The Seattle General Strike of 1919 Centennial Commemoration

February-March 2019 | Vol. 2, Iss. 2

STRIKE CALLED

ALL UNIONS TO GO OUT

February 6 to 11, 1919

Following the conclusion of the First World War, shipyard workers in Seattle demanded an end to the wage freezes that had been instituted during the war. When their demands were rejected, 35,000 shipyard workers walked off the job and asked for the other unions in the city to join them.

In what became the biggest single strike action in American history to that point, the shipyard workers were joined by 30,000 other workers, including numerous trade unions and members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Radicals, socialists, communists, and anarchists all helped organize the general strike.

This year, we celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the General Strike with a special edition of the Seattle Worker.

IWW members attacked by American Legion. Wobbly N. W. Everest lynched. Meeting hall ransacked. Wobblies arrested for defending themselves while hired thugs go free. Lawyer E. Smith also charged. What can we learn from history?
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In remembrance of
The
Scarlet
Review

EMANCIPATION  EDUCATION  ORGANIZATION
Despite making billions of dollars a year in revenue, the ambulance company AMR claimed they didn’t have the money to pay their EMTs in Seattle much above minimum wage. The EMTs, who are represented by Teamsters Local 763, were rightfully skeptical of the company’s claims and voted to strike. Because they would rather spend money on plane tickets and hotels than their employees’ wages, AMR actually flew in hundreds of scabs from out of state only to discover they couldn’t work because they weren’t licensed in Washington. Once their incompetent attempt at union busting blew up in their faces, the bosses at AMR gave their employees the raises they wanted, which includes faster wage increases in the future. And, yes, you read that right: The managers of a company that employs EMTs in Washington State didn’t understand the licensing requirements for EMTs in Washington State. Remember that next time anyone tries to convince you executives get paid a lot because they know what they’re doing or something.

The class war that the wealthy in the US have been waging on the rest of us is starting to look like the nineteenth century. Life expectancies in the US have officially been declining for several years now. The US is the only place in the industrialized world where this is happening, and the place with the highest degree of capitalist control over healthcare. But life expectancy isn’t declining for everyone in the US. The top 10% are living longer. The life expectancies of the bottom 10% are over 13 years shorter. Meanwhile, McKesson Corporation, UnitedHealth Group, and Community Health Systems, the largest pharmaceutical, health insurance, and hospital companies in the US, pulled in revenue of over $198 billion, $201 billion, and $18 billion respectively last year. And they are a small part of the $3 trillion “healthcare” industry that is literally killing people.

In Kennewick, Washington the school board offered the district’s paraeducators a dismal contract that would prevent most of them from ever making more that $17 an hour no matter how many years they worked. After the school board told the paraeducators that it was their last and best offer, the paraeducators, who are represented by Public School Employees SEIU Local 1948, decided they would strike. The mere threat of a strike was enough to force the Kennewick School Board to offer up a better deal. The paraeducators will now receive an 8% pay increase, a 1.5% increase for longevity, and a 4.1% pay increase next year.

The Four Roses distillery in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky went out on strike to defeat a terrible contract the company was offering. Although the employees of Four Roses are unionized with the UFCW and SEIU, union leadership showed little interest in the strike, so the strike was largely organized by the workers themselves. During the strike, a construction crew working on the distillery walked out in solidarity with the striking workers, and local support for the workers was high. After two weeks on strike, the company abandoned the contract they were pushing for. The most respectable thing about the entire strike was that the current employees contracts were to remain unchanged, but the company was planning to give new hires a worse deal. So the workers who organized the strike didn’t strike so much for themselves as for their future fellow workers. They rejected the two-tiered pay system to protect the livelihoods of other workers they haven’t even met yet. That’s the kind of working-class solidarity we should all take as an example.

As we reported last year, Have a Heart marijuana retailer became the first unionized marijuana distributor in the country when they organized with the UFCW, and Burgerville became the first unionized fast food chain in the country after unionizing with the IWW. They have now officially added one unionized location each, both of which are in Oregon.

In the recent Supreme Court case New Prime vs Oliveira, New Prime (a trucking company) claimed Dominic Oliveira (their employee) couldn’t sue them for wage theft, despite the fact that they were guilty of it, because they had forced him to sign a mandatory arbitration agreement. Surprisingly, the
Supreme Court (a group of wealthy, unelected oligarchs whose job is to give legal support to capitalists while simultaneously acting as a break on the democratic will of the American people) actually sided with Oliveira over the corporation. Don't start thinking that the Supreme Court is starting to become a champion of working people, however. This was a very narrow ruling on an extremely egregious case of wage theft. In every other similar case, they have ruled that theft is totally cool, as long as it's companies stealing from workers and not the other way around. They also wear bathrobes to work, but some people actually respect their opinions anyway.

The minimum wage was increased in 20 states in January (including Washington State), and it will be 21 states for the year once the minimum wage is increased in Nevada. The majority of these minimum wage increases were not passed into law by the politicians that are supposed to be representing us. Instead, the increases were voted into law by the citizens of the respective states. No doubt, the politicians didn't have the time to worry about their donors' employees as they were too busy deciding how to dispose of the roughly $15 billion dollars they spent on campaigning since 2016, which is enough money to increase the pay of every federal minimum wage earner in the United States to $15 an hour for two full years.

The capitalists and the bought politicians will never willingly give you anything. If you want what's rightfully yours, organize and force them to hand it over!
When people went away to the battlefields of World War I, people who couldn’t—or wouldn’t—fight, as well as those who stayed behind, like most women, Black men, immigrants, and other people of color, filled their vacancies in the workforce. For instance, in the Puget Sound, white and Black women worked together in the shipyards, building ships for the war. But what happened when the soldiers returned?

Once the war was over, soldiers and sailors streamed back into Seattle and the greater US, and they wanted their jobs back. In anticipation of their return, and in the first months following the war, there was a lot of anxiety amongst the labor community about ‘what they would do with the soldiers.’ This phenomenon wasn’t new in the US: the same happened following the Civil War and it would happen again following World War II and the more recent armed conflicts in the Middle East. For many years, the US labor movement has tried and often failed to integrate veterans into the movement. Since it does not seem likely that the US government will stop warmongering anytime soon, it is useful to analyze how labor organizers have tried to integrate and organize veterans following wartime conflict. By studying the example of the Workers’, Soldiers’, & Sailors’ Council at the end of World War I, we can examine possible solutions to the problem that exists whenever soldiers return from war: what can and should be done with groups of disaffected and unemployed people who encounter an unwelcoming civilian labor market controlled by merciless business owners and multinational corporations.

World War I ended in November 1918 and for Seattle workers, working conditions were poor. Wage freezes in the shipyards, enacted because of wartime exigencies, continued even though the federal government promised they would end. Thousands of now unemployed soldiers returned to the city and surrounding region. Further, Seattle continued to suffer growing pains from a population boom that saw the population rise from 3,553 in 1880 to 237,194 in 1910. Additionally, the predominant industries of Seattle were shifting from extractive industries like lumberwork, sawmills, and mining, to industrial production like shipbuilding and manufacturing.

In the midst of these changes, the workers decided to attempt to change their abhorrent working conditions and wages. In January 1919, the shipyard workers of Seattle declared a strike. Strikes were by no means rare
occurrences. What made the 1919 shipyard strike different was that the shipyard workers successfully enticed many of the other labor unions around the city to join with them in solidarity. When the 35,000 shipyard workers went on strike, they were joined by more than 30,000 other workers, who walked out in a general strike from February 6 to February 11. The General Strike was significantly bolstered by the immense task of organizing the various labor unions and thousands of soldiers and sailors together not just in their industries, but as members of the working class in a mass revolt against the prevailing economic conditions.

The Metal Trades Council of Seattle, an amalgamated union representing shipyard workers and which was affiliated with the Seattle Central Labor Council, took the initiative to hold a mass meeting with the express purpose of forming a

of Labor, the WSSC councilmembers had something else in mind. An initial leaflet by the WSSC, most likely published in January 1919, mimics the language of the Metal Trades mass meeting invitation, urging soldiers to see themselves first as workers, to take matters into their own hands, and ultimately organize themselves. After January and likely because of the Seattle General Strike, the WSSC became much more radical in its aims and tactics.

Outlining their constitution and plans in the May 1919 issue of The Forge, the WSSC notes that the council consists of delegates from various parts of Seattle Labor (both radical and conservative) including AF of L unions, the IWW, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, various cooperatively run businesses, and farmers’ granges. The paper also notes that the WSSC admired the Russian

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No. 3

Wobbly shipyard workers joined the General Strike, courtesy of the Labor Archives of Washington.

Workers’, Soldiers’, and Sailors’ Council (WSSC). Modeled after the workers’, soldiers’, and peasants’ councils, or “soviets,” of the Russian Revolution, the Metal Trades Council envisioned Seattle’s WSSC to be an organizing body that would fix their “soldier” problem through labor organizing. The mass meeting invitation urges soldiers and sailors to not only see themselves as workers, but as sharing a common interest against the exploitative capitalist class:

“In connection with the present pressing problem of finding employment for the returning soldiers and sailors and discharged war workers, it must be self-evident to you all that charity, or merely discharging other workers in order to provide employment to men from the military service, is no solution, when the workers discharged are not provided the means of making an honest living. We must find the remedy. The exploiters will not.”

The mass meeting happened sometime in December 1918 or January 1919, and the WSSC set to work recruiting more members and defining the council’s mission and goals. While the Metal Trades and mainstream Seattle Labor envisioned the WSSC as another sort of labor union that would be in-line with the values of the American Federation

Revolution and the “efforts of our class all over the world to free themselves from economic slavery.” Their preamble, reminiscent of the IWW’s preamble, called “upon all those who toil, regardless of race, creed, color or sex, to rally to the standard of real democracy to bring about the dictatorship of the only useful class in society—the working class,” possibly suggesting that the Wobblies or their allies were heavily involved in the creation and organization of the WSSC. Finally, the WSSC strays far from the white supremacist ideals of the AF of L by advocating for the inclusion of people of color in the council and in the larger labor movement. One article in The Forge argues against the racist exclusion of Japanese workers from the labor movement, and elsewhere in the paper the WSSC boasts that they have had Filipino, Hawaiian, and Black members in the council since its founding.

By May of 1919, the WSSC decided that its mission was to unite workers across the various factions in the Seattle labor movement, so they attempted to do so through print propaganda, community defense, and organization of joint meetings with various labor groups. The council had become less about organizing soldiers and sailors and more about uniting the working class in its entirety. Displaying more class
consciousness than many other labor groups, the WSSC imagined itself as a unifying force and part of the whole of labor, a group that could bring together many groups not under the banner of any single organization, but under the banner of working-class liberation itself.

The ephemeral nature of print materials at this time left us with little evidence about how and why the WSSC came to an end. Likely caught up in the governmental repression faced by many leftists—including the IWW—during the First Red Scare, *The Forge* stopped print production after April 1920 and evidence of the activities of the WSSC fades away. However, we can think about how their tactics did and did not work and how such tactics may be applied to present day struggles.

The first major takeaway is that the WSSC consciously worked to bridge the gaps between the various factions of the labor movement. Though they took strong stances against many internal AF of L policies (such as racial segregation), the WSSC also saw the value in bringing together radicals and conservatives with the aim of building a pluralistic but united labor movement that could genuinely threaten the capitalist stranglehold on the economy.

Can the IWW employ a tactic similar to this? The IWW's stated mission is the destruction of capitalism and the abolition of the wage system, which is incongruous with the mission of current AFL-CIO affiliates and other business unions, which puts the IWW in a similar position as the WSSC. But where the WSSC attempted to foster connections between unions, the IWW should remain separate from the current business unions which are mouthpieces for the Democratic Party and which routinely sell out their workers. Instead, the members of the IWW can take inspiration from the WSSC and work to build class consciousness through action and organization. Dual-carding campaigns—where members of the IWW are also members of another union—offer insights into how members of the IWW can work to improve their livelihoods and the livelihoods of their non-IWW coworkers by employing the methods and tactics of our union to improve the functioning of another union. The ultimate goal can be building militant and solidarity-based organizations that spread class consciousness within the workers themselves, who can then something that needed to be organized according to liberation and not according to union affiliation.


that made up the WSSC didn't disappear, but their organization did. The council itself could not withstand the inevitable state repression, labor discord, and economic turmoil of the age. The material conditions that precipitated the need for a council of workers, soldiers, and sailors prevailed, while the council did not.

Similarly, the modern IWW represents a miniscule fraction of the total unionized laborers in North America. Many IWW branches across the country are stagnant. Most IWW branches fold within three years of their formation. In Washington State, there are 584,000 unionized workers, whereas there are 3,700 members of IWW on the entire continent. This has to change. Until the IWW makes serious inroads with regards to building the union, spreading class consciousness, and organizing workplaces, we will continue to be a fringe radical group. That is why we should draw some inspiration from the Workers', Soldiers', and Sailors' Council, who saw the working class as a whole, something that needed to be organized according to liberation and not according to union affiliation.

If we are to succeed and survive, then we must break free from the leftist scene of activists, and act like a labor union. We should bring together workers, not just radicals. We should organize in the labor force, not the labor community. And we should stop seeing the working class as an idealized abstract, an inchoate mass ready to be convinced of its revolutionary potential. It's already revolutionary. We only need to understand our own limitations and what prevents our union from actually uniting workers and bringing about serious changes in the economic landscape.

The WSSC was a small, short-lived experiment in working-class solidarity. It collapsed, but the IWW survived. We can extract valuable lessons from the WSSC because not only did it help orchestrate one of the most significant labor events in American history, but it also vanished almost as quickly as it formed. We can avoid the WSSC's critical mistake—its inability to move from the fringes into the leadership of the labor movement—only if we understand our role as organizers of workers, not of radicals.

Sources:


On November 11, 1919, during the first celebration of Armistice Day following the conclusion of the First World War, a violent confrontation between the American Legion and the IWW occurred in the logging town of Centralia, Washington. The various accounts of the event—dubbed either the Centralia Massacre (by the Legion) or the Centralia Tragedy (by the IWW)—have been hotly contested, showing in miniature the cultural, social, and political battles that were fought in the US between labor, radicals, and reactionaries.

The American Legion, a group made up of World War I veterans, had a powerful presence in Centralia. The IWW—which also counted numerous veterans in its ranks—had been trying to organize loggers in Centralia throughout the 1910s. The IWW had established a fierce reputation in the area, and their presence provoked strong reactions from local business leaders and politicians. The IWW had been thrown out of town at least twice before the Centralia Tragedy, leaving members beaten and bloody by reactionaries led by the logging magnates. The IWW had also been evicted from its union hall in 1917, and its second hall was looted in 1918. When the IWW returned in 1919, they began organizing out of Centralia’s old Roderick Hotel.

The IWW returned each time because the loggers and workers of Centralia were working in dangerous and unforgiving industries. Logging in the early-twentieth century was one of the most dangerous jobs in the country. IWW members in the timber industry launched several successful strikes and actions across Washington in the 1910s.

According to both the Legion and the IWW, on November 11, tensions were high. IWW members barricaded themselves inside the hotel as well as in surrounding buildings. Centralia’s American Legion planned to march through town accompanied by other Legion posts from nearby. The American Legion marched up to the Roderick Hotel, halted, turned towards the hotel, and charged the door. The Wobblies inside the hotel fired at the Legionnaires, killing three and wounding several others. Then IWW member and WWII veteran Wesley Everest ran from the hall, pursued by Legionnaires. Everest killed one during his escape, but was captured. Later that night, Everest was lynched by a vigilante mob that broke into Centralia’s jail.

Reports from the town in the immediate aftermath show that the IWW was marked as a threat to the existing social order. The sheriff wired Washington’s governor to tell him that those captured after the shooting were Wobblies carrying membership cards and propaganda. The American Legion had helped shut off the electricity to the jail and had ordered cars to extinguish their headlights to mask the entrance of vigilantes into the jail. The state’s Attorney General L. L. Thompson, who was also a member of the American Legion, wrote that the IWW was the only subversive organization in the state with any power, and he spent the next four years helping to criminalize union activity and imprison IWW members.

Centralia remains a critical part of the IWW’s history. Like other violence that came before—for instance Everett, Washington in 1916, when IWW members were shot by police and vigilantes, or the Bisbee Deportation of 1917 when 1,300 striking miners and many IWW members in Arizona were marched through the desert and deported to Mexico—Centralia is still relevant to the current political context in which we are organizing, both against reactionary terrorism and state repression. Following Trump’s election, a Seattle IWW and GDC member was shot by a right-wing fanatic; IWW members were arrested en masse on January 20, 2017 in Washington D.C. and accused of rioting, while their union membership was used as evidence.
against them. It’s also true that the citizens of Centralia continue to pick sides regarding the Centralia Tragedy, and merely asking about the event can earn you cold stares and bad treatment.

History can and should inform our decisions in the present. We know from the history of the twentieth century that the local, state, and federal governments will always act against the interests of Labor and especially militant labor organizers. This informs how we choose to organize now: we avoid violations of labor law, for example, while still maintaining a militant and solidarity-based organizing model. We rely on direct action and will always use it to win gains on the shopfloor because we understand we can’t appeal to the government to protect us from our employers. We also know that the only way we can protect ourselves from repression is to build an organization large enough to withstand the constant challenges we face from the government, corporations, and reactionaries.

But this also raises an important point about how we can organize around members of the working class who hold reactionary beliefs and who act on behalf of the bosses. The thugs and soldiers and cops who beat, arrested, shot, and lynched IWW members did not belong to the capitalist class. They were workers who saw an advantage in siding against other workers. This problem is pervasive in our contemporary culture and a major barrier to working-class organization.

Centralia offers a salient lesson in building solidarity within the working class—and the results that can occur when we are not prepared to withstand repression. And yet our organization is so small now that any government crackdown, widespread vigilante actions, or a combination of the two would seriously cripple us. We are left with few options that can actually protect us.

One clarion call from within the IWW has been for increased “community defense.” The implication is that we must make preparations against fascism, reactionaries, and government repression by organizing in communities outside of the workplace. And on the surface, these demands are both necessary and correct. However, in practice, this community defense has not been enough. Community defense can’t protect us if it is divorced from labor organization, and especially if the community’s “defenders” do not actually belong to the community they claim to defend. However, because community members also do labor, and because laborers are always members of some community or another, these efforts must necessarily be interlocked.

The only thing that can protect us is widespread solidarity within both our communities and our workplaces. That solidarity begins with labor organization because that is the nexus of the working class’ power as well as the goal of the Industrial Workers of the World. We can undermine reactionary politics by creating formidable working-class organizations at our workplaces which can marginalize and isolate bigots, reactionaries, and fascists. We can undermine efforts to repress us by organizing campaigns that are well-positioned within industries and which are united by inter-industry alliances, which is perhaps the most important aspect of the Industrial Workers of the World organizing model, which seeks to bring together all the members of the same industry into one union without parceling them out according to craft. We can only undermine reactionary opposition to us if we are large enough to do so, and the only sustainable model for growth is to reach the millions of unorganized workers, not the small pockets of leftist activists.

Most workers are not reactionaries. Most workers are aware of their own economic oppression and want to take action to fix it. Most workers have been tricked into thinking that action should be organized by the Democrats or the...
Republicans or the National Rifle Association or the American Civil Liberties Union. Most workers can be brought into the IWW through intentional, targeted, strategic recruitment within workplaces by illustrating how worker self-organization, direct action, and solidarity can be used to win significant short-term gains in the workplace and significant long-term gains in the economic and political spheres.

Capitalism will not be defeated as long as its foot soldiers continue to march at the behest of the employing class. So the organization of the working class must address how these foot soldiers arm themselves, organize themselves, and act for capitalist interests. Why did thugs hired by the timber companies ransack the Centralia IWW’s hall? How were they recruited, hired, organized, and given orders? How could the IWW have organized around them or against them? And why didn’t the other workers in Centralia—afliliated with neither the IWW nor the American Legion—defend their fellow workers in the IWW?

How can the fascists of the Pacific Northwest be effectively challenged and beaten?

Strategic and deliberate recruitment that builds power beyond political allegiances is what gives us the ability to take action to defend ourselves. Empowering workers to take action they otherwise would not have taken transforms workers into revolutionaries. And once workers are ready to take action on the job against their bosses, they can be made ready to withstand state and vigilante repression. This is a decades-long, arduous, difficult process that can only be undertaken with a serious understanding of the long term. If the IWW grows to the same size it was in 1919, we will face state repression again. We need to learn from the repression of the past to understand how to adapt to an uncertain future. For instance, what differentiated the IWW of 1919 from the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) of 1936 Spain, which won significant victories against the Spanish fascists and organized Spanish cities and vast tracts of countryside under an anarchist federation? The CNT and Spanish radicals had spent more than seven decades slowly and steadily building class consciousness, radical unionism, and anti-authoritarianism into the mainstream ideology of numerous Spanish communities.

So we are presented with the central question which plagues all radical organizations: how can we build class consciousness despite the overwhelming presence of reactionaries, right-wing ideology, and working-class ambivalence? The story of Centralia teaches us that we must combine intentional and strategic industrial organization with dedicated and labor-focused community defense which can slowly but realistically build class consciousness, which will stand against reactionaries in solidarity with workers and revolutionaries.

If we are to fulfill the IWW’s Preamble and join in the working class’ historic mission to destroy capitalism, then we must make serious attempts to organize the working class as workers, at the point of production and in their workplaces, so as to present a multi-faceted, diverse, widespread, and united movement. Only then can we hope to prevail against state repression, vigilantes, fascism, and the other threats which will inevitably attempt to crush our pursuit of liberation.
Application for Membership
Aplicación para Membresía

☐ I affirm that I am a worker and that I am not an employer. [Afirmo que soy trabajadora y no soy empleadora.]

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

Name/Nombre: ____________________________
Address/Dirección: ____________________________
City/Ciudad: ____________________________ State/Estado: ____________________________
ZIP: ____________________________ Country/País: ____________________________
Email: ____________________________
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Employer/Empleador: ____________________________
Occupation/Ocupación: ____________________________

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

☐ I would like information about the IWW’s General Defense Committee. [Me gustaria recibir información sobre el Comité de Defensa General.]

Dues Rate Based on Monthly Income
Cuota Dependiente de Paga Mensual

Under $2,000 = $11 per month
$2,000 – 3,500 = $22 per month
Over $3,500 = $33 per month
Initiation fee is equal to one month's dues.

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.

SEATTLE IWW’S ORGANIZER TRAINING 101
FEBRUARY 23 & 24
Register: bit.ly/ot101seattle
Unionize: seattleiww.org

What time is it?
What can we do?
TIME TO ORGANIZE

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