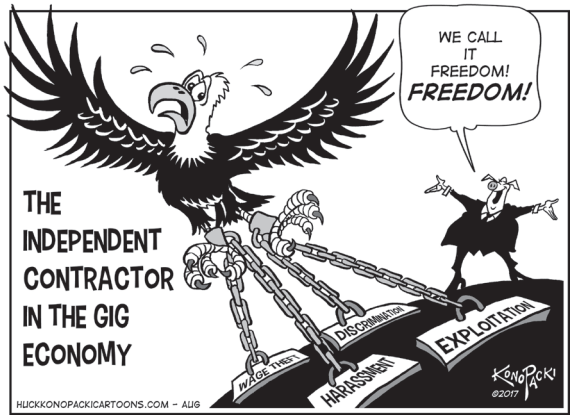
The victories in hockey and soccer show that solidarity can win, and that the public and other athletes will support those who stand and fight. Players in the Women's National Basketball Association, whose league has a *maximum* pay that is lower than the *minimum* pay of its male counterparts, are way overdue for a raise.

If women athletes can take on management and win, with a union-busting misogynist in the White House, all of organized labor should take note and use the same game plan.

Send feedback to *muffy_sunde@yahoo.com* **IW**







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PO Box 180195
Chicago, IL 60618 USA
ISSN 0019-8870
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Answers to questions with asterisks * are required.
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I agree to study the IWW's principles and make myself acquainted with its purpose:* ___ Yes

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Preamble to the IWW Constitution

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

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

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

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

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