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# Industrial Worker

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

SPRING 2018 #1783 VOLUME 115 NO. 2 \$4 (U.S. IWW members) / \$6 (U.S. non-members) / \$7 (International)



**May Day**

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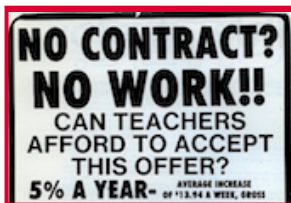
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Good morning Fellow Workers—

As I collect the mail on the way to meetings I was able to read through the magazine.

The statement of MWA-IWW/IWOC just rocked me. Learning about Mike and Heidi's plight had me wish I had something for them.

Perhaps it is just the issue; I read but I have left much art behind. TV shows, movies— In my life, what lies right outside my door makes screens' life removed, redun-

dant.

What gets me the most is an article all about Labor & Industry Department's governmental strides into reform. Now down, or up, to a glossy quarterly, the *Industrial Worker* will report on ameliorations formed by The State.

I must admit I am a luddite; good with limited doses—

Friends, being me if I had paid \$4 for my copy I would be dissatisfied. It was like when I was given a CD of a band of re-known (The Gits). I was thankful to receive it, glad to explore it, but done with after one play. Was good I did not pay for it.

This Wobbly would like to see the *Industrial Worker* be all about what the Industrial Workers of the World is; manifesting and manifestations of reifying our Preamble. This is quarterly, rare in the timespan of a year. Reprints may need to fill for lack of

Wobbly copy, but I wish the *IW* to have little on the stage that does not pertain to Our play.  
With Utmost Sincerety,  
Red, X337975

Dear Roberta,

Thanks so much for noticing my article, and for visiting the Women's Rights in the Workplace website. It would be a matter of great honor and privilege for me to have my article on Lucy Parsons included in *IWW's* magazine. Kindly use the same as needed. Words won't suffice to express how much we all are grateful to *IWW's* efforts then, and now.

Looking forward to the publication, and sharing it among fellow workers.

Comradely,  
Saswat Pattanayak  
**IW**



For some time now, Fellow Workers have been discussing online whether *Industrial Worker* in its current magazine format provides what branches need for organizing work, including distribution to those expressing interest in or having questions about the *IWW*. I have read a formal letter signed by a number of Wobblies and followed some email threads weighing the pros and cons of the magazine format vs. the newspaper format.

When I ran as a candidate to become *IW's* editor in the Fall of 2016, I didn't understand that the change to a magazine format was controversial in the union. All I knew from my few years as an *IWW* member (with a break in between blocks of time) was that when it came to which I preferred to read, I chose the magazine, without hesitation. To me, the newspaper was difficult to read. The layout was cluttered and the look was unattractive to my eye. Mostly, however, as someone who has worked with the English language professionally since 1978—as a teacher, writer, editor, and proofreader—it didn't read smoothly.

The magazine seemed to me to have a more universal appeal than the newspaper did, which I thought was deliberate and for the better. And here we come to how I discovered that my philosophy of what

the magazine is for is at odds with some FWs: I came into the post of *IW* editor seeing the magazine as the public face of the *IWW*.

This was confirmed for me when I went through the spreadsheet of subscribers to prepare it for the printers, and I saw that there were international subscribers to *Industrial Worker*, as well as subscribers in the US who were—and weren't—Wobblies.

In seeing *IW* as how the *IWW* presents itself to the world, I have worked to choose articles and material that reflect labor struggles and successes around the world. I have not limited myself to what's going on in the *IWW*, because I believe that workers' organizing, strikes, defeats, and successes reflect the universal struggle for those who labor for others to achieve the fairness in working conditions, pay, and hours, no matter what union they are in—and even if they are not union members.

I have also sought to provide added interest by developing themes for the quarterly issues. Spring and Fall were easy, since "May Day" and "In November We Remember" rightfully dominate those issues. But I wanted to broaden the scope of the issues by going beyond what I've seen in *IW* before while still maintaining relevance to what Wobblies do and value.

I had serendipitous contact with a woman who was commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Bisbee Deportation, when she asked about submitting something to the Spring 2017 issue. When she noted that it would be tight for her to get an article in on time, since she was working on an exhibit in Bisbee that was going to open just before the anniversary, I

suggested she wait for the Summer issue.

I was only cursorily familiar with the Bisbee story, but once I began to read about it, I knew that this rich heritage—not only of the *IWW* but of other labor organizers of the time, including Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, who with their newspaper *Regeneración* and the Mexican Liberal Party, took the labor fight across the border and worked with the Wobblies to get Mexican workers in Southwest mines pay equal to the (predominately) white American workers. Their story and others wove together with the *IWW* history to create a rich tapestry of the Bisbee story.

For Fall 2017, I thought of all of the people in long-ago and recent history who worked for the same values *IWW* fights for. But they did it in the sciences, literature, art, politics, music, social action, education, and so many other fields. I wanted to remember their challenges and achievements while recognizing and remembering those who the *IWW* lost during the year. I believe that our work builds upon a foundation made up of many materials from many eras that give it strength and endurance for the long haul. And I wanted to recognize those contributions.

For Winter 2018, it seems I raised some controversy, because it was after this issue on workers in the Arts was published that I began to see the discussions about going back to the newspaper format. I grew up in the arts. It was simply what my family did. To present an issue that looked at work in literature, music, films, television, and beyond seemed to provide a natural extension from what most people consider "regular" work. But for those people who wrote those books, made those films, and

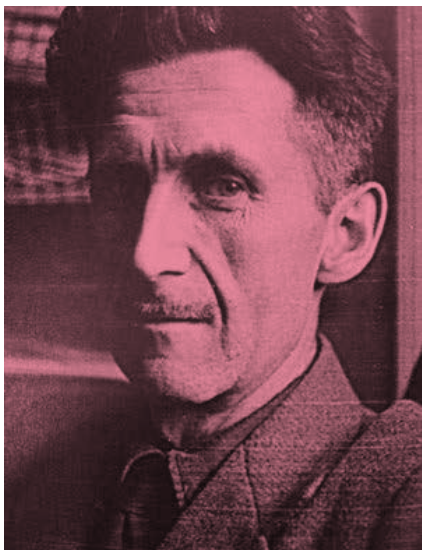
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# Hoping Against Hope: Sonia Brownell Orwell

Review of: **The Girl from the Fiction Department**, by Hilary Spurling

By **Raymond S. Solomon**

After George Orwell's death, was his radical-labor-libertarian heritage to continue? Were books like *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* and *Homage to Catalonia* going to find a wider audience? Would his important messages for the workers of the world in "Looking Back on the Spanish War" going to be heard?



Orwell (Eric Blair, 1903–1949) met Sonia Brownell (1918–1980) at his longtime friend Cyril Connolly's magazine, *Horizon*, in 1946. *Horizon* was a prestigious literary magazine and was one of the many periodicals where Orwell was published. Sonia, a brilliant editor, was indispensable in running *Horizon*. In one of the most personal letters in Orwell's *Collected Letters* from Arthur Koestler, Koestler advised Orwell to marry Sonia Brownell as soon as possible, because she "was one of the nicest people" he knew in Britain.

Sonia Brownell Orwell was of great comfort to George Orwell in the last period of his life. She took good care of him both before and after their short marriage in 1949. Sonia Brownell Orwell was primarily responsible for the publication of the various collections of Orwell's writings that were published after his death, and therefore for Orwell becoming more famous than he was after the publication of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and for his left-wing views being much more widely read.

That Sonia was a kind, considerate, full-of-life, and politically aware person, is proved by, among other things, Or-

well's choosing her as the model for Julia in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Julia was one of Orwell's most heroic characters. Sonia Orwell's social involvement continued for a long time after Orwell's death and was manifest by, among other activities, her support of Biafra and Bangladesh, both humanitarian tragedies.

Just as Julia brought love, comfort, and assistance to Winston Smith in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, so did Sonia for Orwell during the last period of his life. Winston Smith's initial description of Julia must have mirrored Orwell's initial impression of Sonia. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* describes a woman full of life, like Sonia. Some who knew Orwell interpreted Sonia's approach to life as selfishness or mercenary behavior, especially since after so short a marriage Sonia became the inheritor of Orwell's estate and had control over his work.

One of the things Sonia had in common with Orwell was that they were both originally born and spent their very early years in India, and came to England at an early age. A big difference was that Orwell, as a child, was not close to either of his sisters. But Sonia had a little brother—or half-brother—to whom she was very close. According to Spurling, Sonia and her brother, two years younger, would speculate together about whether they had the same father.

Sonia grew up in a cohesive Anglo-Indian Catholic community. Sonia hated Catholic school, which she found brutal. As an adult, she could not stand nuns. It was similar to the Catholic schooling in pre-Republican Spain that philosophical Anarchist Francisco Ferrer rebelled against. There were separate schools for girls and boys, and Science was not taught. Ferrer went on to establish his network of Modern Schools in Spain because of his school experience.

Spurling tells us that after the sudden death in 1945 of his first wife Eileen, whom he married in 1936, in addition to being very sad, Orwell was quite lonely, despite having many friends. Sonia, his second wife, more than filled a need. She was able to move forward after his death and carry on for him.

When George Orwell died, Sonia cried for hours inconsolably. As *The Girl from the Fiction Department* describes, she had believed she could save George Orwell's life. They were both looking forward to going to Switzerland and Orwell's treatment for tuberculosis at the Sanitarium. She had plans to act as his secretary, help mate, and caretaker. She looked forward to their

future and was "hoping against hope."

Like the POUM members who were unjustly accused of being traitors to Loyalist Spain, Sonia Orwell was unjustly accused of opportunism. As Orwell stated in "Why I Write," he wrote *Homage to Catalonia* to defend men—foreign and Spanish POUM fighters—who were unjustly accused. So perhaps Sonia's longtime friend Hilary Spurling wrote *The Girl from the Fiction Department* to defend Sonia Orwell.

In promoting Orwell's heritage Sonia Orwell worked in collaboration with Ian Angus in editing the four-volume *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell*, which were published in Britain and the United States in 1968. Irving Howe commented that he did not know the extent of Orwell's writing accomplishments until he saw the collected works. These volumes are full of so many historical footnotes that they by themselves could constitute a great book. This collection was a monumental research achievement. In 1960, at University College London, Sonia established the George Orwell Archive, together with David Astor and Richard Rees.

As Hilary Spurling observed, Sonia went through the daunting work of collecting



everything Orwell published and cataloguing it. Ian Angus had suggested that he receive one fourth of the royalties, but Sonia increased his share to fifty percent, and insisted that he share the editing credit. Sonia's efforts helped bring Orwell's important working-class messages to workers throughout the world. **IW**

I thank my Fellow Worker wife Judy for her editorial help on this article.

Spurling, Hilary. (2002) *The Girl from the Fiction Department: A Portrait of Sonia Orwell*. New York: Counterpoint: A Member of the Perseus Books Group.

# Trump is making it harder for **low-wage workers to organize**, but this fast food union **could win**



**By Michael Arria**

April 3, 2018, *Working In These Times*

Workers at a Burgerville in Portland, Oregon, declared on March 26 that they will file for a federal union election. If union campaigners win, the restaurant will become the first federally recognized fast food union shop in the United States. The local effort, which has a significant chance of victory, offers a powerful antidote to the Trump administration's aggressive anti-worker agenda.

This move comes after years of worker organizing as part of the Burgerville Workers Union (BVWU), which is an affiliate of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The workers gave Burgerville 48 hours to voluntarily acknowledge the union, which management refused.

BVWU went public in 2016, seeking raises for hourly workers, affordable health-care, a sustainable workplace and consistent scheduling. In addition to these demands, workers asked Burgerville to stop using the *E-Verify* system, which they say targets undocumented workers. *E-Verify* compares employee information with Department of Homeland Security and other federal records to confirm that people can legally work in the United States.

Today, six of the Washington-based company's 42 stores have publicly active unions, and workers say they've been fighting union busting and resistance from management throughout the entire process.

In an interview with the website *It's Going Down*, Luis Brennan, an employee at Burgerville's Portland Airport location, alleged that the company retaliates against

organizers by accusing them of minor infractions that wouldn't otherwise be enforced. He told the story of two Burgerville workers who were recently let go. One of them was allegedly fired for putting a small amount of ice cream in his coffee.

The other was allegedly fired for smelling like marijuana. According to Brennan, the latter worker never admitted to smoking marijuana and the company didn't ask him to take a drug test. The employee, who is black, did have a medical prescription for marijuana because of his epilepsy. "They gave him a week's suspension and then they fired him," said Brennan. "He's an active

teen months, was allegedly fired for eating a 70-cent bagel without paying for it. Vaandering said a manager gave him the bagel during a paid-break and didn't ask him for any money. While the bagel was the pretext for Vaandering's termination, he believes he was let go because he was recruiting co-workers to join the BVWU.

Asked about the alleged retaliations earlier this year, the company released the following statement: "Burgerville does not comment on individual employee matters or internal company policies."

Earlier this year, in response to management's refusal to negotiate with the union and its alleged retaliation against organizers, BVWU called on consumers to boycott Burgerville. The boycott call came during a three-day strike that started at the company's Northeast MLK Boulevard location before spreading to its Southeast Powell and 26th store, two locations in Portland.

Mark Medina, an employee at the Southeast Portland store and a member of BVWU, told *In These Times* that, while the union campaign has been active for more than 20, now is the perfect time to file for a union election. "It took a lot of work to get where we are right now," said Medina. "This was all built from the ground up:



union supporter, and the combination of racism and anti-unionism in that is pretty transparent to everybody."

Last year, Jordan Vaandering, a Burgerville employee who had worked at the store's Vancouver Plaza location for four-

no money, all volunteers. We've had major strikes and many shops, and now we'll have more leverage during the process. Our level of organization is concrete now. It's better."

Burgerville workers' call for a union

*"Burgerville" continues on page 17.*

# Bridgeport's contentious 1978 teachers' strike

By Andy Piascik

*andypiascik@yahoo.com*

When Bridgeport public school students arrived for the first day of school on September 6, 1978, they discovered that their teachers were on strike. The Board of Education and the Bridgeport Education Association (BEA), the collective bargaining representative of the city's 1,247 teachers as well as about 100 other school professionals, had been at loggerheads for months. Connecticut law forbids strikes by teachers, however, and many Bridgeporters were caught off guard by the picket lines in front of schools.

This does not mean the city's residents were unsympathetic. On the contrary, many parents joined the picket lines, as did students. On the West Side, a neighborhood group organized its members to gather outside Longfellow School to urge students to go home and to urge parents who accompanied their children to school to support the strike.

## National Teacher Strike Wave

The walkout in Bridgeport was one of many that September, as teachers in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Seattle, and numerous smaller cities and towns saw schools closed because of strikes. Not far away, teachers in Norwalk also went on strike for five days. None of those strikes, however, was as contentious or bitter as the one in Bridgeport.

The teachers were seeking significant increases in salaries and pensions, other benefit improvements, and smaller class sizes. They had accepted what many observers

regarded as a concessionary contract in 1975, and were dissatisfied with the city's offer three years later. The union pointed

out that salaries in Bridgeport for teachers and other school staff were the lowest in Fairfield County (as they are today) and among the lowest in the state. The union also noted the regular exodus of teachers from Bridgeport to higher-salaried jobs in nearby school districts, another trend that remains in 2018.

From the outset, the strike was highly successful. Only 36 teachers, or less than 3%, reported for work on September 6th,

and that number dropped in the days that followed. The Board of Ed kept elementary and middle schools open at first by utilizing a small number of teaching aides, substitute teachers, and accredited, unemployed teachers, but only 10% of students showed up. The city's Parent Teacher Association supported the strike by rejecting a call by the Board that they assist in staffing schools and helping scab teachers.

## Mass Arrests and Imprisonment

Arrests began just days into the strike and State Superior Court Judge James Heneby began levying fines of \$10,000 per day against the union. As the strike continued, Heneby ordered the union's officers jailed. The first jailings of teachers occurred on September 12th, when thirteen strikers were handcuffed and carted off, the men to a prison in New Haven and the women to one in Niantic some 60 miles away. Those arrested endured degradations such as strip searches and being doused with lice spray. Adding further insult, Heneby imposed individual fines of \$350 per person per day on the arrestees.

Angered by the arrests and the teachers' subsequent treatment—treatment that one arrestee later called the most humiliating event of her life—the strikers turned out to the picket lines the following day in ever larger numbers and with greater determination and militancy. One result was that the city and school board were forced to abandon efforts to keep any schools open. With all 38 schools closed, another 115 teachers were arrested in the next few days and 274 in all were arrested during the strike, 22% of the total in the city. Many of those arrested were packed onto buses and taken 70 miles to a National Guard camp in Windsor Locks that was converted into a makeshift prison.

## Standing Firm to Victory

With all of the other strikes around the country settled, the mass arrest and imprisonment of Bridgeport's teachers was drawing international attention and causing local elites and city residents as a whole great embarrassment. Despite the arrests, jailings, fines and some tense scenes on a

number of picket lines, the teachers stood firm. Finally, on September 25th, after 19 days, the teachers union and Board of Ed both agreed to accept binding arbitra-



Bridgeport, Conn.'s William Harding High School

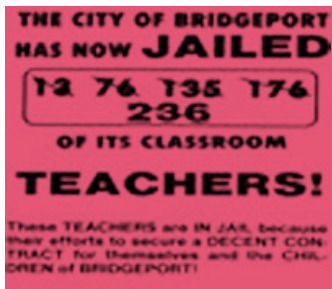
tion. All teachers, some of whom had been locked up for 13 days, were released from prison. The final terms of the agreement were largely favorable to the teachers.

## New Legislation: A Setback?

In the strike's aftermath, the Connecticut legislature passed the 1979 Teacher Collective Bargaining Act that mandates binding arbitration when teachers and the municipalities they work for are stalemated in contract negotiations. While some observers saw the law as a victory for teachers, it remains illegal for teachers in Connecticut to strike. In addition, a number of changes to the law since 1979, such as one that allows municipalities but not unions to reject the decision of an arbitrator, have weakened the bargaining position of teachers.

The law's restriction against strikes is also problematic, as conditions for Bridgeport teachers, not to mention students, have in many ways worsened since 1978. In Chicago, where strikes are not illegal, teachers who struck for nine days in 2012, and for shorter durations several times since, have again shown that significant improvements can be won with strikes. Those actions have countered attempts by elites intent on weakening teacher unions and underfunding schools by pitting the interests of students against those of teachers. A similar alliance of the wider public and school professionals, including 274 who endured arrest and scandalous treatment, is what enabled teachers to prevail and lift all boats in their strike in Bridgeport in 1978. **IW**

*Bridgeport native Andy Piascik is a long-time activist and award-winning author whose novel In Motion was recently published by Sunshine Publishing ([www.sunshinepublishing.org](http://www.sunshinepublishing.org)). He can be reached at [andypiascik@yahoo.com](mailto:andypiascik@yahoo.com).*



# The people united on the Embarcadero

By Charles W. Martin III

In the early 1930s on the West Coast of the United States, the longshoremen and the sailors, who make the shipping trade possible, were working under grueling conditions for low pay. The longshoremen made on average \$40 a month, while able seamen and ordinary seamen made roughly \$53 and \$36 a month respectively. Both longshoremen and sailors faced extended unemployment between jobs, but when work was available they were forced to work long hours. The longshoremen could be forced to work shifts up to 36 hours straight, and the sailors worked up to 16 hours a day.

Neither the longshoremen nor the sailors had adequate union protection against these injustices. The longshoremen were channeled into the gangster-controlled Blue Book Union. Through this “union” they had to use payoffs and bribes to gain work. The sailors were mostly unorganized, except for the small and corrupt International Seaman’s Union, and the even

longshoremen demanded a \$1/ hour wage, a six-hour day, a 30-hour workweek, and the creation of a union hall to remove hiring decisions from the gangsters in the Blue Book Union.

However, the bosses had nothing to negotiate; only a Communist insurrection to put down. The press supported them by launching a slander campaign to paint the workers as Disney villains. Consider this “gem” from the San Francisco Chronicle, headlined “Red Army Marching on City”:



ILWU march down Market Street and Nick Bordoise, a member of the cook’s union and the local Communist Party. By the end of Bloody Thursday, 2,000 National Guardsmen were called out and it appeared that the strike was lost.

However, that very night the people of San Francisco began stirring. 35,000 people marched at the funeral for the two slain men. Then, beginning with the Painter’s Union Local 1158, local after local were calling for a general strike. They were ignoring the frantic cries of “Red” by the mainstream business press and William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor. All but two of the city’s union locals—around 160 locals with a membership of 127,000—walked out on the morning of July 16, 1934.

Many of the unions in San Francisco were run by corrupt and opportunist labor leaders, who comprised a majority of the General Strike Committee. They did not want the workers to go on a general strike but they went along to get along in order to not be swept away by the wave of the rank and file.

This rank-and-file wave led to the city being completely shut down—nothing moved without the blessing of the General Strike Committee. While the bosses owned everything, they were nothing without their workers. Not a single gear or machine ran. The bosses responded to their impotence by bringing in 3,000 additional National Guardsmen and hiring vigilantes to wreck, among other things, union halls, bookstores, the headquarters of the local Communist Party and other worker organizations, and even a soup kitchen run by the ILA. In one amusing incident, the police pathetically arrested 500 homeless

*“Embarcadero” continues on page 17.*

## 120 UNIONS VOTE ON CALL OF 45,000 TO GENERAL STRIKE

National Guardsmen Patrol Battle Zone on Waterfront



smaller militant Marine Workers Industrial Union that was part of the Trade Union Unity League.

The inhumane conditions mentioned above, along with the legal right for workers to organize through the recently passed National Industrial Recovery Act, led the longshoremen to flock into the International Longshoreman Association (ILA). The bosses, violating the law (which they consider sacred only when it benefits them) refused to negotiate with the union and fired four rank-and-file militants. In response, the longshoremen and the sailors went out on strike up and down the West Coast 35,000 strong on May 9, 1934. The

“... the Communist army planned the destruction of railroad and highway facilities to paralyze transportation and later, communication, while San Francisco and the Bay Area were made a focal point in a red struggle for control of government.”

Joseph Ryan, the opportunist and mob-connected ILA president, tried to scuttle the strike by signing an agreement with the bosses over the heads of the workers. When they told him to go pound sand, he also joined in the chorus of accusing the strikers of being Communists.

On July 3, 1934, the police attacked the picket line at the Embarcadero pier in San Francisco and a vicious fight ensued for four hours. The police attacked with their guns, batons, and tear gas while the strikers fought back with bricks and their fists. The next day saw a truce on the July 4<sup>th</sup> holiday, with the fighting picking up where it left off on July 5<sup>th</sup>. That day, known as Bloody Thursday, saw other workers and students come to the picket line to reinforce the besieged strikers.

The police wrecked the headquarters of the ILA, hundreds were badly wounded, and two strikers were killed. The two slain men were Howard Sperry, a longshoreman,



# All work. No play.



Men in CAAIR session

## By Fellow Worker Randy Gould

What happens when you combine capitalism with the prison system? Horror! Should we be shocked that almost no one gives a hoot what is going on as we sleep down in Oklahoma? I'm thinking, yeah, we should. While this article below focuses on one program in one state, very much similar operations are occurring all over this great land of ours. Convicts are pretty much stuck at the bottom of the "rights" barrel. They ain't got hardly any at all. I made like 7 cents an hour when I worked in prison. My job wasn't dangerous, unless the power plant I was working in happened to blow up or something. In fact, I kinda liked the job (it beat sitting around doing nothing), but still 7 cents. Talk about surplus value, talk about stealing labor power. Still, I don't much care what the pay is, what is happening in Oklahoma is a travesty.

I have no idea what it takes to simply get people's attention focused on something like this, none, zip. I am sure of one thing, typing these words here isn't going to do it. Maybe, it's just a good way for me to get the rage out and not get myself arrested in the process. Been there, done that, that didn't get anyone's attention either (well, it got mine, I suppose).

By the way, I bet dollars to donuts the program operating the "diversionary" program here is a not-for-profit. Don't even get me started on that.

A recent report on the abuses of convict laborers in Oklahoma chicken plants should cause widespread outrage . . .

## Why isn't this a major national scandal?

By Nathan J. Robinson

December 19, 2017, *Current Affairs*

. . . Let me just summarize what *Reveal's* report shows: In rural Oklahoma, a pro-

gram called Christian Alcoholics & Addicts in Recovery (CAAIR) supposedly operates as a diversionary treatment program for drug offenders, that judges

There wasn't much substance abuse treatment at CAAIR. It was mostly factory work for one of America's top poultry companies. If McGahey got hurt or worked too slowly, his bosses threatened him with prison.

And he worked for free. CAAIR pocketed the pay.

"It was a slave camp," McGahey said. "I can't believe the court sent me there."

. . . Chicken processing plants are notoriously dangerous and understaffed. The hours are long, the pay is low, and the conditions are brutal.



can sentence defendants to as an alternative to prison. In reality, CAAIR operates a labor camp, in which residents work long hours in slaughterhouses for large food companies. There is no real "treatment" to speak of, and CAAIR pockets the workers' wages. Sometimes those sent there haven't even committed drug offenses; it appears to exist simply to provide convict labor for large corporations.

## They thought they were going to rehab. They ended up in chicken plants

By Amy Julia Harris and Shoshana Walter

October 4, 2017, *Reveal News*

Standing in a tiny wood-paneled courtroom in rural Oklahoma in 2010, [Brad McGahey] faced one year in state prison. The judge had another plan.

A few weeks later, McGahey stood in front of a speeding conveyor belt inside a frigid poultry plant, pulling guts and stray feathers from slaughtered chickens destined for major fast food restaurants and grocery stores.



CAAIR divertee Brad McGahey, who was injured while working on the line.

Men in the CAAIR program said their hands became gnarled after days spent hanging thousands of chickens from metal shackles. One man said he was burned with acid while hosing down a trailer. Others were maimed by machines or contracted serious bacterial infections.

Those who were hurt and could no longer work often were kicked out of CAAIR and sent to prison, court records show. Most men worked through the pain, fearing the same fate.

"They work you to death. They work you every single day," said Nate Turner, who graduated from CAAIR in 2015. "It's a work camp. They know people are desperate to get out of jail, and they'll do whatever they can do to stay out of prison." **IW**

To read each complete article, use the links below:  
<https://www.currentaffairs.org/2017/12/why-isnt-this-a-major-national-scandal>  
<https://www.revealnews.org/article/they-thought-they-were-going-to-rehab-they-ended-up-in-chicken-plants/>

# Women's gender pay inequality

By Ellie Sawyer

In this time of growing empowerment, with movements such as #TimesUp, #MeToo, and #YesAllWomen, it is easy to think that women are about to come into their own as equal participants in society. It would be easy to believe that as women come forward about their stories of sexual abuse and discrimination that society is ready to face its role in perpetuating patriarchal persecution. However, it is far from being that simple.

for whatever reason, the thresholds to get into these sciences is lower than for physics and engineering. Because women were able to infiltrate the ranks of these careers with greater ease, the reputations of these sciences suffered. So, we can assume, did their funding. But why?

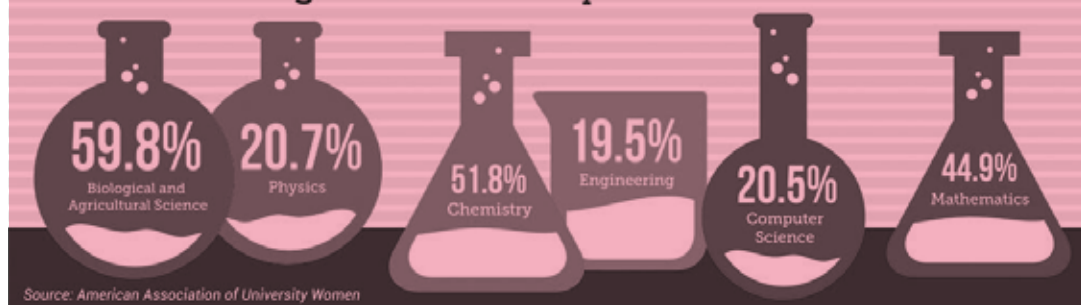
When the 2015 study on gender wage inequality came out from the Department of Labor, the statistics were staggering—and controversial. While it claimed that a white woman made 80 cents for every

sions less valuable to society? You may balk at the thought of teachers not being valued, but considering the strikes taking place in Kentucky, Arizona, and Oklahoma, you would be wrong. And what of my story? Based on the disparity between software engineers and ecologists in terms of how seriously they are taken and how much funding they receive, you can see how society might be set up in such a way to pay more “feminine” occupations, or occupations with lower thresholds for women, less.

That is not the only source of disparity. Unfortunately, in my case, most biologists are still men, and women still face huge gender inequality in biological fields—being passed over for jobs, being underfunded or under-published, and being dismissed by their bosses, peers, and even their own students. When I was at university, for example, my climate science professor was Dr. Jia Hu, an Asian-American woman. More than once a class period, my male peers would

question her authority on the subject matter—and when they were confronted with their behavior by the president of the campus feminist club, one stubborn boy threw his hands up and declared, “I was just asking a question!” Fortunately, he was the only one stubborn enough not to proffer an apology to our professor, though I doubt it would be the last time Jia would face such aggression.

## Bachelor's Degrees Earned by Women in STEM Fields



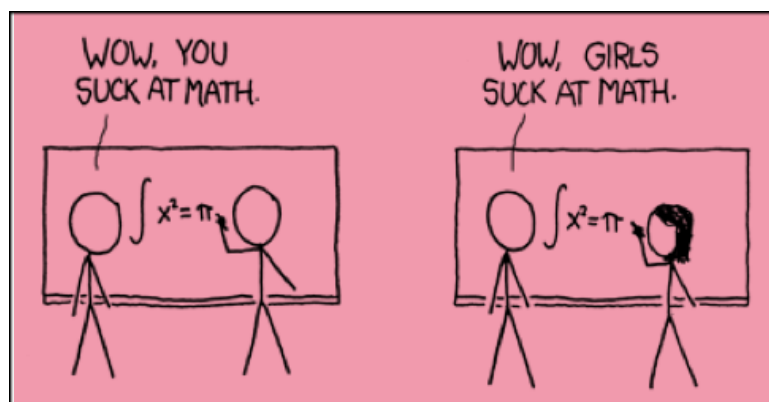
I offer a personal anecdote of sorts: As noted in my byline, my degree is in biological sciences. Biology is a very important line of science used in very necessary everyday applications. The problem is that whenever I mention my degree, especially to someone in a different line of STEM-related (science, technology, engineering, and math) career, I am often met with some scoffing variant of, “Oh, so you study soft science.” Having taken years of related coursework, I can assure you that there is nothing “soft” about biology: It is not a science for the faint of heart. Sure, the maths involved are arguably not as complicated, but I can attest to the fact that the memorization of the many different types of muscle groups in a preserved cat or dogfish, or the several types of organic chemical groups, is nothing to sniff at. I would challenge even the smartest engineer to attempt to identify a category of grass. Most tenured professors of botany even balk at the task! Even more than that, although less than one percent of all STEM graduates are biology majors, breaking into a career in biology and ecology is extremely competitive, due to lack of funding. Why?

Well, as it turns out, it is not the only science to be treated this way. Psychology and sociology are also treated with this lack of respect. Ever hear someone dismiss a psychologist as “not a real scientist”? I have—and I have even been guilty of doing it myself! Many believe this because,

dollar a white man made (it is even less for women of color, most men of color, and people with disabilities) and provided ample reason and evidence for this disparity, many people did not read into the evidence or the reason. They assume it speaks to an individual level of pay inequality—that in instances of a single employer, the male employees are being paid more than the female employees of equivalent qualifications. Because of this, the 2016 study caused great contention, and a more than a few people dismissed it out of hand, chalking it up to being deeply flawed.

Let's perform a thought experiment: I'll name a few jobs and careers, and you think about them in terms of pay, of qualifications, and of value to society. Let's start with something easy: surgeons? Soldiers, perhaps? How about cattle ranchers? CEOs? Pretty valuable people, right? Now let's consider another group: florists? Waitresses? Fry cooks? Secretaries? Nurses? Teachers?

See the pattern? Can you guess which ones get paid more? Why are people who are in what can qualify as “service” profes-



There is always hope, of course. After the Women's March and the March for Science, women became more vocal about their treatment in STEM-related careers. Study upon study in the last few years have been performed, reinforcing the fact that women are not equals in their fields, and that opportunities for them to even enter those fields in the first place are limited.

*“Pay inequality” continues on page 17.*

# I should be so lucky, Buddy. I ain't got a job: The fight for equal work

By Logan Marie Glitterbomb

As the slogan goes, “equal pay for equal work.” But what about those who still can't even get their foot in the door to get equal work in the first place? While cis women are still being underpaid in comparison to cis men, many trans folks are struggling to even find a job at all. I can't tell you how many interviews that I've been to where the interviewer's face sours the minute they realize they are interviewing a trans woman, leaving the rest of the interview as just a painful display of formality and unspoken bigotry with no hope of a return call. After a while it seems so hopeless that you barely even bother anymore.

After nearly three years of that, I am stuck only working freelance gigs—both manual labor and journalism. Sure, it's better than nothing, but \$10 or less for an article that takes me half a day or more to write is next to nothing. Going weeks or even months between finding a house-cleaning gig or a carpentry job means having to pull off other hustles or beg friends for food and resources to fill in the gaps. It is an undignified, a broken-bargain-info-graphic-transgender and desperate way of life, but it is the reality I live in, and the reality many other trans folks face every day.

suicide.

But we cannot just see ourselves as victims; we must find a way out. We must find a way to make our own. This is why there are so many trans folks in industries like sex work or drug sales.

When you are kept out of damned near every other industry based on the prejudice of others, you do what you have to do to survive.

Can unions do anything to change this? Union shops could absolutely craft anti-discrimination rules, but that doesn't necessarily change the boss' hiring prejudices: It merely provides legal recourse for those already employed. Given more time however, unions could definitely foster a healthier work environment and help out already employed trans folks, thus hopefully paving the way towards a trans-friendly workplace that would hire more trans folks moving forward. I personally have seen that happen locally after one of our late sisters, Zot Szurgot—dual carder with the IWW and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—came out as a trans woman after already being employed and unionized.

At first, many in her union shared transphobic views, but through her hard work for the union, she proved her own and thus pushed her fellow workers into



being more accepting. Now many of them are powerful trans allies who would gladly work beside other trans folks. Seeing that type of acceptance from her co-workers made them less fearful to hire her for jobs and, by proxy, made them less likely to turn down other qualified people based on their gender.

But Zot was special. She was especially brave to not only come out in her workplace but to do so in an industry known for being much more hypermasculine than others. Not all trans folks have the mental spoons to deal with the inevitable backlash that would come with such a bold act. Many face fears of violence, a loss of resources, or the threat of being fired. Many face the choice of being out and unemployed or being employed while having to go stealth and facing the constant mental toll of having to hide and be consistently misgendered.

There are no easy or fast solutions. To be honest I don't know how we solve this problem. I don't have the answers to these questions short of revolution. But we can't keep pushing off these conversations while people are dying from homelessness and hunger. We can talk about equal pay for women but let's not forget that that only helps those women (and non-women) who are employed in the first place, and many of us are still just fighting for the mere right to be employed. That is why it is so important that the IWW includes the unemployed within the ranks of the One Big Union. The voices of the unemployed must be included if we wish to truly help the working class. Together we stand in solidarity with all our working class sisters, both employed and unemployed. Together we rise. **IW**

2015 U.S. TRANSGENDER SURVEY



Illinois State Report



**INCOME:** 21% of transgender Illinoisans live in poverty

**EDUCATION:** 80% experienced mistreatment in K-12 school, 27% in higher education

**HOUSING:** 21% experienced housing discrimination in past year; 28% were homeless at one time

**IN PUBLIC:** 33% suffered mistreatment in public accommodations, 58% avoid public restrooms

**HEALTH:** 29% could not afford to see a doctor, 24% didn't go out of fear

**ID:** Only 11% report all documents match their name and gender identification, 65% have no correct ID

It's this state of constant struggle, on top of having to deal with other forms of societal prejudice, that ends in so many trans folks being homeless or even committing

# A tale of two sexismists

## By Anonymous

Where I work, we have our share of spoiled trust-fund kids to deal with. A few years ago, I was charged with training one of them: Let's call him "K". I don't know how K got to the point that he was doing rotations as a pre-PharmD [Doctor

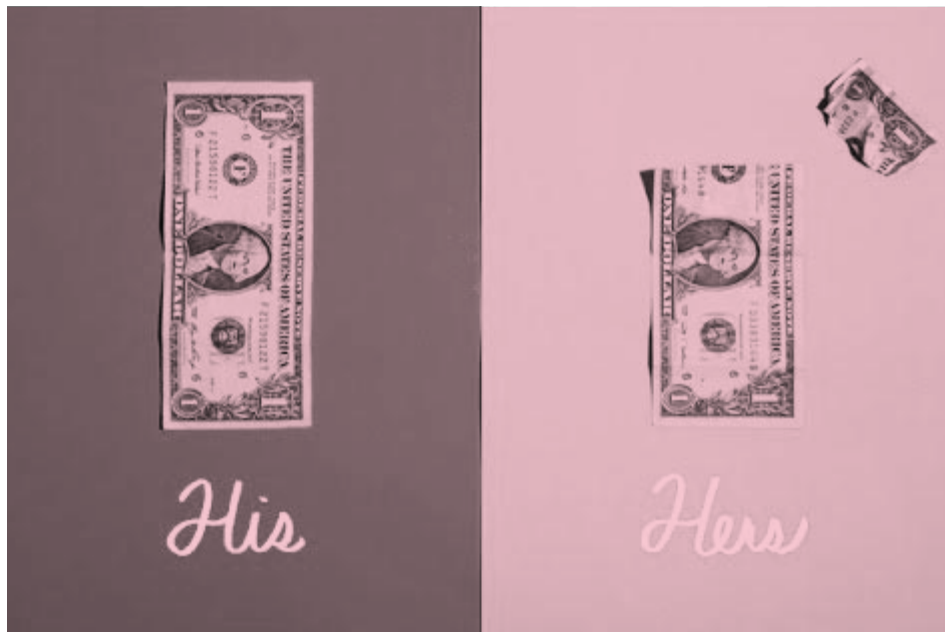
to put different women in a different lab through all the same bullshit. We cleaned up after him and moved on.

Most men I know aren't like K; their sexism is less obvious. They aren't this brazen, and even if they do secretly share his mindset, they don't have the connec-

technology, engineering, and math] resume means thousands less in pay and being seen as less qualified and competent than the exact same resume with a man's name. It is the big question of whether or not to use your full name or initials. Not because you might be mistaken for another scientist with a similar name, but because you can't be sure if your research will be taken seriously with a woman's name on it. It is not having any women faculty or women in senior positions in my department to turn to about all these little (and big) things. All these little things build up to make you feel unwelcome, unwanted, and not good enough.

I went into STEM because I thought it would be a place where I could be respected for my work without my gender being taken into consideration. The truth is, I will always be a "woman scientist," whereas the men I work with have the privilege of just being a "scientist." This is a distinction that few admit, much less understand. When men fail in a male-dominated field, it reflects badly on them personally. They don't carry the weight of having to prove they and everyone like them deserve to be there and are capable of the job. They don't have to carry this burden, or struggle with the constant reminders to doubt themselves and their worthiness. They're a scientist, period. That's all I want, and I don't think it is too much to ask for.

And don't be angry about people like K. Strive to do something to stop it, no matter what your gender. Things will not change if we are complacent. Acknowledge your own privilege, whatever type it is. Strive to recognize it, confront it, and use it for good when you can. Men like K won't listen to people like me; it is up to you stand your ground and let him know that it is not okay—for him, for you, for me, for anyone. **IW**



Disparity in income for men and women in STEM

of Pharmacy], if not for well-connected family members pulling a lot of strings for him. His knowledge was severely lacking. It wasn't long before "K" became a synonym for "ignorant, expensive, and easily avoidable mistake," as all of his work was full of these, despite his belief that he already knew everything there was to know.

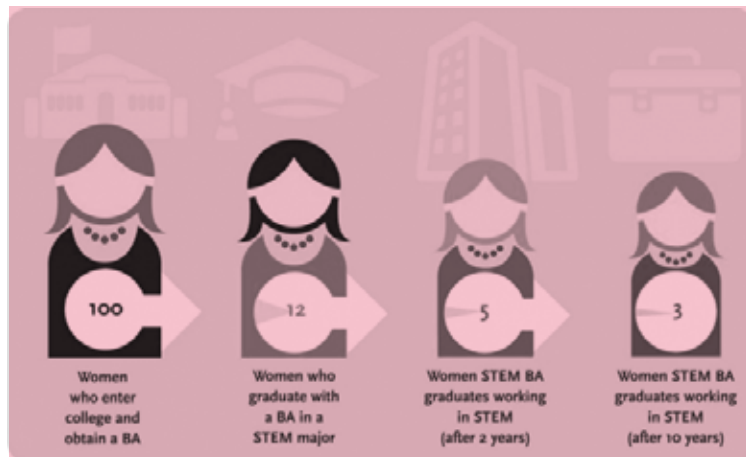
My first impression of K was that his interpersonal skills were severely lacking—until I saw him interacting with other men in the lab like a normal human being. He was incapable even feigning respect for women but was perfectly able to treat other men as equals, even mentors. K refused to listen to or take any advice from women. Obviously this is a problem when you're a woman and your duty is to train someone, but it is an even bigger problem when that person has access to dangerous reagents, expensive media, millions of dollars of equipment, and the priceless samples that constitute the life's work of many people.

Dealing with men like this, you soon learn they will never take responsibility for their mistakes, and since they will always make mistakes until they learn—and refuse to learn from you—all communication must be come through another man. So we played that game of telephone. Eventually, K's time with us ended, and he went on

tions to get away with treating women like pieces of shit all day, every day. But the men I work with still enabled him, downplayed his actions, or looked the other way. Knowing he would not listen to me and the other women training him, they did not confront him. Most men are blind to their own misogyny in the workplace and beyond

Now it is often the little stuff that gets to me. Like reminding male co-workers that I was the one that trained them on a procedure, when they see me doing it and ask if I know what I'm doing, or if I need any help. Little stuff like delivery people assuming I'm not a scientist and that the male undergrad almost half my age is, when they're looking for someone to sign for packages or help with equipment. These and other things so small that you feel crazy for letting it bother you.

But there are bigger things, too. The fact that putting a woman's name on the top of a STEM [science,



# Lucy Parsons: Revolutionary feminist

By Saswat Pattanayak

*Women's Rights in the Workplace*

No legal case in American history has been more cited than the Scottsboro Trial. Nine young African-American men, aged 13 and up, were jailed in Scottsboro, Alabama, to await trial over an accusation that they had raped two white women on a train in the Spring of 1931.

The nature of racism in this instance was not the novelty—indeed, American society was witness to countless false charges brought against Black people. However, the Scottsboro Trial became a landmark via the manner in which racism for the first time was fiercely and openly challenged in the United States.

When the entire country was refusing to take the side of Scottsboro Nine, it was the Communist Party that came to aid the young men. International Labor Defense—a coalition formed by the Communists to defend the Scottsboro Nine—benefited from the active involvement of a Black woman on their national board, a pioneering champion of the labor classes in America: Lucy Parsons (1853–1942).

## Class, Race, and Gender

Parsons' commitments towards freedom of the young Black Communist Angelo Herndon in Georgia, Tom Mooney in California, and for the Scottsboro Nine in Alabama were unflinching. Parsons recognized the class system in America as the prime factor in perpetuating racism. She was the foremost American feminist to declare that race, gender, and sexuality are not oppressed identities by themselves. It is the economic class that determines the level of oppression people in minorities have to confront. Notwithstanding her social condition of being a Black and a woman, Parsons declared that a Black person in America is exploited not because she/he is Black: "It is because he is poor. It is because he is dependent. Because he is poorer as a class than his white wage-slave brother of the North."

Lucy Parsons was a relentless defender of working-class rights. To contain her popularity, the media portrayed her more as the wife of Albert Parsons—a Haymarket martyr, who, while demanding an eight-hour working day, was murdered by the state of Illinois, on November 11, 1887. While identifying her with Albert's causes, history textbooks—both liberal and conservative—seldom mention Parsons as the radical torchbearer of American Communist movement.

## Communitistic Commitments

Parsons' commitment to the cause of International Communism often embarrassed the United States administration. The FBI confiscated her library, comprising over 1,500 books and progressive works, soon after her accidental death—thus preventing the country from having access to her radicalism. But those that witnessed Parsons' oratory and benefited from her skills in organizing labor knew of Parsons' disdain towards anarchism, which she felt was not capable of leading the masses into



Fellow Worker and Fellow Traveler  
Lucy Parsons

revolutions.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union, the IWW would witness several of its main organizers joining the Communist Party. Parsons, along with "Big" Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, was among the pioneering American Communists. Parsons not only had officially joined the Communist Party of the United States, she was also vocally opposed to distractions within revolutionary movements.

Parsons criticized celebrated anarchist Emma Goldman for "addressing large middle-class audiences." Whereas Lucy Parsons' feminism considered women's oppression as a function of capitalism, Emma Goldman was clearly not in favor of a vanguard party taking up feminist causes. Parsons, in her dedication towards working-class liberation movements, never lost sight of her goal, never compromised on her principled stands on the side of the working poor, and never aspired for mere

social acceptance or glory.

## Voice of Dissent

Parsons was among the first women to join the founding convention of the IWW. She thundered: "We, the women of this country, have no ballot even if we wished to use it. But we have our labor. Wherever wages are to be reduced, the capitalist class uses women to reduce them."

In *The Agitator*, dated November 1, 1912, she referred to Haymarket martyrs thus: "Our comrades were not murdered by the state because they had any connection with the bombthrowing, but because they were active in organizing the wage-slaves. The capitalist class didn't want to find the bombthrower; this class foolishly believed that by putting to death the active spirits of the labor movement of the time, it could frighten the working class back to slavery."

She had no illusions about capitalistic world order. Parsons called for an armed overthrow of the American ruling class. She refused to buy into an argument that the origin of racist violence was in racism. Instead, Parsons viewed racism as a necessary byproduct of capitalism. In 1886, she called for armed resistance by the working class: "You are not absolutely defenseless. For the torch of the incendiary, which has been known with impunity, cannot be wrested from you!"

For Parsons, her personal losses meant nothing; her oppression as a woman meant less. She was dedicated to ushering in changes for all of humanity—changes that would alter the world order in favor of the working poor class.

Even as a founding member of IWW, she was not willing to let the world's largest labor union function in a romanticized manner. She radicalized the IWW by demanding that women, Mexican migrant workers, and even the unemployed become full and equal members.

With her clarity of vision, lifelong devotion to Communist causes, her strict adherence to radical demands for a societal replacement of class structure, Lucy Parsons remains the most shining example of an American woman who turned her disadvantaged social position of race and gender to one of formidable strength—raising herself to bring about emancipated working-class consciousness. **IW**

*Saswat Pattanayak is employed as a social justice blogger for New York law firm Women's Rights in the Workplace engaged in women's workplace advocacy. <https://womensrightsny.com/lucy-parsons-revolutionary-feminist/>*

# A new Declaration of Independence

By Emma Goldman

1909

*Author's note: This "Declaration" was written at the request of a certain newspaper, which subsequently refused to publish it, though the article was already in composition.*

When, in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow, these institutions.

The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, color, or sex, are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure among men economic, social, and government exists but to maintain that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity,

The history of the American history of repeated crimes, injustice, all aiming at the suppression of the people. A vast country, rich all possible comforts, and insecure few, while the nameless millions gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers, of America are forced to tramp the and many of her daughters are of tender children are daily sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. The

kingdom of these kings is holding poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice, and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the best and finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife, and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare, That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has, by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unbridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social, and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, racial, religious, and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of man's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

*Retrieved on March 15th, 2009 from [sunsite.berkeley.edu](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu); Published in Mother Earth, Vol. IV, no. 5, July 1909*



kingdom of capital and authority is the oppression, outrage, and abuse, individual liberties and the exploitation enough to supply all her children with well-being to all, is in the hands of a few are at the mercy of ruthless wealth and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons country in a fruitless search for bread, driven into the street, while thousands are sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. The

kingdom of capital and authority is the oppression, outrage, and abuse, individual liberties and the exploitation enough to supply all her children with well-being to all, is in the hands of a few are at the mercy of ruthless wealth and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons country in a fruitless search for bread, driven into the street, while thousands are sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. The

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Cut on the dotted line.

# What is there in anarchy for woman?

Uncredited interview with Emma Goldman, October 24, 1897

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

“What does anarchy hold out to me—a woman? More to woman than to anyone else—everything which she has not—freedom and equality.”

Quickly, earnestly Emma Goldman, the priestess of anarchy, exiled from Russia, feared by police, and now a guest of St. Louis Anarchists, gave this answer to my question. I found her at No. 1722 Oregon Avenue, an old-style two-story brick house, the home of a sympathizer—not a relative as has been stated. . . .

I found Emma Goldman sipping her coffee and partaking of bread and jelly, as her morning's repast. She was neatly clad in a percale shirt waist and skirt, with white collar and cuffs, her feet encased in a loose pair of cloth slippers. She doesn't look like a Russian Nihilist who will be sent to Siberia if she ever crosses the frontier of her native land.

“Do you believe in marriage?” I asked.

“I do not,” answered the fair little Anarchist, as promptly as before. “I believe that when two people love each other that no judge, minister or court, or body of people, have anything to do with it. They themselves are the ones to determine the relations which they shall hold with one another. When that relation becomes irksome to either party, or one of the parties, then it can be as quietly terminated as it was formed.”

Miss Goldman gave a little nod of her head to emphasize her words, and quite a pretty head it was, crowned with soft brown hair, combed with a bang and brushed to one side. Her eyes are the honest blue, her complexion clear and white. Her nose though rather broad and of a Teutonic type, was well formed. She is short of stature, with a well-rounded figure. Her whole type is more German than Russian. The only serious physical failing that she has is in her eyes. She is so extremely near-sighted that with glasses she can scarcely distinguish print.

“The alliance should be formed,” she continued, “not as it is now, to give the woman a support and home, but because the love is there, and that state of affairs can only be brought about by an internal revolution, in short, Anarchy.”

She said this as calmly as though she had just expressed an ordinary everyday fact, but the glitter in her eyes showed the “internal revolutions” already at work in her

busy brain.

“What does Anarchy promise woman?”

“It holds everything for woman—freedom, equality—everything that woman has not now.”

“Isn't woman free?”

“Free! She is the slave of her husband and her children. She should take her part in the business world the same as the man; she should be his equal before the world, as she is in the reality. She is as capable as he, but when she labors she gets less wages. Why? Because she wears skirts instead of trousers.” . . .

Miss Goldman has a pleasant accent. She rolls her r's and changes her r's into v's and vice-versa, with a truly Russian pronunciation. She gesticulates a great deal. When she becomes excited her hands and feet and shoulders all help to illustrate her meanings.

“What would you do with the children of the Anarchistic era?”

“The children would be provided with common homes, big boarding schools, where they will be properly cared for and educated and in every way given as good, and in most cases better, care than they would receive in their own homes. Very few mothers know how to take proper care of their children, anyway. It is a science only a very few have learned.” . . .

She gazed contemplatively in the bottom of the empty coffee cup, as though she saw in imagination the ideal State, already an actuality.

“Who will take care of the children?” I asked, breaking in upon her reverie.

“Every one,” she answered, “has tastes and qualifications suiting them to some occupation. I am a trained nurse. I like to care for the sick. So it will be with some women. They will want to care for and teach the children.”

“Won't the children lose their love for their parents and feel the lack of their companionship?” A thought of the affectionate little darlings being relegated to a sort of an orphan asylum crossed my mind.

“The parents will have the same opportunities of gaining their confidences and affections as they have now. They can spend just as much time there as they please or have them with them just as often as desired. They will be the children of love—healthy, strong-minded—and not as now, in most cases, born of hate and domestic dissensions.”



“What do you call love?”

“When a man or woman finds some quality or qualities in another that they admire and has an overweening desire to please that person, even to the sacrificing of personal feeling; when there is that subtle something drawing them together, that those who love recognize, and feel it in the inmost fiber of their being, then I call that love.” She finished speaking and her face was suffused with a rosy blush.

“Can a person love more than one at a time?”

“I don't see why not—if they find the same lovable qualities in several persons. What should prevent one loving the same things in all of them? If we cease to love the man or woman and find some one else, as I said before, we talk it over together and quietly change the mode of living. The private affairs of the family need not then be talked over in the courts and become public property. No one can control the affections, therefore there should be no jealousies. Heart aches? Oh, yes,” she said, sadly, “but not hatred because he or she has tired of the relations. The human race will always have heartaches as long as the heart beats in the breast.” . . .

Pretty Miss Goldman finished speaking, and a delicate flush mounted to her cheek as I asked her if she intended to marry.

“No; I don't believe in marriage for others, and I certainly should not preach one thing and practice another.”

She sat in an easy attitude with one leg crossed over the other. She is in every sense a womanly looking woman, with masculine mind and courage.

She laughed as she said there were fifty police at her lecture on Wednesday night, and she added, “If there had of been a bomb thrown I would surely have been blamed for it.”

U.C. Berkeley Library. Jewish Women's Archive. “Emma Goldman Interview in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, October 24, 1897.” <<https://jwa.org/media/interview-with-goldman-published-in-st-louis-post-dispatch>>.

# Solidarity from across the ocean. On bikes.



FWs,  
Wanted to share this: The [International Solidarity Commission] informed the other unions involved in the New International Project about the J20 charges and the attempt to target the IWW and GDC in particular. The FAU [Free Workers' Union] in Berlin sent this picture. I believe this picture is mostly Deliveroo workers, who had their own action against Deliveroo on Friday, April 13, but also wanted to express solidarity with the J20 defendants. Great example of international solidarity in action!

Solid,  
Brandon S.

Dear Brandon,

In the face of these oppressive charges we are sending you and the IWW members facing trial this week solidarity and strength from Germany. FAU [Freie Arbeiterinnen- und Arbeiter-Union] Berlin members got together on Friday in time for the trial on the 17th. We're sorry that we couldn't get this photo to you before the 10th. We are all hoping from the bottom of our hearts that the charges get dropped.

In solidarity,  
Anna & FAU Berlin





*"Burgerville" continues from page 6.*  
call for a union election comes on the heels of a potentially major defeat for fast-food workers at the federal level. Trump's National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) General Counsel Peter Robb recently negotiated a tentative settlement between

*"Pay inequality" continues from page 10.*  
There is always hope, of course. After the Women's March and the March for Science, women became more vocal about their treatment in STEM-related careers. Study upon study in the last few years have been performed, reinforcing the fact that women are not equals in their fields, and that opportunities for them to even enter those fields in the first place are limited. Organizations such as Klossie's Koders, National Girls Collaborative Project, Million Women Mentors, and the Scientista Foundation all strive to promote women in science and provide resources for young women interested in STEM fields. As for ending the gender wage gap in general, the

*"Embarcadero" continues from page 8.*  
and accused them of being Communist conspirators. Still nothing moved regardless of all force the bosses unleashed.  
After slowly whittling at the strikers, the corrupt union officials succeeded in ending the general strike after four days, with only the longshoremen and sailors continuing on. The workers considered it a victory, though, as the bosses did not dare to use vigilantes, the police, or the National Guard to assault the picket line again. Soon after, the longshoremen and sailors returned to work on July 30. The long-

*"From the Editor" continues from page 4.*  
acted in those TV shows, that was their job. When my parents married, they took their shared love of music and performance and applied their voice training to the San Francisco Opera Chorus, and then, when they moved with my brother down the Peninsula to the suburbs, they gravitated into theater, where their talents and interests could find new ways to be expressed. My brother was in his first play at six, and I—five years younger than he is—performed in my first play at five.  
Over the many years my family did plays and musicals at Hillbarn Theatre on the mid Peninsula and up in the Gold Country, I learned about different kinds of work that, though generally unpaid, was still work. It required commitment and discipline. Nearly everyone who acted in plays or worked backstage had a "day" job. Being in a play meant long hours, often away from family members.  
I learned from those who were paid for working at Hillbarn—the Artistic Director,

McDonald's and the NLRB over a landmark case pushed by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)-backed Fight for \$15 campaign that aimed to hold the company responsible for its individual franchises' labor violations. The details of the tentative settlement, which is pend-

UN's Platform of Champions, Lean In, and the National Organization for Women (NOW) all are involved in the fight to ensure not only that women are receiving equitable wages from their bosses, but also that they are receiving livable wages.  
As for the drama unfolding in Kentucky, Arizona, and Oklahoma, they fortunately have the power of the union on their side and can coordinate a united front to demand better pay. It is my deep hope that they receive better, ample compensation for their services, and that especially in Oklahoma—where teachers have been rendered destitute—teachers can continue the education of tomorrow's voters. Overall, in the age of #MeToo, #TimesUp, and

shoremen won wages of 95 cents an hour, \$1.40 an hour for overtime, a six-hour day, a thirty-hour week, and the union hall. The sailors won the recognition of the International Seaman's Union, but they didn't gain much, as it was a sell-out organization in the pockets of the bosses.  
So what does this event tell me? It tells me something that the wealthy know all too well. It is something that we workers sometimes don't even realize—that their power and wealth rests on our backs. They are nothing without us. Why do you think the wealthy constantly try to convince

Technical Director/Designer, and Costume Maker/Box Office Manager—about being in jobs that they loved and that provided them with income. Although union work didn't enter into much at Hillbarn, I learned about unions there. Bob and Sam—the Artistic Director and Tech Director/Designer—were on the faculty of the College of San Mateo, and for their work at Hillbarn they were paid as instructors (and everyone who was in a play registered and paid a small tuition). Bob and Sam were members of the California and American Federations of Teachers. And while I wasn't in a union, when I formally became Hillbarn's lighting designer and technician in the 1990s, I was paid for my designs.  
My first crush was on a wonderful actor my parents worked with (my parents' age) who had what even a nine-year-old knew was "presence." George was a "Scavenger" who collected the garbage up and down the SF Peninsula. George also was one of the members of the cooperative that owned and operated the Scavengers. I learned very early on,

ing approval by an NLRB judge, remain undisclosed. But McDonald's admits to no wrongdoing, and the settlement allows the company to avoid the "joint employer" designation that would allow groups like Fight for \$15 to unionize fast food locations more effectively. **IW**

#YesAllWomen, the third wave of feminism seeks to upend the Harvey Weinsteins and the Paul Ryans of the world in every aspect, great or small, and make them rue their misogyny. And when the women of the world are valued financially for their contributions to society, no matter how small they may seem, the fight to smash the patriarchy will seem a downhill slide. **IW**  
*Ellie Sawyer graduated from Montana State University in 2016, with a degree in Fish and Wildlife Ecology. She plans on getting a Master's degree in Wildlife Biology/Ecology and working as a research professor. In the meantime, she works at Home Depot, where she continues to learn about the ongoing struggle between workers and bosses.*

us that they love us? Why do you think they use racism to divide us? Why do you think they have built a massive security apparatus to spy on us including the NSA? Why do you think they have wiped out of our collective memory the history of labor movement? They are terrified of us and of what we think. They know we have the power to drag the Koch Brothers out of their mansions and turn those mansions into homeless shelters. **IW**  
*Watch A Wave of Change: The 1934 West Coast Waterfront Strike at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7dJjTyDgqHq>.*

especially because my family always stayed for the credits in movie theaters and watched them on TV, that nearly everyone involved in making that movie or TV show belonged to a union. A number of the technical unions were named in the credits, and I found out what those initials stood for, because I was interested in knowing what they did.  
I truly love what I'm doing as *IW's* editor, and I hope I can do it for a long time. But I won't be able to if it goes back to being a newspaper. My disability limits me enough that I couldn't do more than four issues a year. Much of the pleasure I get out of the work has to do with the format, because I spend almost as much time on the graphics as I do working on the articles themselves.  
I hope that those who see the purpose of *IW* differently than I do understand why I feel that the content that's gone into the issues since I've been editor has universal value. I hope workers in all fields can see what others do may not be what they do, but it's work and it's valuable. **IW**

# Marx's refusal of the Labor Theory of Value

By David Harvey

March 1, 2018

It is widely believed that Marx adapted the **labor theory of value** from [David] Ricardo [1772–1823] as a founding concept for his studies of capital accumulation. . . . But nowhere, in fact, did Marx declare his allegiance to the labor theory of value. That theory belonged to Ricardo, who recognized that it was deeply problematic even as he insisted that the question of value was critical to the study of political economy. On the few occasions where Marx comments directly on this matter, he refers to “**value theory**” and not to the labor theory of value. So what, then, was Marx's distinctive value theory and how does it differ from the labor theory of value?

[In *Capital*,] Marx begins that work with an examination of the surface appearance of **use value** and **exchange value** in the material act of commodity exchange and posits the existence of value (an immaterial but objective relation) behind the quantitative aspect of exchange value. . . . **Money** thus enters the picture as a **material representation of value**. Value cannot exist without its representation. In chapters 4 through 6, Marx shows that it is only in a system where the aim and object of economic activity is commodity production that exchange becomes a necessary as well as a normal social act. It is the **circulation of money as capital** (chapter 5) that consolidates the conditions for the formation of **capital's distinctive value form as a regulatory norm**. But the circulation of capital presupposes the prior existence of **wage labor as a commodity** that can be bought and sold in the market (chapter 6).

The concept of **capital as a process**—as value in motion—based on the purchase of labor power and means of production is inextricably interwoven with the emergence of the value form. A simple but crude analogy for Marx's argument might be this: the human body depends for its vitality upon the circulation of the blood, which has no being outside of the human body. The two phenomena are mutually constitutive of each other. **Value formation likewise cannot be understood outside of the circulation process that houses it**. The mutual interdependency within the totality of capital circulation is what matters. In

capital's case, however, the process appears as not only self-reproducing (cyclical) but also self-expanding (the spiral form of accumulation). . . . Value thereby becomes an embedded regulatory norm in the sphere of exchange only **under conditions of capital accumulation**.

While the steps in the argument are



Karl Marx and David Harvey

complicated, . . . [t]he sophistication and elegance of the argument have seduced many of Marx's followers to thinking this was the end of the story. It is in fact the beginning. Ricardo's hope was that the labor theory of value would provide a basis for understanding price formation. . . . [But] Marx early on understood that this was an impossible hope[.] . . . In Volume 1 Marx recognizes that **things like conscience, honor, and uncultivated land can have a price but no value**. In Volume 3 of *Capital* he explores how the equalization of the rate of profit in the market would lead commodities to exchange not at their values but according to so-called “prices of production.”

But Marx was not primarily interested in price formation. He has a different agenda. Chapters 7 through 25 of Volume 1 describe in intricate detail the **consequences for the laborer of living and working in a world where the law of value**, as constituted through the generalization and normalization of exchange in the market place, **rules**. . . . And so we dive into “the hidden abode of production” where we shall see “not only how capital produces but, how capital is produced.” It is only here, also, that we will see how value forms.

The coercive laws of competition in the market force individual capitalists to **extend the working day to the utmost**, threatening the life and well-being of the laborer in the absence of any restraining force such as legislation to limit the length of the working day (chapter 10). In subsequent chapters, these same coercive laws push capital to **pursue technological and organizational innovations**, to **mobilize**

**and appropriate the laborers' inherent powers of cooperation and of divisions of labor**, to design machinery and systems of factory production, to mobilize the powers of education, knowledge, science, and technology, **all in the pursuit of relative surplus value**. The aggregate effect (chapter 25) is to **diminish the status of the laborer**, to **create an industrial reserve army** [meaning **disposable workers**], to **enforce working conditions of abject misery and desperation** among the working classes and to condemn much of labor to **living under conditions of social reproduction that are miserable in the extreme**. . . .

But the productivity and intensity of labor are perpetually changing under pressures of competition in the market (as described in the later chapters of *Capital*). This means that the formulation of value in the first chapter of *Capital* is revolutionized by what comes later. **Value becomes an unstable and perpetually evolving inner connectivity** (an internal or dialectical relation) between value as defined in the realm of circulation in the market and value as **constantly being re-defined through revolutions in the realm of production**. . . . In Volume 3 of *Capital* Marx makes much of the impact of technological changes on values leading to the thesis on the falling rate of profit. . . .

The changing productivity of labor is, of course, a key feature in all forms of economic analysis. In Marx's case, however, it is not the physical labor productivity emphasized in classical and neoclassical political economy that counts. It is **labor productivity** with respect to **surplus value production** that matters. This puts the internal relation between the pursuit of relative surplus value (through technological and organizational innovations) and market values at the center of Marx's value theory. . . .

Marx describes the conditions of **social reproduction** [meaning **social inequality from one generation to the next**] of all those demoted into the **industrial reserve army** by the operation of the general law of capital accumulation. He cites official reports concerning public health in rural England . . . and other accounts of daily life in Ireland and Belgium, alongside [Friedrich] Engels' account of *The Condition of the English Working Class* in 1844. The consensus of all these reports was that [the operation of the general law of





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## Application for Membership Aplicación para Membresía

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

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

Name/Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_

Address/Dirección: \_\_\_\_\_

City/Ciudad: \_\_\_\_\_ State/Estado: \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_ Country/ País : \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone/Teléfono: \_\_\_\_\_

Employer/Empleador: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation/Ocupación: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

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

## Preamble to the IWW Constitution

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

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

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

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

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

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