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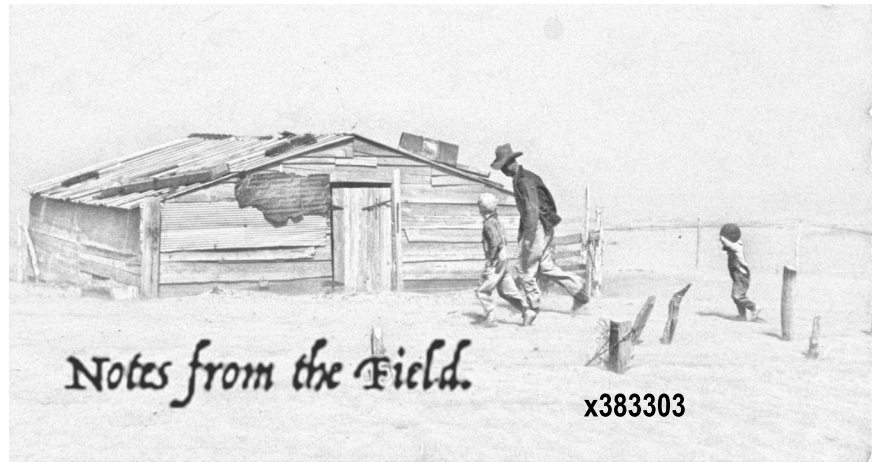
In support of revolutionary industrial unionism, this publication is written and printed by union members.

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

Submissions welcome! Email articles, article ideas, news items, editorials, artwork, and photographs to:

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Cover photograph by Brant Ward. Judi Bari was an environmentalist, feminist, and Wobbly. She organized Earth First campaigns against logging and brought together loggers and environmentalists in Industrial Workers of the World Local 1. Her story is told in *Redwood Uprising* by Steve Ongerth, available online at the IWW Environmental Unionism website (ecology.iww.org).



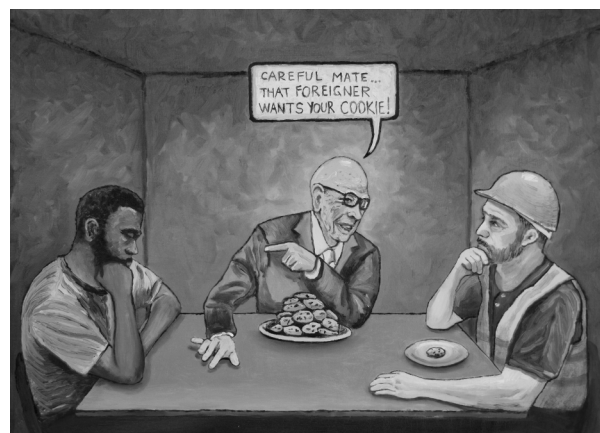
Workers sit across from their boss and ask to be fairly compensated. But your boss claims there's no money for you. The boss might even pull out a ledger sheet and whine about their problems and inflation on their side of the table. The next time this happens to you, take a close look at the wages of the leaders of the company.

Back in ancient history—the 1960s—the wage gap between the average worker and the CEO was \$21 to \$1. By 1990 the gap had grown to \$60 to \$1, and by 2020 it had grown to over \$350 to \$1. During the same period, wages for workers stagnated or lost ground.

However, a recent study released by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) shows us who's had their hand in the cookie jar of late. Currently, the pay gap between the average CEO and average worker is \$670 to \$1. And when you add the COO, CFO, Treasurer, and the other bosses, you see that there's systematic theft of worker wages on a broad scale.

Not surprisingly, we can always look to Amazon to take pay inequity to another level. The CEO of Amazon, Andy Jassy, makes \$6474 to \$1 of his average worker. Amazon can't stop killing its workers, because Andy and his cohorts have their hands in the cookie jar.

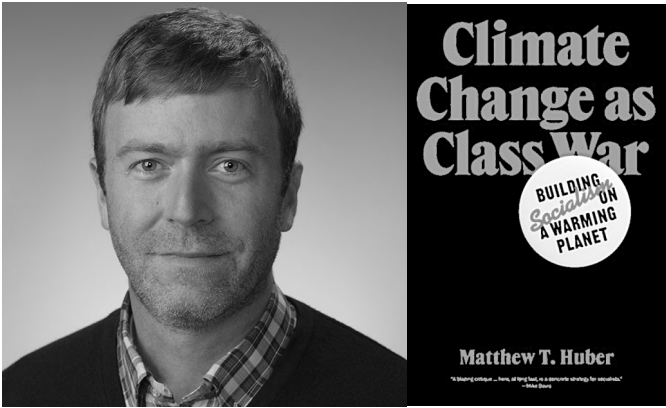
So, when your boss says the cookie jar is empty, just look to those who have full plates.



Thank you to Fellow Worker DenisL from Australia for a wonderful picture of the real situation.

You can read the full IPS report at: <https://ips-dc.org/>

Fight Climate Change— With a Union



by FW Murray Cooper

Matt Huber's *Climate Change as Class War* is the only major work to insist that an aroused and militant labor movement is essential to a resolution of the climate crisis. Alternative approaches—technological "fixes," attempts to enlighten people through scientific education, or individualistic efforts to reduce one's "carbon footprint"—are simply inadequate. Capitalism is the primary cause of the climate crisis, so any remedy will require a fundamental transformation of the capitalist class system.

According to Huber, any strategy to change capitalism must focus on achieving working class control of the utilities that provide electricity to homes, businesses, and public agencies. Currently, utilities may be private or publicly owned, and they may generate electricity through fossil fuels or non-fossil sources. But all utilities are governed through rate-setting public utility boards that are open to public influence, including the influence of the working class.

Crucially, the utility sector is also heavily unionized, principally by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The IBEW is currently a rather conservative business union, sometimes opposing environmental measures out of concern for saving jobs. Huber, however, argues persuasively that rank and file activists could gain power in the union and end the IBEW's conservative, business-friendly approach.

Besides the standard union practices of ensuring worker safety and fighting for decent wages and pensions, union activists can

insist on eliminating fossil fuels in electricity generation, support democratic public control of utilities over private ownership, support a strengthened national power grid that provides clean and cheap (perhaps even free) energy, and support legislative efforts like the Green New Deal, which attempts to decarbonize the entire economy.

Huber acknowledges that what he is proposing may seem like "socialism in one sector." But he points out that the power utility sector is deeply bound up with other productive industries, such as the building trades, steel, plastics, cement, and ammonia production for fertilizer. These industries require massive amounts of electricity, and workers in these sectors could be influenced by what utility workers do in the power generation sector. For example, if utility workers demand and achieve clean energy, other production workers could be inspired to demand low-carbon alternatives in their industries, not out of some "ecotopian" idealism, but because of a perceived material interest in achieving health, safety, and a more abundant life.

In addition to Huber's central argument about the utility sector, his book has several other provocative features. He has one chapter about a particular ammonia-producing company, notable for how its management appeared oblivious to any low-carbon alternatives in the manufacturing process, even though a number of such alternatives have proven feasible—albeit more expensive.

He also has a lengthy analysis of how the Professional-Managerial Class has ineffectively attempted to encourage voluntary cutbacks in consumption despite the manifest need of many workers for more and better goods and services. The PMC has also pushed for technocratic solutions such as cap and trade or carbon taxation—which he cleverly likens to an excrement tax to solve an excess sewage problem. He makes a strong case that the focus on consumption and lifestyle by middle class environmentalists is grounded in a sense of carbon guilt.

In several historical sections, Huber explores early governmental electrification programs, including the New Deal's Tennessee Valley Authority, which he believes could be a template for how a national power grid could be set up today.

He also covers the history of union organizing in the utility sector and briefly discusses the environmental work of Tony Mazzochi, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers leader, who developed the concept of a "just transition" for workers moving from toxic or polluting workplaces to ones that are safe and healthy. He credits Mazzochi with the realization that pollution, whether it affects land, water, or air, nearly always originates in the productive area, rather than the consumption area most environmentalists focus on.

Because environmental problems flow out of the productive process, workers at the point of production have a capacity to exert a "strategic leverage that impacts production, unlike allies in the community or in any other activist circles," he writes. This leverage affects areas of the economy beyond the sphere of production, such as commercial transport, trains, transit, and water management, for they are all heavily dependent on the primary energy sector.

Despite its great strengths, Huber's book is subject to some criticism. Some readers may deplore his apparent acceptance of nuclear power as one viable option, while others may question his criticism of other radical environmentalists, such as those who support "bioregionalism" or "degrowth." My own

objections concern his lack of attention to international aspects of the movement against fossil capital and his insistence that defensive, victimized groups are not capable of mounting such an offensive.

Activist groups in many countries have had some success in fighting capitalist degradation of the environment. Oil workers in Nigeria and indigenous people in Ecuador have won major court cases against big oil polluters, while in Vietnam a coalition of victimized groups was nearly successful in forcing a reduction in the use of coal as a primary source of energy—only to be thwarted by the authoritarian one-party state.

Still, Huber is basically right: lasting success on a world scale can only be won through a strong working class movement challenging fossil capital. With its clear strategic focus, *Climate Change as Class War* is a clarion call for climate activists to engage in struggle in an area where it clearly matters: the point of production, especially in the utility sector. Decarbonization—the goal of such mobilization—is absolutely essential for any future life on this planet and any hopes workers may have for a flourishing, healthy, and abundant world.

Away from Green Capitalism, Toward Green Labor

by FW Noah

In the early years of the IWW, when environmental protections were a minimal concern of the time, lumber was one of its largest organized industries. Especially in the Pacific Northwest, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union (LWIU) saw some of its earliest and most well sustained campaigns by lumberjacks and mill operators. The dangerous working conditions, expected labor output, unsanitary living and eating quarters made these shops ripe for organizing. Many of the IWW's biggest strike actions on specific job sites or a collection of shops under one industry were particularly effective in the lumber and mining industries, with strikes such as the 1917 "Woods and Mines" general strike in Washington, Montana, Idaho and Arizona, which was waged to grant lumber and mine workers the 8 hour day, improved conditions and overtime pay. Even the lumber strikes that were initially unsuccessful shook the lumber bosses

to their core, such as the Virginia and Rainy Lake Lumber company strikes in 1916, where workers in Minnesota won many of the concessions they had demanded despite strike breaking actions from police and vigilantes.

With the LWIU dissolving in 1924, unionizing in these industries has predominantly been in the hands of the trade unions. While these unions, such as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, have seen great success over the years, little progress has been made in regards to improving current environmental protections in the shop. Even after the Occupational Health and Safety Act doubled down on enforcing new and existing regulations in 1970, workers of color still disproportionately face workplace safety hazards at greater rates than white workers, according to the Center for Disease Control in a 2010 study, revealing a need to further improve current working conditions for more marginalized workers.

Environmental protections outside of the shop are also related to worker safety in the sense that environmental degradation and environmental racism disproportionately affect people of color. Considering that many people of color live in some of the more polluted areas of the country, and that workers of color work more often in industries with more hazardous work environments, this creates a situation where workers of color are suffering from environmental hazards both in and out of the shop.

Many trade unions in lumber, mining, or other natural resource harvesting or processing are often on the defense against further environmental regulation or the possible dissolution of these industries, with the fear that these unions would eventually dissolve as well. At the same time, the struggles workers face in this industry remain the same as a century ago in many aspects: worker pay continuing to stagnate compared to inflation and employers' salaries, the cost of living continuing to rise, and a reduction in the bartering power of union workers due to concessions to employers through contract negotiation, such as a limited right to strike.

Some environmental organizations have criticized the inaction of the trade unions to proactively demand further protections, and have unfortunately seen a souring of opinion between trade unions and environmental activists. Many environmentally concerned citizens are worried that the continued practice of harvesting lumber in large swaths and planting mono-cultural harvests are damaging the immediate and surrounding environment, and that continued deforestation harms the climate by preventing trees from trapping carbon dioxide.



Mining has an even more detrimental effect to the environment, and with the Trump Administrations rollbacks of EPA protections, SCOTUS rulings on EPA regulations regarding air pollution and further inaction from the current Biden administration frustrating the efforts of environmental activists. Workers in these trade unions have also been frustrated with the Democrats complete inaction to protect unions legislatively, such as the failure of the PRO-Act and a lack of any further attempts to defend the right to organize and the powers that unions have at the negotiating table.

Despite the woes of worldwide environmental degradation and legal challenges to environmental protections, there is still hope in unionism's capability to act against these forces and protect the working class from their consequences, growing a green labor movement.

In the IWW, the Environmental Unionism Caucus has been actively encouraging workers to organize their workplaces with the idea of fostering relationships between environmental organizations and workers in related trades. Some of their goals include workplace protections for workers on environmentalist grounds, developing class-conscious "Just Transition" frameworks to better prepare workers and communities that will be impacted by decarbonization and the decline of industries with disproportionate environmental impact, as well as pushing back against the narrative of "green capitalism" with an emphasis on collective action by workers for their protection and the environments. IWW union campaigns, such as the Coal River Mountain Watch Union, have combined environmental watchdog concerns regarding ecological destruction and the concerns of their workers regarding working conditions, compensation as well as better accountability towards their employers. (See "Coal River Mountain Watch Workers Ratify First Collective Agreement" on iww.org for more about their campaign.)

Hopefully, future organizing efforts will continue to focus worker solidarity not just towards wages, hours and conditions but also the environmental impact of the industries they work in. There is a valuable opportunity at hand to push back against "greenwashing" by employers—or in some cases, complete disregard for environmental and workplace safety protections—by creating a labor movement that has an investment in advancing environmentalist goals. Green capitalism will not save the environment. Instead, we need a united working class that recognizes the systemic impacts of climate change and environmental destruction by organizing on the shop floor as well as our communities to better protect the environment of both. In this spirit, we hope to see a future where we uphold one of our most important goals in the IWW: to live in harmony with the Earth.

Ask a Worker:

Who Can Stop Oil Spills?

by FW Kristin

In the wake of the 2010 Deep Horizon oil spill, which dumped 210 million gallons of oil, I wondered if workers could have a role to play in saving our world from environmental devastation.

That year, I asked Arthur Miller, prolific author and Wobbly. He worked in shipyards, in hard rock mining, and on oil rigs. As a pipefitter, he's worked on tankers for Exxon.

Fellow Worker Arthur has since passed on, leaving a large body of work. (For more about Arthur Miller, visit <https://industrialworker.org/in-the-spirit-of-total-resistance-the-life-and-writings-of-arthur-j-miller/>.) This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

Q: How can workers help the environment?

As a worker, I'm the first one exposed to things, so my health and safety on the job is an environmental issue. The people that are pissed off about safety are the people that are working in the mines, oil platforms, shipyards, and whatnot. Reaching out to workers means getting people involved that are really truly interested in environmental stuff instead of mouth service and slogans, because the only place you're going to change that is in industry. You can't stand on the outside of a problem looking in and hope to change it, 'cause you ain't going to change it.

Q: Can you talk about safety and the BP oil spill?

Well the first problem with offshore platforms is that these things that they make, like in that example the blowout protectors, the quality of how they are made is very second-rate at best. Second-rate is a compliment. Generally the lowest bidder makes them, whoever can make them for less. They can make ships that are safe, real easy, but they won't. It's not that they don't care, it's they look at only one thing, the bottom line. Profit.

Why do tankers not carry booms and a boat to put booms around the ship if it does have a spill? You wonder why that ship was sitting there for so long, dumping oil, because they're waiting for boats to come in – and from where? All they've gotta do is have booms – I mean, they're not very big, they ain't heavy – and a couple power boats. You just put down the boats and put the booms around the boats. Okay, but how much is

that going to cost? So that's what I'm trying to say on the oil rigs, the ships, and all that. They're not made with the idea of preventing spills.

Q: Can you give an example?

It was a tanker, an Exxon tanker down in San Diego. They have what's called "prefab pipe." Well, the prefab is made in a shop according to the blueprints. I put down a section of prefab ballast pipe into the pump room. This is a sixteen inch pipe, and then connected to that is a pipe coming up, a valve, a spacer, and a valve. I put that in. I don't get to do the layout, because down there they had a layout department. I just put the pieces together.

So when I put the two pieces together, there was a gap between the flanges. It was high and over to the side. Now, I wanted to take a torch and cut the pipe and refit it so it comes up together. The foreman and supervisor said "No, it's already down as complete." All their reports and wages and bonuses are based on what is complete. So they had me put come-alongs on her.

I broke a three-ton come-along trying to pull the g-d- thing down. That means something of over three tons of force broke a chain! I had to use a fifty-ton portapower on one part of it, because it was the only thing that could get it.

So I pulled this thing together, after a lot of protest, and then I said to them, "You've got all this pressure and we need to put some additional hangers on this to hold this pressure," because eventually when ships are at sea, everything in them stretches. So I said, "Let's support this thing because it will bust!" But they looked at the blueprint, and it doesn't call for supports. They wouldn't let me put any additional supports.

So that's a tanker going out where one of those valves could break and they would have sixteen inches of seawater coming into their pump room.



Arthur Miller, 2013

Q: It seems like there should be a connection between workers and environmentalists, but sometimes environmentalists look down on workers. Do you think that's a class issue?

A: It is a class issue. They're not in those type of industries, where they'd understand why people have to work in them, what we go through. Up here it was the loggers and the spotted owl. That was the stupidest thing in the world the environmentalists did. It should have been easy to get the loggers on their side, because there's only a little bit of old growth left up here, and once that's cut, all these people are going to be out of work.

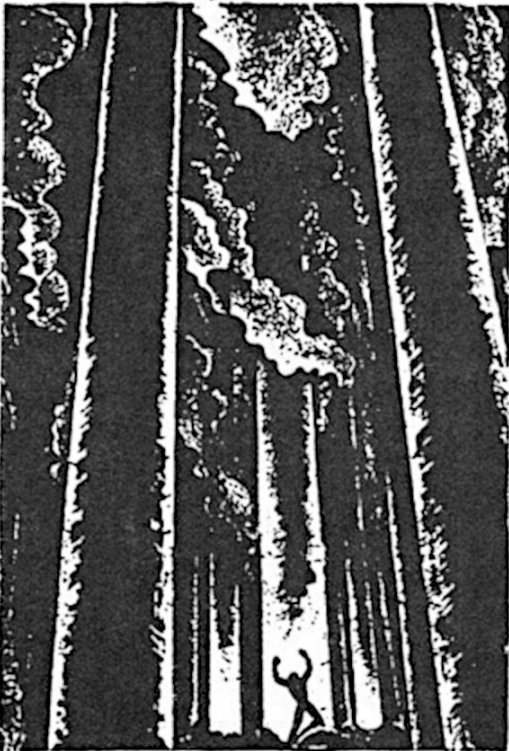
It doesn't always work that way. I used to live in New Orleans, and above New Orleans is this stretch between New Orleans

and to Baton Rouge that they call Cancer Island. They had a strike there, actually a lockout of petroleum chemical workers. And they eventually joined in common cause with Greenpeace over the pollution being caused by Cancer Island. So it is possible. It's an obvious alliance!

Q: So what would be the role of workers and environmentalists if they were to team up?

They would join together both making the issues public so the public would understand how easy it is to clean up these problems, and then a lot of it has to do with on-the-job action – refusing to do unsafe work. If the boss gives you any trouble the whole job shuts down, and everybody stops working. That's it. In a union solidarity situation, the whole job would shut down, until they did it right.

*Only workers can
stop pollution*



*Add clean air to
immediate
union demands*



Workers Encyclopedia

Bait-and-Switch. noun: The substituting of a lesser valued item when a superior item was originally offered.

Example: "Hi (Potential New Hire). You're just the kind of person we want on our team. I'm so excited to make you a very competitive offer. We'd like you to come onboard at \$17/hr.

Yes, the posting says \$19/hr, but your skill set is somewhat less than we desired and this will give you room to grow.

What do you say?" –What did you say?

Also: If your potential employer drops this kind of bomb on you before you're hired, one can only imagine how far they'll go when you're an employee.

Usage Notes: Like many labor law examples: this type of labor practice is technically illegal. However, it might actually be one of the most used hiring techniques.

One of the significant historical IWW fights was against the employment halls of Spokane, WA in 1909. The job sharks would sell a job posting to a worker, and when the worker got to the job, it was not as advertised. Less pay, worse conditions, shorter length.

KNOW YOUR LABOR RIGHTS – AND EXERCISE THEM.

About the Seattle IWW

Founded in Chicago in 1905, the IWW is open to all workers. Don't let the "industrial" part fool you: our members include teachers, social workers, retail workers, construction workers, bartenders and computer programmers. Only bosses and cops are not allowed to join. If you are currently unemployed, you can still join. We are a volunteer-driven union, and this means we run the union. Membership dues are used to maintain the union and assist organizing campaigns. As a result, monthly dues are low. To join, visit:

<https://iww.org/membership/>

Take the Organizer Training!

The Organizer Training 101 (OT101) is an intensive, four-day training that teaches you all the basic skills and tools they need to build an organizing committee at your workplace—from the ground up. You will learn what constitutes a union, how to have one-on-one conversations with coworkers, the basics of labor law, and how to organize and carry out a direct action.

The Seattle General Membership Branch holds regular trainings—free during the pandemic. If you'd like to be notified of the time and date, visit:

<https://forms.gle/q9edxoGrEVXhMVd89>

Organize Your Workplace!

The Industrial Workers of the World want to help you improve the conditions of your workplace. If you have questions, or would like to begin organizing your workplace, visit:

<https://seattleiww.org/organize-your-workplace/>

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 which 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 have 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.

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