Seattleworker

November-December 2018 | Vol. 1, Iss. 4

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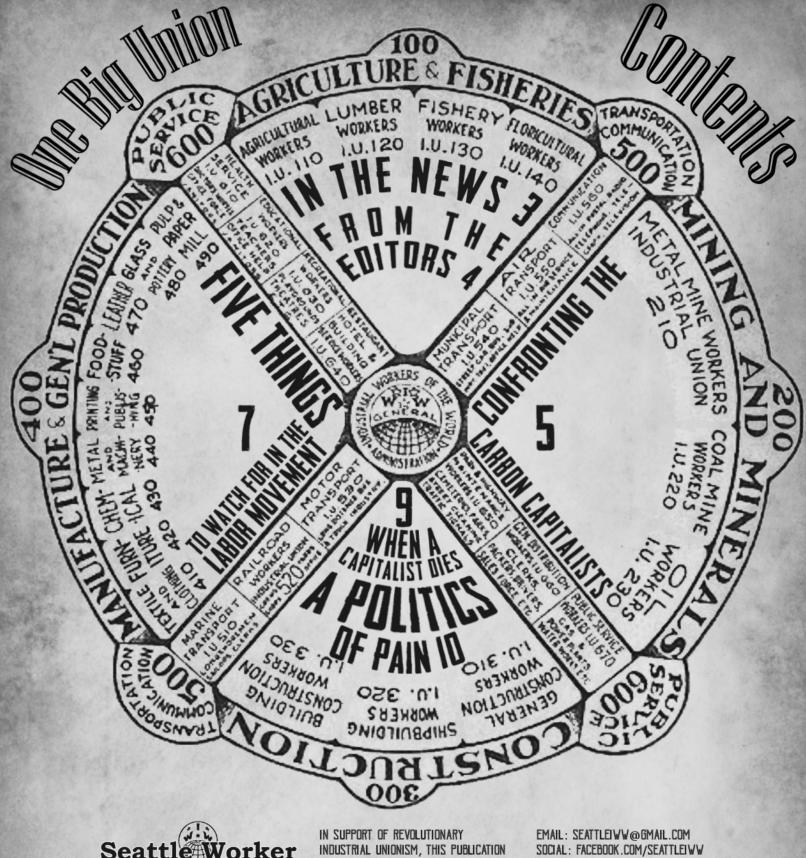


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THE BEST PRESENT
THIS HOLIDAY SEASON?
A REVOLUTIONARY UNION.







Seattle Worker

Official Publication of the Seattle IWW

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

FW CHRIS JOSEPH

FW CAM MANCINI

FW LINDSAY MIMIR

FW X390433

FW HANNAH HOPKINS

SEATTLE IVW BRANCH SECRETARY FW LINDSAY MIMIR

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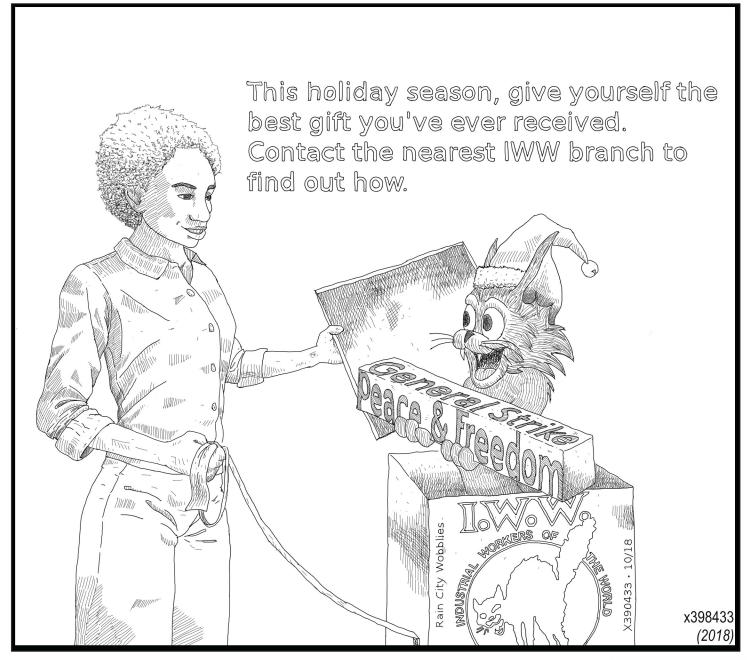
PHONE: 206.429.5285

MAIL: 1122 E. PIKE STREET, #1142 SEATTLE, WA 98122

WEBSITE: SEATTLEIWW.ORG

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY.

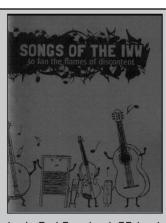
PRESS DATE: NOVEMBER 4, 2018



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fter years of on-the-job harassment, poor working conditions, and low pay nearly 8,000 Marriott hotel workers have gone on strike in 8 different cities including Seattle's Westin, which is owned by Marriott. Negotiations have reportedly been tense but fruitful in various cities, and the workers have been backed by thousands of supporters. The New York Yankees are definitely not counted among those supporters, however. The athletes nonchalantly waltzed across a picket line in Boston and stayed in a striking hotel, so one of our local Wobblies would like you all to remember, "You don't have to be a sports fan to hate the Yankees." The same goes for the Los Angeles Dodgers, who also shamefully crossed a hotel picket line in Boston.

A pair of papers were published this year that tried to articulate the fairly obvious causes of the minuscule increases in wages compared to economic growth in both the US and Europe over the last twenty years. The first was authored by Professor VanHeuvelen of the University of Illinois and the second by Professors Bell and Blanchflower of Stirling and Dartmouth respectively. Unsurprisingly to nearly everyone that doesn't have a PhD in economics, both studies concluded the decline in the power of labor unions lead to a decline in wage growth. Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell had his own explanation for meager wage growth stating, "It's a bit of a puzzle." Because research papers that don't support neoclassical economics are apparently too confusing for him to understand.

After a 17-day strike that affected nearly all of the 65 construction cranes in Seattle, the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 302 has agreed to a deal with the Associated General Contractors of Washington. In the agreed upon deal (which was the third and most generous one offered by the AGC), the Operating Engineers will see a 17.8% increase in pay and benefits over the next 3 years. Workers everywhere take note: This is how you ask for a raise.

It was recently revealed that Amazon pays workers in sandwiches to tweet nice things about working in Amazon warehouses, which was kind of an embarrassment for the company. A bill literally titled the "Stop BEZOS Act" was recently introduced in the US Senate that sought to curb some of Amazon's more egregious compensation practices. And no one knows how many unionization campaigns have been initiated at Amazon properties, but a union busting video was leaked from Amazon owned Whole Foods, so the company was at least scared enough to produce it. In response to all this, Seattle's infamous oligarch and wealthiest man in the universe, Jeff Bezos, caved and announced he is raising Amazon's minimum wage to \$15 an hour. Lest you think the corporate hegemon suddenly sprouted a heart, there are already reports rolling in about Amazon making up the difference by cutting compensation elsewhere. So don't stop fighting for an Amazon union. We bent the beast. Now we need to break it.

and a solidarity u

The Sunset Empire Transportation District operates buses on the Oregon coast and earned a nasty reputation for poor treatment of their workers, which included some that were forced to subsist on food stamps and live in tents, despite the fact that the SETD receives federal funding to provide transportation services to Clatsop County. This treatment led to a unionization push at SETD, in response to which the management team reportedly declared, "Hell will freeze over before there's a union." If that's true, the Devil better buy a sweater because the workers of the SETD voted to join the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 757. The workers at CC Rider in Columbia County also recently unionized with ATU Local 757, which means the local now boasts over 5,000 members.

Have a Heart marijuana retailer has signed a union contract with UFCW local 21 that covers 134 workers at five locations across Washington state, making it the first marijuana retailer to unionize. So next time you're picking up a sack of dank weed be sure to congratulate the workers

before you toke up and forget. Try not to visit too much though. We got organizing to do, so you're going to want a clear head.

Alleged progressive canvassing organization Grassroots Campaigns Incorporated, whose new corporate motto is, "Engage. Activate. Mobilize." has been hell-bent on making sure their workers do anything but. A court date is set for this December where GCI will attempt to explain to a judge why they illegally closed their Seattle office after the workers there unionized.

The teachers' strikes in Washington state that took place at the beginning of the school year turned out to be the largest wave of teachers' strikes to hit the state in 35 years. Various tactics were used to try to break the strike, including two unions that were sued after a judge declared the strikes illegal. But the teachers stood firm and in the end their efforts yielded double-digit percentage salary increases in various districts across the state. I know not all of you take good notes, so I'll say it again in case you missed it the first time: THIS IS HOW YOU ASK FOR A RAISE.

Since 2015 Washington state has gained over 84,000 new union members (over half of those in the last year alone), which brings the total union membership in Washington up to an estimated 584,000 or nearly 19% of the workforce. This makes Washington the third most unionized state in the country. The IWW is similarly growing, and Seattle is now home to the largest General Membership Branch in the United States. We even have a brand spanking new organizing committee to help you organize your workplace, so don't be shy about getting in touch.



Letter from the Editors

The editorial team behind the *Seattle Worker* wishes you happy holidays! We would like to take this end-of-the-year edition of the *SW* to say a few things about 2018 and our plans for the next year.

First, thank you to all of our readers and subscribers. Your donations and kind words keep this publication running. We hope to be able to continue putting out something worthwhile for you every edition. When we originally formed the *SW* committee of the Seattle General Membership Branch, the idea was to share news and essays from Seattle members with a wider audience. So thank you to everyone who has shared our words online, helped distribute our magazine, purchased an assessment stamp, and given us words of encouragement. We consider it a privilege to produce this magazine for you, and we plan to continue to publish our best work and to share the good work of others, as we carry on our daily struggles against the behemoth of capitalism.

It has been a busy year in the Seattle IWW. Our branch is now the largest General Membership Branch in the United States, and our growth shows no signs of slowing. In the last twelve months, we tripled in size, built organizing committees in multiple new shops, hosted four weekend-long organizer trainings, picketed at Wendy's and Grassroots Campaigns, and participated in numerous community events. Our goals for this next year are ambitious, but we have the momentum we need to accomplish them.

One problem that has made publishing this magazine more difficult is that we can't always talk about our organizing campaigns. Suffice to say we have numerous unionization efforts going on in Seattle right now, but we can't name them publicly because of the near certainty of employer retaliation. But we do promise that when these workplaces do go public, we will share their stories in the pages of the *SW*.

And as our campaigns grow, we'd also like to grow the *SW*. Our priority has always been and will continue to be work done by IWW members. To this end, we are always open to suggestions, essays, news reports, photographs, drawings, and poetry.

Thank you for helping us get on our feet in 2018. We look forward to your continued support as we march forward together into 2019.

Solidarity forever!
The Editors



ast summer brought another record wildfire season to the Pacific Northwest. Smoky air from fires in the region caused hellish air quality around the entire Northern Hemisphere. The causes of the forest fires and the destruction of our forest ecosystem generally are incontrovertible. Over one hundred years of fossil-fueled capitalist development and hundreds of years of violent colonial oppression--of people and the biological world--have

driven the Earth to the brink. Northwest forests, once some of the most biodiverse regions on Earth, have been clear-cut and laden with biocides. Complex interrelationships have been smashed with saws and machinery make to way for monoculture "working forests" devoid of biodiversity. Decades of fire suppression by the Forest Service on behalf of timber companies have left trees to grow on each other like matchsticks waiting to be lit.

In the face of all of this, liberals, true to form, have resorted to self-flagellation and hand-wringing. The *New York Times Magazine*'s recent piece, "Losing Earth: The Decade We Almost Stopped Climate Change" by Nathaniel Rich, places the blame of climate change and ecocide squarely at the foot of an undefined human nature. The author mostly chronicles failed climate negotiations between nation-states at the United Nations.

In his telling, we were so close to breakthroughs, but then

greedy human nature stopped everything. Our collective desire for more stuff led to the failure of negotiations being made in good faith between nations. There is no other possible direction for history to have unfolded. Or so the story goes.

International diplomacy's climate failures are a failure of all humans in the eyes of the liberal elite like Rich. That a nationstate would act counter to the will of its subjects is

unthinkable to the privileged classes.

The victims of colonialism and capitalism have always known otherwise.

At the same time "human nature" was failing to protect the earth in UN meeting halls, working-class people were mobilizing against extractive industry in Northern California and being targeted for assassination. Indigenous peoples around the world were suffering from state violence for

fighting against the very oil drilling that state officials said they were trying to curb. Everywhere the triplet monsters-capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy--tread, organized resistance by the oppressed fought back. Contrary to the pearl-clutching lament that "human nature led to this," water protectors, land defenders, and workers have laid their bodies in front of the machinery of extractive capitalism countless times. And this is nothing new.

Andreas Malm's recent book, Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming, lays bare

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the earliest history of the carbon economy. He chronicles the rise of the coal economy in the British textile industry--an industry that was previously powered by a combination of water and exploited human labor. Huge public works schemes built elaborate reservoirs and channels to power the mills with the water in Britain's rivers, but then, like today, industrial production used only a small fraction of this renewable energy. Almost none of the massive water power projects came close to reaching capacity.

Cotton bosses found that workers at the mostly countryside mill towns could easily organize strikes and work stoppages to win demands. Bosses responded by shifting to coal-fired steam engines located in cities and towns. There, freed from the rivers' constraints and supplied with increasing numbers of dispossessed workers, cotton bosses learned that fossil energy was one of the ultimate means of power over workers--the power that mattered most to them.

The new coal-powered production led to new forms of labor insurrection: militant unions, Chartism, and other revolutionary movements. One notable action mentioned in Fossil Capital is the 1842 General Strike, also called the Plug Plot Riots; workers and community members marched through towns pulling boilers' plugs to quench the coal fires, smashed coal-powered machinery, and shut down coal mines. It was, in effect, one of the first mass direct action and sabotage campaigns targeting the fossil fuel economy.

Of course, labor and ecological exploitation has remained vast and systemic since then, and the story is always the same: colonize a population, use violence to break them from their land and means of subsistence, extract fossil capital, then move on and leave the decimated landscape to the locals.

A recent example of this strategy is happening now. Fossil capitalists and their cronies in the colonial Canadian and American states have inundated the Pacific Northwest with proposals to punch pipelines, oil trains, and other

infrastructure through already decimated lands. Most have been defeated, but some are dangerously close to completion. The Kinder Morgan TransMountain pipeline expansion through British Columbia, recently purchased by the Canadian federal government after months of militant direct action delayed construction, would triple the amount of tar sands moving through the Salish Sea.

The fiercest resistance to these plans has come from the frontlines: Indigenous communities, and Indigenous women in particular. Whether they will succeed in this particular battle isn't clear, but if we want to permanently end this war on the environment and live in harmony with the Earth, we must end capitalism. As Fellow Workers, Wobblies, and caretakers of our verdant (for now) planet, it is our historic mission to do just that. And in order to be successful we must join with our Indigenous and colonized comrades to confront carbon capitalism and learn what it means to be in harmony each other and with the Earth.



Learn more about the IWW's Environmental Unionism Caucus ecology.iww.org facebook.com/IWWEnvironmentalUnionistCaucus twitter.com/IWWEUC



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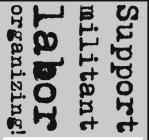
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Subscription pricing rates

12-month subscription = \$30.00 6-month subscription = \$17.00 Single issue = \$6.00

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5 THINGS TO WATCH FOR IN

he effects of the Janus case may not be felt for several years. The continued rollback of union rights and the landmark Janus decision will undoubtedly pressure the labor movement's conservatives to redouble their efforts to expand their influence, so the leftist community must be prepared to deal with them. None of these trends are new, they are the result of 150 years of developments within the labor movement.

In times of crisis--like we are in--we should expect conservatives to step up their efforts to undercut the rank-and-file, punish workers for stepping out of line, and turn to the Democratic Party to save Labor, all of which will ultimately hurt the labor movement in the long term. And we should also be aware of other groups on the Left which seek to build their own power at the expense of workers.

Business unions trying to centralize power

Since the late-nineteenth century, the business unions (those that collaborate with capitalists rather than challenge them) have always tried to centralize power in their leadership while undermining rank-and-file organizing. From signing contracts that bargained away strike rights to working with the government to force workers to accept abysmal conditions, business unions rely on undemocratic and hierarchical structures to maintain control over their membership.

Now that they are presented with a fresh crisis from the Janus decision, these conservatives will turn their ire on both radical workers within their own ranks as well as the rank-and-file concept itself. Labor leaders know that the biggest threats to their power post-Janus are workers refusing to join unions in the public sector as well as the cessation of "fair share" fees that helped build up union bank accounts. Many rank-and-file members--even if they are themselves conservative--have shown tremendous organizing abilities which defied union leadership, like the West Virginia teachers' wildcat strike this spring. And with a National Labor Relations Board that is at best unreliable, and while unions hemorrhage money, labor leaders will be forced to call their rankand-file to heel. While they talk big about solidarity and fighting back, unions will continue to sign terrible contracts, like the UAW did at the University of Washington this past summer, when they refused to support real actions that might actually help workers. Because empowering the workers is actually dangerous for business unionism: when workers are in control, they generally fight hard and they win, challenging the basic structure of the business unions and making their "leaders" obsolete.

The labor movement will fail or it will devolve into bourgeois politicking if the rank-and-file do not have democratic control over their unions. Already, the business unions--in the industries where they retain some shred of power--have abused their undemocratic structures to entrench corrupt bureaucrats in power. The Teamsters leaders declared that a new contract with UPS was

ratified, despite a majority of their members voting against it. The AFL-CIO's own employees will be walking out to protest low wages and bad-faith bargaining. And we already witnessed how education unions' rank-and-file went out on wildcat strikes in defiance of both union leaders and state governments.

The leaders of business unions often reject the fundamental principles of democracy to maintain "labor peace." Democracy is antithetical to labor peace, capitalism, and business unionism, and therefore they must oppose it.

Opportunists trying to cash in

We must be wary of business unions that talk about solidarity while undercutting their own membership, and we must stay vigilant against opportunists attempting to seize popular momentum for their own goals. On the Left especially--which is siloed in many different organizations with a vast array of ideologies--there are opportunists who are ready to thrust themselves into the fray to amass power for themselves.

The first of these opportunists are the "entryists," small and marginal radical organizations that attempt to infiltrate larger organizations with the intent of furthering their own agenda. Historically, these small groups attempt to place their members into positions of power so they can gain access to resources and members that were previously unattainable. This cannibalistic entryism can have two effects: radicals who join less radical groups waste their time and energy trying to reform the larger group; or less radical groups become fractured from infighting over how the organization should function. Both are a net loss for the labor movement. Some have argued that the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) support entryism because they are trying to reform the capitalist Democratic Party, for instance.

The second group of opportunists are the organizations which are seeking to capitalize on anti-Trump sentiment. One current example is the Revolutionary Communist Party led by Bob Avakian. The RCP operates through various front groups such as Refuse Fascism, Stop Patriarchy, Stop Mass Incarceration Network, and others. Former members have described the RCP as a cult of personality for Avakian. The RCP uses anti-Trump sloganeering to bring unsuspecting liberals into their orbit. For instance, RefuseFascism.org has no mention of the RCP on its front page or on any of its other "About" or "FAQ" pages, but it has very prominent donate buttons and ways to gather information from people who won't know they are unwittingly doing the work of Chairman Bob.

Unions going public too quickly

Unions are already struggling to win power in the private and public sectors. What I have noticed recently in my own organizing work is inexperienced and impatient workers making the mistake of announcing their intentions to the boss too early. When a union goes public before it has an unbreakable base of support in the

THE LABOR MOVEMENT LEXI DWENS

workplace, the boss can immediately start an anti-union campaign to destroy the organizing effort.

The strikes across the country have undoubtedly resonated with many alienated workers, who turn to unionism for a solution. Workers may call in outside help from established unions like United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) or Service Employees International Union (SEIU). These unions use the same old predictable strategies, and they swoop in and try to organize an NLRB election. What happens is either the union wins the election and stops organizing (no more shop floor actions, building solidarity, or recruitment) to focus on bargaining a contract, or the union loses and is never heard from again, leaving the workers to suffer whatever retaliation the boss can come up with. In both cases, the workers themselves are left without recourse or power because they announced themselves too early.

The other mistake I've seen is a small group of workers declares to the boss and the public that they are a union now. This group--always a tiny minority in the shop--immediately alienates a huge percentage of workers who consider themselves anti-union, pisses off other people who weren't asked to join in the first place, and alerts the boss to their young and disorganized campaign. Suddenly, they get inundated with anti-union propaganda, their fellow workers abandon them for fear of retribution, and the unionization effort declines until the original organizers give up or are fired.

Going public early is a symptom of trying to capitalize on perceived sentiment rather than building solidarity. Union organizing takes a long time: in almost every case, organizers need to ensure they have the support of an overwhelming majority of the shop before risking going public. They have to have laid the groundwork to fend off an anti-union campaign, lockouts, scabs, and other retaliation.

Noise about general strikes

In reaction to every new outrage from the Trump Administration, some group will call for a general strike, urging all workers to refuse to work until Trump's decision is rescinded or some other nebulous goal is achieved. Most recently, there were "general strikes" announced during the Kavanaugh hearings, and others throughout 2017 and 2018. They never took hold anywhere.

A general strike has the power to immobilize the government, cripple the economy, and overturn many of the institutions that oppress us. That's why the general strike is the utopian goal for many different leftist groups. But it is not a "general strike" unless a gigantic portion of the workforce goes on strike for as long as it takes to win the demand. These abortive one-day strikes disrupt little, can be weathered by those in power, and prove nothing. A general strike will take months or years to plan, establishing the necessary infrastructure to ensure people are fed and ready for

what happens after the demand is won. If the demand is as grandiose as removing a president from power or something like paralyzing the US government, then the public must be prepared for what happens next.

Any call for a general strike should be treated with the utmost cynicism, especially if those calling for it are activists who aren't even part of the labor movement. A general strike will have to be coordinated through massive labor organizations, not activist groups without experience in organizing strikes. Rather, those in the labor movement should use the discourse about general strikes as opportunities to teach workers about what a general strike would actually look like, how it could be accomplished, and what its demands could or should be.

Unclear and unwinnable demands

Similar to tuning out noise about general strikes, labor organizers should be wary of groups that call for unclear and unwinnable demands. Often, boycotts take on unwinnable demands. Typically, a group calls for a boycott, which some number of people choose to participate in for some amount of time, but eventually the boycott loses steam, and it fails. When was the last time you can recall a group saying, "The boycott is over, you can buy these products again"? Organizers forget the basics of direct action and public pressure, and they waste time, resources, and public sentiment.

For labor, workers often want clear and winnable demands, which can be won with clear and well-planned direct action and escalation--anything from minor demands like longer lunches or major economic demands like guaranteed healthcare. Support and solidarity can accomplish all of these demands because the goals and tactics are clear, as are the conditions for success.

Unclear and unwinnable demands are vague and open-ended. "Remove the president from power" is one such demand. At first glance, it seems straightforward. But it's neither clear nor winnable. The labor movement--however it is defined--is generally lacking in resources to take on protracted labor struggles with ill-defined goals.

This is not to say we must be overly cautious. But we should have well-defined strategic goals for the short, medium, and long term, and we should have tactics with proven track records that can accomplish the tasks needed to reach those goals. In the Seattle IWW, our short-term goals include growth in membership and organizing capacity, and we have clear plans for how to accomplish them through internal organizing, trainings, and opening up successful workplace organizing campaigns. We start with these small goals so that we can work towards larger, more impactful long-term goals that will improve people's lives and eventually challenge capitalism itself. I say "eventually" because this movement will not be accomplished in one presidential term but over many.

Munt should we say when a capitalist dies? A labor organizer's approach to celebrating death. By Lindsay Mimir

aul Allen, one of Seattle's foremost business leaders, philanthropists, and rapacious capitalists died on October 15. Like many of the outrageously wealthy, he was widely celebrated in the media. He was a co-founder of Microsoft, one of Time magazine's 100 most influential people in back-to-back years (2007 and 2008), owner of the Seahawks, part-owner of the Sounders, and chairman of the mega-company Vulcan Inc. Allen's net worth was above \$20 billion, and he is credited with donating more than \$2 billion to philanthropic efforts over his lifetime.

Of course, we on the radical left often have instinctive negative reactions when one of these robber barons dies. We have to ask ourselves, should we risk alienating friends and coworkers by celebrating the death of a member of the exploiting class, or should we stay silent? Should we bow our heads in conformity with the liberal establishment that asks us not to speak ill of the dead, or should we critically evaluate the life and legacy of capitalism's most obvious agents of wealth inequality and abuse?

I for one will not apologize for celebrating the death of monsters who caused immeasurable suffering during their time on Earth. Steve Jobs exploited slave labor in Africa and Asia to build his tech empire. The oil and petrochemical kings of the US have helped decimate this planet's ecosystems. And in the words of Killer Mike, "I'm glad Reagan dead."

However, grave dancing will not help us win labor struggles or overcome centuries of entrenched ideology which teaches workers to venerate the billionaire class. Our immediate backlash to the fawning media portrayals should be sober, nuanced, and pointed. "Screw him, just another exploiter billionaire!" always feels good in the moment, but accomplishes nothing more than a brief second of catharsis. But if someone brings up a billionaire's philanthropy—as has been the case with Allen and others like Elon Musk, Bill Gates, or even Jeff Bezos—we should respectfully yet firmly use the opportunity for agitation and education. Ask questions about why our society seems to rely on the "good" billionaires to provide basic services like clean water. Ask why philanthropists threaten to withdraw their donations when taxes are proposed, which has happened with multiple billionaires in Seattle alone. Ask why billionaires hoard their wealth and make token philanthropic gestures while their employees have no healthcare, make below minimum wage, and are forced to work unpaid overtime. This shifts the focus from the death of the billionaire and turns the conversation towards political education.

We are all familiar with our coworkers who earnestly mourn the loss of entrepreneurs and businesspeople. The reaction should not be to spit in the faces of our fellow workers and demand they change their beliefs. The reaction should be to help them see that the existence of billionaires—and the possibility for reverence of wealth—is part of the problem and contributes to the rampant inequality in our society. This approach can make a positive act like philanthropy into a questionable practice that is part of the larger class struggle.

We should try to get people to think about what philanthropy means. Paul Allen's museum famously celebrated the life and work of Jimi Hendrix. I wonder how many more Jimi Hendrixes there are in the world who will never become famous because they spend eight or ten or sixteen hours a day working for wages just to survive. Instead of practicing guitar or writing songs, they stock shelves at Target or taxi around tourists for Uber. How many more Nirvanas, Sound Gardens, Blue Scholars, or 7 Year Bitches would there be if otherwise talented and driven people weren't stuck slaving away so a few people can be extremely rich?

If we are to build a movement of laborers, our biggest task is just convincing people to join the labor movement. And as fun as it is to celebrate another dead member of the ruling class, it can feel alienating for our fellow workers. Focus on political education now so that when we do have our cathartic moments of elation in the future, we will have more allies who can grave dance with us.



A Polities of Pain

By Anonymous

Friend, now there's a riot. Watch the bald guy with the Pinochet shirt who punches through the black bloc with haymakers and hate and the phalanx of cops does nothing. He bleeds and doesn't care. His name is Tiny, and he's a real bastard that's for damn sure. Tiny's the kind of guy who'd say bomb them back to the stone age or might is right or who'd throw my friends out of a helicopter. Flashbangs burst, the magnesium sparkle dazzles the busted storefronts and everyone runs away, but Tiny runs around the intersection with his bloodied fists in the air like it's V-J day, like the bomb just went off and declared him President. He'd like that. But it's already worse than that, friend don't watch the news. Instead, watch the stark propaganda that appears and disappears on the phone poles down the avenue like a magic trick, a differential equation of politics. But this is a politics of the body. No matter how often a bonehead like Tiny terrorizes the streets, remember that words won't drive him out and that he can't understand love, not here. Now, clench your fist. This is a politics of pain.

10

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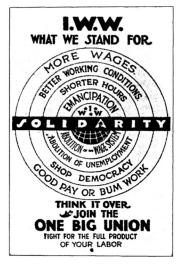
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What is the I.W.W.?

The Industrial Workers of the World is a radical, democratic, member-run labor union. We are committed to the liberation of the working class from the tyranny of capitalism. We believe that in our current economic system, wages are determined by a small number of elites who belong to the ownership class and we can no longer allow these people to determine our standard of living.

The IWW began in 1905 in Chicago, making it one of the oldest unions in the US. Seattle has a long history with the IWW, going all the way back to 1905. Wobblies--as members of the IWW are known--helped organize the Seattle General Strike of 1919.

We must unite together as workers into a single movement. Only through unity can we hope to revolutionize the economic system which strips away our freedom, our wealth, and our lives. Together, we can fight for what we deserve. But only if we act as one.



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