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A news-magazine for construction workers.

May, 1976

BANKS

Pensions – Our Future Security?

Construction workers, one of the highest paid group of workers in this country, are beginning to question the effectiveness of their retirement plans. This scrutiny is a result of two things: 1) the meager payments made each month to retired plan participants; and, 2) an organized movement to increase "fringe benefit packages" because substantially higher wages in the construction field are doubtful, particularly with the depression of this economy

Pension plans are designed to supplement other retirement programs as a basis of worker's future security. U.S. officials in charge of programs for the elderly use the analogy of a three-legged stool when describing retirement incomes; the three legs being savings, social security, and pensions. Just as with any three-legged stool, if a leg gets cut off or is shorter than the others, the person using the stool wobbles and often crashes. As designed, neither savings, nor social security, nor pensions can alone provide adequate retirement security. Together they barely provide subsistence.

Retirement should be a time when workers, who have through their labor built this country, can enjoy the rest of their lives doing things they were unable to do while they worked.

However, retired workers must struggle just to keep what they have earned and to feed, shelter, and clothe themselves and their families.

In the month of October, 1975, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Worker's Pension Benefit Fund paid out over \$3.2 million to almost 60,000 retired electrical workers. This averages only \$54 per month, enjoyment.

Most labor (mis)leaders call for increased employer

funds are important to employers and even more so, the capitalism, advocating a harmony of interests between financial institutions.

The Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) of 1974 was designed to stabilize the "mismanagement" of Pension Trusts. But ERISA did nothing to give control of these funds to the workers. The most banks to invest in corporate stock, is to connect working glaring defect in the private pension system was not even class interests to the survival of the capitalist system, a addressed in the new law - the fact that over 50% of wage and salary workers in the U.S. do not participate in disguises the completely opposite interests of capital and any pension plan at all. Further, the Bureau of Labor Sta- labor. tistics (BLS) estimates that fewer than half of all collect a penny of benefits.

Employers realize that meager pension plans can serve their interests in two ways: 1) by tying pension benefits to at home and abroad. 30-40 years of continuous service, they provide a way of retaining good employees for long periods, thereby reducing costly turnover; and 2) the pension plan can be less expensive than keeping older, "less productive" workers on the payroll. For the company, meager pensions often equal increased profits.

Today pension reserves surpass \$180 billion and represent the largest block of investable wealth in the country - one third of the nation's total.

It is no wonder that major financial institutions compete for a section of the great wealth in pension management. Originally banks were able to attract pension fund clients due to their supposed conservatism and solidity, which were considered important for long term planning of retirement incomes. But, as the large each, which doesn't allow for too much relaxation or banks competed for more and more funds, they began to struggle to obtain this control would bring rank-and-file sink their managed funds into more speculative equities into open conflict with capital and the labor (mis)leaders, (stocks) and attempted to out perform each other. On who have given the pension assets to the big banks in

However, workers do not benefit from increased performance. Their pension benefits do not rise with the stock market. But, on the other hand, bad investments usually do result in a decrease or even cessation of employee benefits. Thus, with pensions invested in the stock market, the potential gain lies with the corporations, the potential risk lies with the workers.

With so much of Pension Trust money being invested in various corporations (70-80%), serious questions surface in connection with how the monies are used and maintained. Many workers seek information as to where the money is vested. Even with the new law, ERISA, the reporting of vested funds only states "where" and still does not provide the workers with a veto or any control of the vesting decisions.

With pension benefits so meager and with only 25% of all workers receiving pension benefits ... "Why does Union leadership go along with the present pension system?" First, much of the power of organized labor's leadership is not based upon rank-and-file support. In fact, many of today's (mis)leaders came to power at a time when progressive rank-and-file movements were being repressed by the corporations and their agents in the government.

Since then, these (mis)leaders have served the interests of the corporations by not taking the initiative to organize the unorganized workers. Today, 78% of workers in the U.S. have no organization committed to protecting their interests, let alone retirement benefits. Thus, rank-and-file movements within trade unions, including efforts to control their pension funds, are often seen as threats to the (mis)leaders of Unions.

Secondly, the leadership came to power during the rise of imperialism, a period which allowed limited benefits to some sectors of the organized work force. Construction workers, as we have said, enjoy a pay scale much higher than the average worker. This high hourly wage has helped to "buy-off" some militancy amongst the workers (...a separate peace?...)

Consequently, the current leadership of organized It is because of this lack of worker control that pension labor operated from a premise of an acceptance of labor and management. And, because of these (mis) leaders position in the Union and industry, they enjoy the spoils of this so-called "harmonious" relationship.

But the overall result of turning pension monies over to system of profits for the few. This connection further

Suddenly, a worker's retirement security depends employees now covered by pension plans will ever upon how well the bank performs or whether the corporations are able to protect their profits through undermining foreign governments or worker movements

The private pension system redistributes wealth to the rich, rather than to the workers or the poor. Hundreds of thousands of workers never see a penny of the money taken weekly from their paychecks in the name of 'retirement security." This money remains in the hands of the financial institutions and the large corporations for the benefit of the capitalists who control them. Those who eventually do receive retirement benefits at the end of their working lives have given over control of their pension assets to these same financial institutions. Adequate retirement security for all workers can only come through a massive redistribution of wealth, a redistribution which capitalism is incapable of making. One alternative to capitalist control of labor's pension monies would be rank-and-file control. However, the

contributions during contract negotiations, or the distribution of regular annual statements to each plan participant listing current hour and dollar amounts in Trust. These would certainly be improvements. But they do not address themselves to the question of working people's future security.

In the construction industry, an equal number of plan trustees are appointed by labor (mis)leaders and management. These Trustees are responsible for the administration of pension trusts. Rank-and-file members have no voice in deciding the policies and practices of the pension trust administration. Moreover, the administration exerts little effort to provide the rank-and-file with pertinent information as to the activity of the Trust itself.

In who interests do pensions work?

The lack of worker control allows Pension administrators to handle these funds as "they" alone see fit. Pensions are not administered by the Trustees. Rather, some financial institution is commissioned to do the actual administration. A financial institution is set up separate and apart from the Union to handle pension funds, thereby taking the worker's pension monies one more step away from their control.

the average, 70-80% of pension monies are invested in exchange for their positions (...a separate peace!!) such stocks.

With access and control of so much wealth, the financial institution is free to invest pension monies to workers. The equity investments (stock) in various corporations purchase influence in the form of "stockholder votes.

Yet, as workers, we cannot even control the proxy votes we buy. These stocks provide an added incentive to financial institutions to participate in pension management. It allows them more direct control over corporations, more power and more profits.

As Executive Vice-President C. Roderick O"Neil, head of Trust operations at Hanover Trust Company said, Corporations have become increasingly aware of how many dollars a 1% increase in return can involve." A pension industry "rule of thumb" is that a 1% improvement in fund investment performance means a 10% reduction in corporate contribution to the fund.

We must recognize that the immediate struggle to obtain this control will bring us face-to-face with these local and national labor bureaucrats. We must caucus with each other and voice our collective opinions and serve their own interests rather than those of the demand that OUR unions are run for the benefit of all working people.

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No Separate Peace

'No Separate Peace'' is a monthly news magazine covering local, national, and international issues as they affect us as members of vorking community

"No Separate Peace" is not an idea, , a catchy slogan, or some bicentennial rhetoric. . "No Se barate Peace" is a FACT. We believee that no ingle struggle or issue is separate onr isolate rom one another. Therefore we, as sworking people, should not be short sighteed in ou bjectives and goals. Nor should we minimize whatever victories we have fought foor. But I stop fighting or relax because a segmeent of ou working community has won "betteer cond ions" or "better wages" without realizing the rue nature of OUR problems, is ... "a | separate

NSP embodies and advocates the prrinciple of a combined effort by all workers of all i nationaliies for the accomplishment of common goals This publication is addressed to as specific

udience...construction workers in Seaattle and s intended to stimulate discussion and action. "No Separate Peace" is a publication of the nited Construction Worker's Asssociation UCWA). The UCWA is a Seattle baseed organ ation of Third World (national minorrity) contruction workers who are also active member f various AFL-CIO unions.

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The Bug

No Separate Peace" is a publication pproduced y trade unionists for trade unionists. In choosing NSP's printer, the main concer

as, "Is it a union shop?" NSP does not support scab shopps. Only brough organization, that is, through strong mions can printers and all workers sstrive fo better conditions in the workplace and in the ommunity. Printing NSP in a non-unnion shop rould weaken the struggle among prrinters to

ecome organized. Therefore, NSP is printed in a union s shop and s proud to carry "the BUG" on everyy issue.

Court Order Advisory Committee 66 ...an

impossible dream..."

"...if reasonable, interested parties could sit down together, they could come up with reasonable solutions"

If one believes the above concept to be true, then the philosophy of the Court Order Advisory Committee (COAC) should work and prevail. But so far the concept has not because the interest of the parties involved are so diametrically opposed.

what is the COAC?

In 1970 the Department of Justice, after many demonstrations by national minority workers, hastened its investigatory pace of the Seattle building trades. Those investigations led to the conclusion there was racial discrimination in the trades and a suit was brought against five local unions: Local #86, Ironworkers; Local #99, Sheetmetal workers; Local # 32, Plumbers & Steamfitters: Local #46, Electrical Workers; and Local # 302, Operating Engineers, who later entered into a consent decree without going to trial.

Judge Lindberg, the presiding federal judge in the case, found the unions and their Joint Apprenticeship Training Committees (JATC's), except the JATC of Local # 46, IBEW, in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court's remedy came on June 16, 1970 when Judge Lindberg made his landmark decision.

Today there are federal and state laws

seeking work.



The Committee is composed of nine members, two each from labor, management and the black community, as well as one representative from the State and one representative from the United Construction Workers Association (UCWA). The court required another person to be a non-black minority. This nine-person committee is chaired by an "impartial" representative of the Judge.

At the time of the COAC's inception, the failure of the unions and employers involved to comply with the terms of the in the amount of profits they anticipated. court's orders were met by angry UCWA members and supporters.

Judge Lindberg, who even at the time of his initial order was retired from the bench, sought for some "buffer" between the militant UCWA and the viola- UCWA. The staff often speak of "the tors of his law...The COAC became that buffer.

However, the COAC did more than keep Judge Lindberg's calendar clear of motion after motion by the UCWA. The COAC, with its all black counseling staff, served to confuse the new black apprentices and journeymen as to where their continued militancy should be directed.

The COAC is a service set up by the courts...and should not be confused with collective efforts by working people to gain their rights. Rather than organizing national minority workers to collectively and directly deal with the problem of discrimination, the COAC's existence actually undermined organized militancy, .the COAC attempts to solve discrimination through "compromised and friendly phone calls" to employers and union (mis)leaders.

This approach is well received by both management and the union bureaucrats because it is a program that is consistent with the policy of labor-management beace that exists today in the American trade union movement

This policy of the COAC is reflected in their lack of initiative and independence to carry out responsibilities such as the enforcement of journeymen-to-apprentice ratios...ratios which were made 'mandatory" by the court. These ratios are designed to create the additional employment necessary for the industry o absorb the incoming black apprentices without causing white apprentices or would-be apprentices from losing employment or apprenticeship opportuniies. The Order reads

.When Special apprentices [black] are assigned onto a construction job, they shall be in addition to and not in lieu of any employees or normal [regular] apprentices already on the payroll or who would normally be employed ...

When the UCWA asked the COAC Director, Glenwood Buxton to instruct his staff to aggressively pursue compliance with this ration, his response was, ... I'd be glad to enforce the ratios...but, I should wait for the full COAC committee to instruct me to do so ...

Even though the Court's Order already stated that this should be done by the COAC staff, Mr. Buxton preferred to "play it safe." He wanted the Order to be re-interpreted

The UCWA pointed out that the enforcement of these ratios in all of the court ordered trades could only work to the advantage of the workers in those trades. For the employers, however, the additional jobs created through the enforcement could only mean a reduction

The confusion is compounded by the fact that the COAC staff themselves incorrectly view their actions as a part of, or consistent with, the functions of the goal of the UCWA and the COAC as the same." Never have the differences been more clear

They see the COAC as a vehicle to change the discriminatory attitude(s) in the building trades. Some do not see the limitations of working within the framework sent down by their board (the Committee), a board with such opposite interests. Consequently, black and other national minority workers in the building trades who are not clear about the differences, also view the COAC as "the answer.

If there is all that confusion, then why not have the UCWA do the work of the COAC?

Initially the UCWA dealt with the recruiting and counseling of applicants and the monitoring of selection and dispatch procedures to insure compliance with the court's orders. UCWA was not given the functions of the COAC because of their militancy. The courts, labor (mis)leaders, and management were concerned that continuous demonstrations would occur by the UCWA if they failed to comply.

The Committee needed a staff that acted on orders only and that certainly would not demonstrate against themselves

Also, the UCWA recognized the inability of the "reasonable party" concept to

It is therefore necessary for all of us to see the structural shortcomings of the COAC. As designed, it will never cause any significant changes in the industry because of its compromising nature. It is not necessarily the people at the COAC who are at fault,...but the whole institution itself which must be done away with Militant workers must be organized into organizations such as the UCWA for it is that creative interplay between tough court orders and workers' organizations. that hold the greatest promise.



affected five mechanical trades in Seattle. and two national minority apprentices cies which have caused them to be used CIO. The study revealed up to 50% of

skilled trades, approximately 14 in num- in the asbestos trade in the Seattle area. wages and fewer benefits and to weaken These glaring facts point out the urber, would see it was inevitable that they could no longer be racist in their member- ities, the rank-and-file will demonstrage ship

This assumption was strengthened by historical racism. the carpenters and cement mascons taking in large numbers of national minor- against racial and ethnic discrimination. ities into their unions.

years to realize that the dominco theory is almost entirely white even though the money but having a shorter life in which anical trades has shown that this struggle was not going to affect the entire con- surrounding community is made up of a to enjoy the income. On the average, goes beyond the question of affirmative struction industry without us forrcing the large number of National Minority people asbestos workers last only ten years in action. All members of Local #7 should issue of affirmative action.

In July, 1974, UCWA entered into yet another struggle with Local #77 of the bers' dues should not be wasted paying International Association of Hleat and lawyers' fees and court costs in a need- the most common illness directly related Any and all UCWA members going in Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers, less court battle. Union dues should be to working with asbestos. Asbestos is to Local #7 will take up this struggle. and the companies who employ Local used to benefit the members, for exam- also a known factor in the cause of With us the economic struggle is impor-#7 members.

Local #7 members should plush their coverage.

An important legal battle wass won in leadership to implement affirmative National Minorities are desperate for Recently a study was conducted by Dr. eir union. Presently there are jobs but they are unable to gain member- Samuel Epstein of the Case Western

> By voluntarily taking in national minor- the organized sector of the industry. a willingness to overcome patterns of has put all its energy into obtaining Local #7 asbestos workers.

> > Asbestosis is the scarring of lungs. It is lective interests

gency needed in finding new materials In recent years Local #7's leadership which are not harmful to the lives of

Ironically, safe insulating materials do Local #7 leadership has also been exist which are less hazardous to a work-

democratic union to represent their col-



What is May Day and why a "big celebration of labor?" Why do the schools teach that May Day is the day when children dance merrily around the May pole? Why does the government call May 1st "Law Day?"

If working people are mentioned in the schools, by the government, or the media, it is only to report of May Day celebrations in other countries, especially socialist countries. The news media present May Day as a "communist holiday," showing pictures of working people marching in Paris and a military parade in Moscow

gain the eight-hour day.

City

Altogether, it was estimated that reduced.

and wounding many more.

brutality was called for the next day in won with militant labor solidarity. Today Haymarket Square. Several thousand we should discuss the lessons learned union members and supporters gathered from the struggle for the eight-hour day. to listen to three speakers. As the meet- In this age of increased mechanization ing was ending, with most of the crowd and high unemployment, a shorter work already gone, the notorious Chicago week (30 or 32 hours) at full (40 hours) police moved in, 180 patrolmen strong. pay must be put on labor's agenda.

to national minority workers. This battle only two national minority journeymen ship into a union because of those poli- Reserve School of Medicine for the AFL-

We at UCWA assumed the reamaining among a little over 250 members working as scabs forcing them to work for lower asbestos insulation workers die of cancer.

grossly negligent in dealing with the issue er's health. But due to added cost em-A union can be found guilty of discrimi- of better working conditions for its mem- ployers continue to use asbestos. However, it took us four anad a half nation in a court of law if its membership bers. It's like being able to work for more The experience of UCWA in the mechthe trade before they begin to feel the see the need to fight for a stronger, more

ple, by increasing health and dental cancer to the lungs, stomach, intestines, tant, however, life takes precedence. rectum and chest.

Local 7 – Another Struggle

higher wages for its members.

Lawsuits are expensive. Union mem- effects of working with asbestos.

Labor History

We will have an article in every issue on Inited States labor history. It is important that we know the past in order to ity and struggle.

understand the present. Most so-called labor leaders today have us believe that

"Five Thousand Attend Big Celebration of Labor." So read the headlines of the May 2, 1919 edition of the Seattle Union Record, a militant trade union paper of the 1900's. Five thousand people attended a militant rally, followed by food and dancing on May Day, 1919.

May Day started as a struggle to gain the eight-hour day in 1886 in the United States. The late 1800's were a time of massive immigration, the building of giant corporations, struggles by working people to form unions, speed-up, high prices, high unemployment, and violent repression by the bosses to smash any advance or gain made by the workers. Working people lived in slums and were forced to work ten to fourteen hour days, and in some industries, eighteen hours. At its 1884 convention, the young American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution calling on all labor to join together on May 1, 1886 to

Workers and unions across the country responded with great solidarity and determination. By mid-April, 1886, almost a quarter of a million industrial workers were involved in the eight-hour movement. The upsurge was so powerful that about 30,000 workers had already been granted the nine or eight-hour day. On May 1, 1886, workers in every city in America went on strike for the eighthour day. About 350,000 workers in 11,562 shops and factories walked out. In Chicago alone, 40,000 workers went out pled, all the freight houses were closed

strike for the eight-hour day, a \$2 daily struggles wage, an end to wage cutting and the

to run as a police captain ordered the assembly to disperse. Then - a terrific explosion !! - an agent provocateur had thrown a bomb! One policeman was killed instantly, five others died later and several more were wounded. The police immediately opened fire on the crowd, chasing, clubbing, and shooting down the workers, killing

several and wounding hundreds. Hundreds of workers were arrested in the days to follow. Eight were finally selected for trial on a murder charge: Albert Parsons, August Spies, Samue Fielden, Eugene Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscal Neebe. None of the eight were at the Haymarket meeting when the bomb was thrown, except Fielden, who was speaking. The eight were chosen by the em ployers because of their militant trade nionism and well-known organizing.

They were given a stacked jury, handpicked by the prosecutor, consisting of businessmen and their clerks, and a prejudiced judge. The predetermined verdict of guilty was reached - seven were sentenced to be hanged and one to 15 vears in prison.

Support for the framed labor leaders came from around the world. Resolutions were passed, petitions signed, rallies held, and millions of laboring people expressed their contempt for the coming executions. The governor of Illinois, responding to the massive outpouring commuted the death sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment.

On November 11, 1887, the remaining four defendants were hanged. Six years later, the three still imprisoned were pardoned by Illinois Governor Altgeld One defendant committed suicide or was murdered in jail before the executions.

The Haymarket bombing was followed by a nation-wide reign of terror aginst the labor movement. The lockout, the "ironclad oath," the Pinkerton detectives, the blacklist, and the red scare were the answer of the employers to the militan labor movement. The police and courts were assigned special roles in breaking strikes and imprisoning union members.

The nation's working people, however, had moved together and made great gains. There was no turning back. The labor movement pushed onward to organize still greater numbers and engage in struggle with the employers.

In 1889, leaders of the organized labor movement in various countries met in on strike, and more than 45,000 were granted a shorter work day without strik-of working people. After hearing reports ing. "Every railroad in the city was crip- of what had happened in America, they voted to support the eight-hour fight and and barred, and most of the industries in designate May 1, 1890 as an international Chicago were paralyzed." In Detroit, eight-hour struggle day. On that day, 11,000 workers marched in an eight-hour workers all over Europe showed their day parade, 25,000 marched in New York solidarity with working people in America by taking part in parades, meetings, and demonstrations for a shorter work day.

185,000 out of 350,000 workers who It is obvious that the schools want to struck for the eight-hour day gained their promote a merry, happy attitude to make demand on May 1st and the days follow- us forget our own history of struggle by ing. Many more had their work day telling us to dance around a May pole. The police and courts ironically call May McCormick Harvester factory were on history and scope of working people's

We shall never forget, however, that piece-work-system. On May 3rd, police May Day, the international worker's day escorting scabs into the plant opened fire was born in America out of the struggle on the striking pickets, killing at least four for a shorter work day. May Day reminds us that the eight-hour day was not a gift in similar occupations. A mass meeting to protest this police from the bosses, but was fought for and

The participation of the US government in the violent overthrow of Chile's elected government in 1973 has been we must beg for our rights, trying to well documented by the US Congress make us forget our history of struggle and US news media. By now it is well and the many gains won through solidar- known that the CIA played a major role. What is not so well known is the role played by the AFL-CIO.



The AFL-CIO? What does the federation of US trade unions have to do with the smashing of the federation of Chilean trade unions? A lot.

Have you ever heard of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)? Probably not. Not many Americans have. Least of all, trade unionists. AIFLD, a non-profit organization, is the mechanism for AFL-CIO programs in Latin America. Its president is none other than George Meany. The stated goal of AIFLD is "the development of the democratic trade union movement in Latin American and the Caribbean.

According to its Executive Director, William Doherty, "the real function of AIFLD is collaborating with the Council on Latin America which is made up of primary US business institutions that have activities in that area (Latin America). Our collaboration takes the form of trying to make the investment climate more attractive and inviting to them."

What could be "move attractive and inviting" to US companies than cheap labor? So attractive and inviting is the current labor situation in Chile that General Motors intends to build a multi-million dollar truck assembly plant there. This no collective bargaining. There is widemove spells more unemployment in the US, not only for autoworkers, but for electrical workers, sheetmetal workers and rubber workers as well. Eventually, it means more unemployment for all US workers, as General Motors and other companies rake in record profits over-

In collaborating with US business interests, AIFLD collaborates with the CIA. According to ex-CIA officer, Phillip Agee, in his book Inside the Company: A CIA Diary, AIFLD provides the cover for CIA labor operations in Latin America.



through its "social projects." Detailed finds out about AIFLD, they immediately questionnaires on trade unions and trade demand that the AFL-CIO have nothing unionists must be filled out for any union to do with it. This is asy to understand involved in one of these projects. AIFLD since what happens o workers in Latin has training courses for Latin trade un- America affects wha happens to work-In Chicago, the 11,000 workers at the 1st"Law Day," in an attempt to blunt the ionists in Front Royal, VA. The training ers in the US. consists of course in anti-communism and American trade unionism ("what's and promote the intensts of workers, not good for business is good for workers"). companies. When he AFL-CIO acts Information is also provided through the against workers' interests in South International Trade Secretariats, autono- America, trade unimists should look mous confederations of unions involved closely at whose inteests are being serv-

ments that represent those workers. other countries.

Since 1962, with the help of AIFLD, the CIA has been involved with government overthrows in Guyina (1963), Brazil (1964), Uruguay (1973), Chile (1973) and Argentina (1976). In tach case, a constitutionally elected government was replaced with brutal mlitary dictatorships whose primary task has been to stamp out workers' rights.

Was AIFLD involved? Up to its ears. Here is what William Doherty of AIFLD had to say after the military coup in Brazil: "What happened in Brazil April 1 did not just happen -- it was planned and planned months in awance. Many trade union leaders - sone of whom were actually trained in our institute - were involved in the revolution and overthrow of Goulart (constitutionally elected President).

Specifically what AIFLD trainees did was break a general strike called to prevent the military rom taking power. Communications workers in AIFLDtrained unions kept tilegraph lines open to coordinate troop novements.

In Chile, AIFLD tained professional and truck owners' asociations. It then planned, directed and subsidized strikes by these associations to paralyze the government and pare the way for the military take over.

Chile is a country 6(00 miles away from here, along the southvest coast of South America. In 1970, tle workers in that country: miners, irorworkers, electrical workers, garment workers, longshorement, etc. elected a national President, Salvador Allende. Todo it, they worked through the organization of their Central Workers Federatior (called CUT, the federation of Chileantrade unions).

The workers voted for Allende because he represented the interests of the workers, not the intensts of the owners. Previous governmens in Chile, like the government in the U\$, always benefited the owners, and wroe laws against the workers. Allende began to change that. The workers got the privileges and the tax breaks, not the owners.

In 1973, the Chilean armed forces, supported and directed by the Pentagon, killed Allende and 40,00 other Chileans. Today there is no CU⁻, no right to strike, spread unemployment (18-25%) and some of the worst infation in the world. Since 1973, the real wages of workers has been slashed 50%.

In a time when mutinational corporations dominate the world economy, the smashing of workers' organizations in one country meansthe weakening of those organizations n others. It is obvious that the bargining position of unions in this countryis seriously impaired when the company has the option to move to a country wiere cheap labor is guaranteed. When cimpanies are making super-profits in ore part of the world, they can afford to betough back home.

Most of the moneyfor AIFLD's operation comes from UStaxpayers. It also receives funds from multinational corporations and union cues from AFL-CIO. The interest of corpoations in the activities of AIFLD are obvous. But why does the AFL-CIO sponsyr and contribute money to AIFLD?

AIFLD claims to have the "whole nearted backing of the vast majority of the North American labor movement." This is doubtful sincehardly any worker knows of AIFLD's existence, let alone AIFLD provides information to the CIA what it does. And when a local union

Trade unions are supposed to protect ed in the US

The primary threat to US interests Workers who being to local trade (being the interests of US business) in unions should introduce and pass resolu-Latin America comes from the Latin tions in their uniors to withdraw its American workers and peasants. A major support of the AIFL). Workers should function then of the CIA is to gather talk to each other in ay shacks at lunch, information, disrupt and destroy organi- over coffee, and whe you work, about zations, political parties and govern- the role of your unionand the AFL-CIO in AR IN VIETNAM



Who Are We?

"Now you got it...what you gonna do with it?" are the words from a recently popular song. The words fit well with the dilemma at U.C.W.A. After six years, we found ourselves in a situation with 500 black workers in the skilled trades and no program for change. We realized that having gotten into the building trades, we had won a great victory. We also recognized that even though our goal had been to fight our way into the building trades, our expectations were that things would be better all around. That was of course before we got in.

In 1970, when we first got together, there were only 10 black workers in the skilled trades. We talked about all the problems in our community (that was the year the police set up and killed Larry Ward). We talked about the problems of the failing school system, and the high unemployment rate.

We desired to fight for what we knew were our rights as workers with the hope that this would somehow help solve these community problems. We were sure that the lack of economic opportunities were tied to these problems.

1975 - now we've got it

Five years later the ten black construction workers had mushroomed into 500. We had fought a good battle and learned some valuable lessons. However, that was the year the police killed Joe Hebert.

The Seattle Urban League completed an unemployment survey and it showed that the real unemployment rate was up from 1970; and, Garfield was winning at basketball and losing our kids.

What was all this fighting about? The people in our communities had supported our fight for more jobs in the building trades. We now had an obligation to fight for real change. What about all those lessons we had learned in our struggle to gain entry into the skilled trades?

We first started to look at ourselves as an organization. We were no long a black workers group, but a multi-national group with Chinese, Filipino, and black workers in our ranks and leadership. We had come to realize that the same problems that affect the black community also affect other Third World communities We had three experienced organizers who had spent a total of four years organizing workers in seven other cities. And, we had successes in those cities similar to the ones gained in Seattle. We had developed our own law office, the Northwest Labor and Employment Law Office (LELO), along with the Alaska Cannery Worker's Association and the United Farmworker's Union. It was staffed with three full time lawyers who had lots of experience in labor and employment discrimination laws. Consequently, we developed a sharp and clear understanding of how to use the law to fight for our rights. We also learned of the limitations of the law.

In short, we had a much broader view of the problem. We knew that the problem was not simply a black one nor could it be solved by getting a few black workers into the building trades.

no separate peace

It was at this point that we realized our real problems. The question of police brutality and crime is tied to the problem of unemployment; and the problem of unemployment is tied to the problem of poor education.

We had also witnessed the actions of the poverty programs and government agencies as they came and pacified all the black leadership, and then went out of business, leaving the basic social problems unanswered and unresolved.

This period in our development was also the period of startling revelations on the part of our governments wrong doing both here at home and abroad. We watched our President lie about petty crimes that he and his men had committed. And we listened to the Secretary of State admit to crimes that he and the CIA had committed abroad.

We came to realize that the national interest of our country was in fact the interest of the large multi-national corporations. The same corporations that closed their shops in this country and moved them to other countries, where there were new sources of raw materials and native people they could exploit for cheaper labor. All this...while at the same time causing massive unemployment here at home.

We also witnessed the struggle of the working people in Vietnam and all of Asia, the people of Angola and all of Africa, and the people of Chile and all of Latin and South America. We became aware of the problems of white workers and recognized that they also were the victims of layoffs, inadequate pension plans, and poor schools. The same dope that had destroyed our communities was now creeping into their communities. We came to the conclusion that all our problems were tied together and that there could be "no separate peace." The question then before us was, "...what do we have? ... " We knew we had 500 workers out there in the building trades among thousands of white workers. We very quickly recognized that as workers, we also fought the wars and built the country. Now we keep it solvent with our pension plan monies (see article on front page "Pensions - Our Future Security?"). We knew that any changes would have to be made by all of us. What about a united action by national minority workers and white workers??

...what you gonna do with it?

Our first task now was to assess the objective conditions around us. We had come to the conclusion that there would be "no separate peace," yet we found the majority of our members had in fact declared a separate peace. Some had moved to the suburbs. Others had forgotten they were in the skilled trades because of the mass struggle of the people who had come before them, and wrongly saw themselves as individuals who got there on their own merits. Still others were taking advantage of every opportunity to keep their job and bad mouthing any and all forms of militancy. In short, we had to fight individualism and opportunism in our own ranks.

The white workers were still smarting over the fact that we had gotten into the building trades and were a threat to 'their jobs." (The fact that we had been engaged in struggle for jobs and a better life made us see more clearly our task.) They had been put into a defensive position, one of conserving status quo, and had come to a wrong conclusion. They saw us as a dual union until we proved that we were fighting to get into the trade unions. (We are now and have always been opposed to all forms of dual unionism.) They saw us (national minorities) as the problem, i.e. a threat to their jobs, welfare, crime, etc. Added to the problems of our own individualism and opportunism were the problems of white chauvinism and racism among the white workers. These had to be overcome before we could mount a united action which would be in the interest of all working men and women.

We made an attempt at unity with white workers by demanding that employers pay them a day's pay whenever jobs were shut down by UCWA. We took the position that no UCWA member should jump the out-of-work-list to be called to work by employers ahead of We found the leadership in the local trade unions were the same as the poverty pimps in our communities. Every time the workers tried to fight, the leadership found ways to make deals with management for a labor-management peace. We found all signs of democracy gone from the trade unions each time the rank-andfile demanded their rights. The International President would say, "...Be cool, ...from where I sit, I can see the whole picture..." And indeed he could.

In short, we found the trade union leadership united with management and ready to fight against us (national minorities). We had it...what were we gonna do with it?

toward a principled unity

"We starting all over again, it's going to be rough on us,...but we're going to make it." These words come from another popular song and this is where we find ourselves today. We see the problem much clearer today than we saw it in the spring of 1970. We will not be misled by our government or trade union bureaucrats. Nor will we allow opportunism and individualism in our ranks.

We knew we needed unity with the white worker to win our common struggle for a democratic union.

But what about the racism and elitism based on skill that divides the workers? Would this be a fight where we would support the issues and get whatever's left? NOI This time we had to fight first for a principled unity. This time all those engaged in the struggle would know all the issues. The unity would be forged on principles, not race.

The roots of racism, national chauvinism, opportunism and individualism can be understood only through the study of history. We realized we had to know the past in order to understand the present. We knew we had a task of study and education on our hands.

We will demand that our members

others, black or white.

In 1975 we put forth the demands of jobs for all, tax the corporations' profits, and shorten the work week. None of these calls were supported by white workers. We started to understand that many of them had not fought and didn't understand that they could win greater control of their lives.

We looked at the history of white workers to try and understand why they did not join us. We were surprised when we found the grandparents of today's white workers being hung in Pennsylvania, shot in Colorado, framed in Utah, and beaten in Everett. We wondered why they didn't fight today as their grandparents and great-grandparents had fought. Then we came to understand that they themselves did not know this important part of history and therefore did not understand the lesons to learn from it. know who they are as working people. We will demand that our members understand the historical developments of this country and the rest of the world. We recognize that this can only be done through intensive study.

We realize that through the study of history and through our own experience, we will come to understand the root cause of the chronic problems we continue to find ourselves dealing with and their connection with the peoples of Vietnam, Angola, Chile, and the rest of the working class struggles throughout the world.

Our recognition of the fact that we need allies in our struggle against wage slavery forces us to look outside ourselves. We will unite with all honest forces. We think that we have fought and won an important battle. However, we see the real war ahead. "But we gonna make it!"