

no separate peace

A news-magazine for construction workers.

June, 1976 VOL. 2 No. 2

The ability of striking construction workers to effectively picket worksites has been restricted since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. A union picketing against a particular employer, with the intent or effect of keeping workers of other contractors or sub-contractors off the construction site, constitutes an illegal secondary boycott under Taft-Hartley.

This ruling was upheld by a 1951 Supreme Court decision prohibiting these kinds of pickets.

For over twenty-five years, Labor has attempted to defeat the "secondary boycott ruling". Some argue that contractors and sub-contractors working on the same project are "joint venturers" having common interests, and that picketing against joint venturers was not a secondary boycott.

This fight of building trade workers, to obtain the same bargaining tools allowed to unionized industrial workers of a single employer, was recently used to cover up an "attempted robbery" of workers' rights. The robbers were from our own ranks - the Labor leaders of today.

Common-Site Picketing Bill

The "Common-Site Picketing Bill" (HR 5900) will undoubtedly go down in history as the most lobbied for and emotional Bill in the past 94th Congress.

In the construction industry, the Common Site Picketing Bill would have made secondary boycotts legal, thus allowing construction trade unions to picket a construction job site even if it meant keeping other workers off the job — including those employed by another contractor.

However, one of the provisions of the Common Site Picketing Bill required a union wishing to engage in common site picketing, to give 10 days notice in writing to all unions on the site, to the general contractor, to the parent labor organization (the International), and to a Federal Collective Bargaining Committee. It also stipulated that common site picketing is legal, only if the International Union authorizes the action, taking control another step away from the local rank-and-file.

No wonder, the Internationals spent so much time and money (our dues' money) trying to get Congress to pass the Bill. And these leaders had most of us fooled too - including our local leaders.

Quoting Andrew J. Biemiller, leading lobbyist for the AFL-CIO, as stating that the purpose of the Bill was "to see that every job in America is a union job".

When was the last time our unions tried to organize the unorganized? We know that the real reasons behind the Common Site Picketing Bill was to rob us of our local autonomy. The International tries to steal from us, not just money, but more and more control of our local situations.

And the International labor leaders want "every job to be a union job", except they don't care about what wages and conditions the workers have (see "Pan Am Comes to Trident," page 4).

Curses...Foiled Again

Believe it or not, President Ford did workers a favor when he vetoed the "Common Site Picketing Bill" on January 7, 1976. Although Ford's veto halted the plans of the national labor bureaucrats to acquire more control, he did not intend to protect our local autonomy either.

President Ford, along with the employers and our sell-out leadership, was looking for another bill that would revamp the entire collective bargaining process in the construction industry. The President indicated that he would sign the Common Site Picketing Bill only if both Bills reached his desk at approximately the same time.

The Bill, called the "Collective Bargaining Bill of 1975" was an attempt to give national unions and national contractors and builder associations more control over their local chapters during negotiations.



COMMON SITE PICKETING

Local Control of the Right To Strike

"We are practical men", said Robert A. Georgine, president of the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department, who endorsed the Bill. "We think that whatever the negative effect of this (Collective Bargaining) Bill, it is far out-weighted by the establishment of an orderly procedure for bargaining."

The "orderly procedure" that Georgine is talking about means a surrender of local union autonomy and rank and file control to a sellout national leadership.

Both the Common Site Picketing Bill and the Collective Bargaining Bill have been "killed" by Ford's veto. The right of workers to effectively picket construction sites, should not be gained at the expense of our right to democratically control our union's affairs.

However, we need and must fight for the right of Common site picketing, but the control must be in the hands of the workers involved locally. This right should be fought for in all contract negotiations, instead of waiting for legislation (see Plumbers Fight for Right to Strike, page 8).

In the future, we should examine every issue affecting our work and rights, especially those issues the current leadership tries to sell us. We should examine the democratic character of our unions and Internationals to guarantee that our future national labor leaders respect and fight for the interests of workers, and not for "peace with management".

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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 a working community.

"No Separate Peace" is not an idea, a catchy slogan, or some bicentennial rhetoric. "No Separate Peace" is a FACT. We believe that no single struggle or issue is separate or isolated from one another. Therefore we, as working people, should not be short sighted in our objectives and goals. Nor should we minimize whatever victories we have fought for. But to stop fighting or relax because a segment of our working community has won "better conditions" or "better wages" without realizing the true nature of OUR problems, is... "a separate peace."

NSP embodies and advocates the principle of a combined effort by all workers of all nationalities for the accomplishment of common goals.

This publication is addressed to a specific audience... construction workers in Seattle and is intended to stimulate discussion and action.

"No Separate Peace" is a publication of the United Construction Worker's Association (UCWA). The UCWA is a Seattle based organization of Third World (national minority) construction workers who are also active members of various AFL-CIO unions.

The magazine is a non-profit publication. We ask a \$2.50 fee for yearly subscriptions. Address all correspondence, criticisms, complaints, and checks to No Separate Peace. The NSP offices are located at 105-Fourteenth Avenue, Suite 1A, Seattle, Washington 98122.



The Divider

This article is the first of three in a series. The first part deals with the Historical Development of Racism. The second part is about Racism in America and the third part will be How Racism Manifests Itself in the Work Place and How It Divides Workers.

When the question of racism is raised in most situations, those who take part in the discussion have many different definitions as to what it means. Conversely, almost no one knows what its effects are and whose interest racism serves.

In order to understand racism and its effects, we must examine its historical origin and historical effects. Once we know the past we are better equipped to understand the present.

The question of racism and its effects didn't start with the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation or the civil rights movement of the 50's and 60's. Nor is it a phenomenon common only to the American people.

We can trace racism to people in ancient China 2,000 years ago where dynasties were made up of people of the same race or nationality. In search of wealth and power the rulers in these dynasties fought amongst each other. They conducted wars suppressing other nationalities. We see the physical and cultural difference of Europe being used as a basis for the suppression of one group by another. Actually the wars have been fought by nations that formed on the basis of geography, culture and language. However the racial and cultural difference was used by the victor to distinguish and suppress the people of different races. We find these differences in pre-colonial Africa. However, since feudal times, the results have always been the same. The suppression of one race by another for the good of the ruling elite, which was only a small part of the conquering race.



One only needs to go back to post-World War I Germany to get a good example of this kind of racism. To see its negative effect on both a race that was the same as the ruling elite and the people who were the victims of this racism.

At the end of World War I the German aristocracy found themselves without the natural resources and cheap labor to produce goods necessary to maintain the economy of an advanced, industrially-developed capitalist country. In order to maintain their economy, they

had to develop new sources of raw materials and new markets to sell these goods in. This could not be done in a democratic society unless the masses of the people thought that it was in their interest to do so, which certainly was not the case.

First of all, resistance to foreign war had to be suppressed internally. A division among the German people was necessary to take away their democratic rights (freedom of assembly, freedom of press, speech, etc.), and establish a fascist state that could enter into wars without the consent of the people. The French Indo-China war and the American Vietnamese war are examples of what happens when "democratic" countries attempt to engage in wars of suppression without first taking away the "democratic" rights of the people. In both these cases the internal resistance to the war became a contributing factor to forcing the government to withdraw its military forces. The target of the German ruling elite was first German people, then other European states. This fight to destroy the internal resistance took the form of racism against the Jewish people.

In order to weaken the German people, a racist doctrine took the form of racial supremacy. The German people were taught that they were better than the Jewish people based on racial purity. Because there were Jewish financial capitalist (bankers) in Germany, the entire Jewish people were blamed for the fall of the national economy. The German mark was virtually worthless by 1925. Inflation had destroyed the country.

Economists could trace this problem directly to the loss of their North African colonies. The German government and the ruling elite, also saw these colonies as the origin of their problems. However, they knew that it was in their interest to blame these problems on the Jewish people, thereby, dividing the working class, and weakening the resistance to facism.

The German majority turned on the Jewish minority and the German fascist state came to power. One of their first acts was to disband or make illegal any trade unions.

Even though there were many reasons contributing to the inability of German workers to successfully resist their own oppression and the rise of facism, racism became the most devisive tool of the facists. Racism allowed them to divide and ultimately destroy the German trade unions...resulting in a devastating defeat to the German working class.

The results of what happened to both the Jewish people and the German people are well known. What we as American workers must begin to see, is how our interest lies in our unity and how racism effects us in our day to day relations.

It is important that we fight against racism and see whose interest it serves.

There are a number of parallels in the German situation and what is happening in America, today.

The loss of foreign markets through national liberation struggles in Vietnam, Mozambique, Cambodia, etc. (See workers victorious in Angola), through increased competition from foreign manufacturers and through nationalization of U.S. corporations in Latin America and Arab countries, have caused the American economy to decline.

Because most workers fail to make any analysis of the class structure in this society, we incorrectly conclude that because someone's skin is the same color as ours, then that person will always act in our interest.

This will allow a white worker to conclude that the Rockefellers' or the Gettys' interest is the same as his, when in fact, they are diametrically opposed. One is in the business of purchasing of labor for the lowest possible price, while the worker is in the business of selling labor for the highest possible price.

It then stands to reason that those who sell labor must come together with others who sell — and those who buy labor with others who buy — both to strengthen their ability to win against each other.



This has already happened in both cases. The buyer has formed employers associations while the seller has formed trade unions.

Unity inside both these associations are necessary to their survival.

In the case of the employers associations, this unity can only go so far before one consumes the other. This can be seen in the development of monopolies in this country in the food industries and in the auto industries, where only three car manufacturers remain: Ford, General Motors and Chrysler.

In the case of the seller of labor (workers), only through our unity will we win gains in wages, working conditions, fringe benefits, etc.

The Bug



"No Separate Peace" is a publication produced by trade unionists for trade unionists.

In choosing NSP's printer, the main concern was, "Is it a union shop?"

NSP does not support scab shops. Only through organization, that is, through strong unions can printers and all workers strive for better conditions in the workplace and in the community. Printing NSP in a non-union shop would weaken the struggle among printers to become organized.

Therefore, NSP is printed in a union shop and is proud to carry "the BUG" on every issue.

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RACISM cont.



HAVE YOU BOYS HEARD THE ONE ABOUT THE COLORED MAN WHO...?

Racism is the Divider

Workers, however, have been split along race lines in America from the beginning and this difference has been used successfully to break strikes and lower wages. Witness the popular phrase of employers in the 1890's, "if whites won't do the work, we'll get the coloreds to do it and cheaper too."

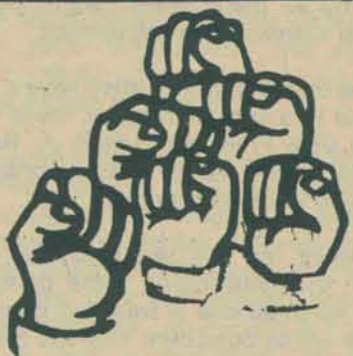
The fact that there has always been a reserve work force (unemployment) in this country has always contributed to the low wages.

A divided work force is a weak work force. When black and white workers compete over jobs, wages go down. National minority workers have not been a part of the organized work force, although they have always been a part of the work force.

As a result, the unorganized workers have provided a reserve for the employers. The obvious solution to this problem is to organize the unorganized workers, yet the AFL-CIO has constantly had a racist policy in its acceptance of its membership.

In the 1940's, Plumbers Local # 32, in Seattle, had a clause in its constitution giving membership to white males only. This policy was carried out by the building trade unions as well.

Today, integrated unions still do not fight racism or struggle to unify its members. Instead, we find foremen who lay off black workers because they do not relate to them. Examples of obvious racisms are: shop stewards who do not process black workers' grievances, Mexican workers who are forced to tolerate racist remarks, and Indian workers who must always be "Chiefs."



**IN UNION
THERE IS
STRENGTH**

The struggle for unity among the American workers is necessary in the face of a declining economy, when economists see the solution to inflation in higher unemployment. This unity cannot be achieved in the absence of organizing the unorganized workers and fighting against racism.

MR. PRESIDENT:

VETO

THE HARTLEY-TAFT SLAVE LABOR BILL

LABOR HISTORY CONTRIBUTION TO THE

Labor History

We will have an article in every issue on United States labor history. It is important that we know the past in order to understand the present. Most so-called labor leaders today have us believe that we must beg for our rights, trying to make us forget our history of struggle and the many gains won through solidarity and struggle.

The Taft-Hartley Act is a vicious anti-labor bill that was passed in 1947. It is one of the strongest strike-breaking tools the employers have. It has broken seven longshore strikes, five in aerospace, three in maritime, and two in atomic energy. Taft-Hartley was used twice against miners' strikes. The miners, however, stood firm and united and won both times.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed in 1933, guaranteeing for the first time, by federal law, the right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. Immediately, workers by the millions organized unions, went on strike, and fought for union recognition and collective bargaining.

The Wagner Act

In 1935, however, Wall Street's boys on the Supreme Court declared the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional. Labor, in turn, pushed President Franklin Roosevelt and the Congress to pass the Wagner Labor Act (the National Labor Relations Act), backing up labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

Again, a great upsurge of union organizing followed; Labor, under the leadership of the new CIO was on the move. Four years later, organized labor, with about 10,000,000 members, had almost tripled its growth and had gained over \$5 billion more a year in wages for its members.

The Nazis in Germany and warlords in Japan, however, after smashing workers' organizations in Europe and Asia, decided to make a grab for the whole world. U.S. labor leaders, calling for "Equality of Sacrifice", adopted no-strike pledges and minimal wage gains until the fascists were defeated.

"Equality of Sacrifice"

Big business' patriotism was overruled by its capitalist greed, however, as profits shot up 250% during the war years, as the cost of living climbed 43.5% and wages gained only 15%.

After World War II, the workers returned to the struggle at home. Over 5,000,000 workers went on strike in 1946, the most ever in U.S. history. Big business, fearful of this new mass upsurge, called on its government for help in beating back the workers' gains.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the organization of big business, drafted and sent to Congress the Taft-Hartley Bill. The Taft-Hartley Bill was openly anti-union.

Taft-Hartley reinstated injunctions and gave courts the power to fine for alleged violations. It established an 80-day cooling-off period in which strikes could not be declared. It outlawed mass picketing. It provided for the suing of unions for "unfair labor practices". It allowed states to outlaw the union shop (Section 14B). It prohibited secondary boycotts and weakened the active shop steward system.

Individual workers could now take their grievance to the boss and settle them, even at the expense of their fellow workers, without having to consult the shop steward.

The Taft-Hartley Act institutionalized red baiting. It required all union leaders to swear to "non-communist affidavits" in order for their unions to be able to use the National Labor Relations Board, or appear on the ballot for union recognition. This provision was meant to start witch hunts within the unions, and established the basis for legal discrimination against union militants. It was no longer enough for a leader to be a legitimate member of the union. Now his or her political beliefs were to be controlled and investigated by the government.

"Friends" of Labor

The Taft-Hartley Act was passed by the Congress in 1947. In the House of Representatives 103 Democrats voted for it, 66 against. In the Senate, it was 17 Democrats for, 15 against.

President Harry Truman, posing like a typical Democratic "friend of labor", vetoed the bill. He did so, because he knew his veto would be overridden and the bill would become law anyway. Despite his feeble opposition and veto, Truman proceeded to use Taft-Hartley 58 times in the next 29 months, or about once every two weeks.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) both vowed opposition and non-compliance, especially to the red-baiting affidavits.

To prove that action speaks louder than words, almost all union officials signed quickly, however, and raided other unions who refused to let their officers

sign. Taft-Hartley not only was to be a strong union-busting tool for the employers, it also led the labor movement to work for its own destruction and disunity.

The United Electrical Workers (UE), a large, democratic union with the best contracts in the country, refused to allow its officers to sign the affidavits. Other unions, including the Auto Workers and Machinists, raided UE locals around the country, losing many of the best contract provisions and splitting the labor movement.

Miners Fight and Win

On April 6, 1948, a judge issued an injunction against 320,000 striking coal miners at the request of President Truman. The miners struck to force the companies to make the payments into their pension fund as required by the contract.

After four more days on strike in defiance of the injunctions, the coal companies agreed to the full pension demands. Two-thirds of the miners stayed out on strike for 2½ months to remove the court's "contempt" action against the United Mine Workers Union and its president, John L. Lewis. On June 22nd, the judge was forced by the striking miners' refusal to return to work to rule the pension demand legal - a complete triumph.

Less than 2 years later, on February 6, 1950, Truman issued a Taft-Hartley injunction against 100,000 striking miners. They were immediately joined by 270,000 more miners. Many United Auto Workers (UAW) locals called for a 24 hour national strike. UAW locals sent money and food to the miners and a huge labor caravan set off from Detroit. On March 5th, the coal operators collapsed and agreed to the seventy cents a day demanded by the miners.

The miners showed that with unity, organization, and determination the Taft-Hartley Act can be made a mere piece of paper. We must not let big business and its government flunkies defeat our just struggles.

The fight to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act must be taken up by all labor unions, from the Locals to the International AFL-CIO Executive Committee. Until repeal, we must not be afraid of Taft-Hartley (or any other) injunctions, but must stand determined and united to win a better life.

In late May, construction workers at the Trident Missile site learned that Pan American World Airways had been awarded the maintenance contract. The first building was being completed and the Navy would take possession in early June. The Navy would, however, turn these buildings over to Pan Am for maintenance.

The Maintenance Myth

As construction workers, we often make two mistakes about maintenance: 1) We assume that it only involves clean-up and minor repairs, and 2) Because it is called maintenance instead of construction, it is somehow different and workers can be paid lower wages.

Because of this mythical difference, we allow employers to hire workers at lower wages and miss the opportunity to organize the unorganized workers and strengthen our unions. As we look closer at the scope of the maintenance at Trident, we realize that the work will require certain skills to install and maintain sophisticated equipment. Most trades, utilized to construct the facilities, will be necessary to maintain the base.



The question, then, of who will be affected by this contract, becomes much more important. Pipefitters, Plumbers, Sheetmetal Workers, Refrigeration Mechanics, Teamsters, Electricians, Elevator Constructors, Glaziers, Labors, Operating Engineers, Carpenters, Painters and Welders will all be involved, and should be concerned about this "Maintenance Contract".

Who is Pan American Airways

Everyone was surprised when we heard that Pan Am was coming to Trident. The question everyone asked was, WHY? Most of us thought that the company was only an airline with international routes. We certainly did not see it as a construction company. Thanks to a picket line by the Labors union on Tuesday, June 8th, we were able to do some closer checking. When we look closer at Pan Am, we see a major multi-national corporation engaged in many areas with the airline being only the most visible.

We, also, see Pan Am as a company with a declining profit margin. When Pan Am decided to seek a government grant to keep the company solvent, the president of the corporation used the argument that the decrease in corporate profits was due to an increase in competition from foreign airlines, both in Western Europe, Japan and in developing Third World countries.

These foreign airlines, Pan Am's president contended, could haul cargo and people cheaper because they were being subsidized by their government.

Another argument used to justify the government giving money to a private corporation was that many American workers would lose their jobs if the company went bankrupt. This will also be the argument, next time Pan Am applies for a loan or grant; and this time they will include the maintenance workers at Trident.

Unions that now have bargaining agreements with Pan Am, supported the corporation's request for a government loan, because they saw their jobs tied to the corporation's survival. The need to have air routes would not go away even if the airline went bankrupt. This means that the jobs would still be necessary, only the corporation would change.

During the last negotiations, these workers gave up wage increases to keep the corporation solvent, or more properly, to keep profits high enough to attract investment money. This connection between the loss of air routes and workers jobs is not as clear as in our situation.

We can see that the Trident maintenance jobs were not created by Pan Am and will not depend on its staying solvent. Therefore, we should never put ourselves in the position to give up wage increases to help keep corporate profits high. What we don't understand is, why do we need Pan Am.

How To Hide a Government Grant or Pan Am Needs Us

In the wake of Watergate and other high level scandals, government loans or grants are not popular with the people. As we look closer, we start to see that, in fact, we do not need Pan Am, Pan Am needs us.

When we checked with their local office, we found out that the contract is being administered from the "Florida office" and that the contract is an open ended one, meaning that there is no fixed dollar amount.

This probably means that even the Defense Department is not clear on the extent of the maintenance necessary for the completed Trident base. Because we were unable to get any figures even from the Florida office, and in order to show how the company will get its hidden grant out of the hides of workers, we will have to use our own figures.

These figures are based on the rate that the corporation is now paying the few labors. They have been hired to do the initial clean-up. The workers are receiving \$4.00 per hour compared to the \$8.57 paid to labors, who are organized in our unions. This amounts to less than 50% of union scale.

The factors used are 10 workers in each of the fifteen trades, working 2000 hours per year, averaging \$10.50 per hour. Some trades pay less; most have higher hourly rates.

Union workers' wages would amount to \$3,150,000
Pan Am workers' wages would amount to \$1,575,000

The company gets to keep the difference as profit, thereby taking from our hides half our wages to finance their hidden loan. Ironically enough, this money is all money we pay to our government weekly in the form of federal withholding taxes.

These figures do not speak to the many other ways the corporation will make money on this contract. When we put the facts together and see that the Bremerton Shipyard has been maintained for years without the Pan Am middle men, it becomes clear that we don't need them. We begin to see that Pan Am needs us.

But What About The Workers

In order to receive these "Maintenance Contracts", of course, Pan Am and other large corporations, such as Lockheed Aircraft and Penn Central Railroad, must have friends in high places (which is why so many were caught making illegal campaign contributions).

In the case of Pan Am, they have a good friend in a very high place, none other than Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, whose family owns controlling interest in the corporation.

However, all this seems so far away from the Washington State peninsula, and when all else is said and done, the work will be done here. Not one Pan Am executive from the skyscraper on 43rd Street and Lexington Avenue in New York City will come here to push one broom, change one lamp or thread one pipe. We will decide who shall work.

We are all aware of the fact that these jobs, should they become organized shops, would be the most desirable, because they would be full time and mostly inside work. In the past, these jobs have gone to union leaders and friends and relatives of union leaders. The Port of Seattle and the Seattle School District are examples.

Pan Am - con't

However, this does not have to be the case. In the case of each craft, Local union members could decide that these jobs go to the older members who had been members of the Local the longest. All this seems simple and most would agree that all we need to do then is sign an agreement with the corporation.

However, the situation becomes much more complex when we think back first to the Pan Am profit motive mentioned above, and then of the fact that union wages would mean \$1,575,000 less in profits, which is the only reason they came to Trident. And even more complex, when we add other unions to this already complex situation.

The cases in point are the Teamsters union leadership and the Machinist union leadership. We mention here the leadership and not the membership because that is who is involved. Both these Unions are currently involved in negotiations with Pan Am trying to sign up the workers.

Low Bidders Win; Workers Lose

Each international union's leadership is interested in increasing the size of its union membership. Not for the benefit of the workers involved, but for the amount of money that comes into the union treasury and pensions in the form of dues and "employers contributions" to pension funds.

If union leaders were concerned about the welfare of the individual worker, they would fight with Pan Am for the highest possible wages and best possible fringe benefits. However, what they are really doing is fighting to see who can be the "low bidder".

We, of course, do not know the exact figures; however, we can correctly assume that the Teamsters and the Machinist unions are talking in the vicinity of \$6.00 or \$8.00, depending on the crafts involved. Which is, of course, in the worst interest of the worker.

The few workers already hired would prefer the highest amount, which is the construction scale.

What Has Been Our Leaders Response

Our international leaders would love to have these new members, as much as the other unions involved, at any price necessary. Some have already started talking about the "difference" between maintenance and construction, preparing us for the lower wages.

Others are reportedly meeting with Pan Am in Pasco, Washington, well away from the front, so as not to be hit by militant worker schrapnel.

Because we are already weakened by all our different craft lines (19 different building trade unions could presumably be involved). The leaders all blame other crafts for a lack of solidarity in the face of Pan Am. They say that we cannot strike, because the Taft-Hartley Act prevents us from a secondary boycott. They say we have an obligation to the employers working on the Trident and must stay to complete the job; ruling out any possible strike and forgetting that our first obligation is to fight for the economic and political well being of all workers. Also, that this obligation outweighs any obligation to those who would buy our labor at the lowest possible price.

We cannot help but recall the excuse we were given in the late 60's and early 70's, when national minority workers fought to enter the building trades. The excuse

THE INVISIBLE PICKET

Construction workers who depend much more on the state of their unions than many other workers, are often heard to say "we only have ourselves". The truth in this statement is that it is enough.

On Wednesday, April 21st, a rumor was heard around the Trident Missile site. The word was there was going to be a picket line on the gate the following day. No one was sure what the issue was and this tendency is often the case, because of narrow craft lines that exist in the building trades. It inhibits communication to the point that it is almost non-existent.

Although it was unknown to the workers at the time, the issue was an attempt on the part of a contractor to employ Operating Engineers without entering into an agreement with the local union (Operating Engineers Local # 302).

The long range effects of such an act would allow a contractor to operate, both a union shop and a non-union shop. This process would eventually lead to the elimination of the union shop, and would force workers to seek jobs at the site; creating more competi-

tion was "there were not enough union jobs around." That statement was true then and is true today and will be even more true tomorrow until there won't be any unions left, unless we decide to fight now for what is ours, or for what is in the best interest of workers and our unions.

What Should The Trident Workers Response Be

The conditions for us to fight and win couldn't be better. We have demonstrated our solidarity on two occasions; once in support of the Operating Engineers in April, and in support of the Labors on June 6th. We have shown our solidarity across race lines when the Labors picketed the black contractor who was non-union.

Black workers refused to cross the picket line. They discussed the fact that this same laborers union was too timid to picket Pan Am; however, they refused to cross the picket line. The issue was trade union, not race. This time we can show our solidarity with older workers by demanding these maintenance jobs go to them.

We are not in the position of the Teamster leaders, or the Machinist union leaders. We do not have to sell the workers out by being the "low bidder", or allow our own leaders to sell out these workers for lower wages only to collect their dues and pension money. We can remove our hands from the tools for as long as it takes, and without our hands, there will be no Trident to maintain.

We must push our leader to set a deadline, or we must set our own deadline before Pan Am hires its entire work force and we are pitted, worker against worker. We must demand for those already hired, workers' union scale and admit them into our ranks with all rights and privileges.

The vehicle for our fight exists now. We must demand that our stewards come together across trade lines and talk; and also to communicate with us at lunch in our dry shacks, so that we can fight together across trade lines. If our leaders can't get together downtown, we must come together on the job. This time, if we are sold out, it will not be the international or the contractor's fault, it will be ours. If all we have is each other, that will be enough.

Construction workers who depend much more on the state of their unions than many other workers, are often heard to say "we only have ourselves". The truth in this statement is that it is enough.

Picket Lines Have Meaning

The fact that there was to be a picket line was sufficient to cause a stir among the workers, even though the issue was not clear.

Shops stewards act as the official arm of the trade unions on the job site and it was from the stewards that each trade learned of the picket. The official word was that the picket line was a sanctioned one. This means that the bureaucrats at the helm of labor had approved the picket.

Most struggles that grow out of real day-to-day harassment and poor working conditions are not sanctioned by the labor leaders and are, in fact, opposed by many; until they see the tide growing. And, often, they not only give their support, but, in fact, take over and give these issues the direction they want them to have. Often this is in such a manner as not to offend the employers and to the dissatisfaction of the workers (see Pan Am Comes to Trident). However, this one was sanctioned, but was OK'd to cross if you were not an operator.

A Separate Peace

The Navy's position was, of course, in support of the employers. They had given "permission" for the operators to have the picket line at gate #3, a scarcely used back gate, that wasn't listed as one available for workers' use, up to this point.

With the official word from the Navy, that all other trades and all employees should use gates other than #3, and the official word from the unions, that it was OK to cross the picket line, the struggle of the operators seemed a lost cause.

The Invisible Picket

The workers on the site were all curious about these details and were looking for answers. The word from a honest shop steward, in one craft, was that he would not like to cross the line, except the Taft-Hartley Act forbids secondary boycotts. Other workers spoke to the fact that there would be no picket at the main entrances. Still other workers spoke to the real problem. With a picket on any gate, it meant that the site was being picketed and any one working on the base would be working behind a picket line.

The workers were speaking to the Invisible picket, that would not be seen at most gates.

All the workers involved realized that a picket meant that workers who felt grieved were asking other workers for their support and that not to cross the picket line would force the Scab Contractor to sign an agreement with the operating engineers' union, local #302.

Spontaneous Support Develops

At the end of the day, no one was quite sure how this problem would be dealt with. Those workers who had been involved in conversation went home to figure this one out themselves. The next morning some confusion still existed, however, one electrician from Bremerton who was pretty well known and well respected by all the other electricians and other Bremerton workers stopped his car short of the gate.

This caused other workers who had not made up their minds to stop and engage in conversation. From that point on, it was not a question of going through, but one of, will those inside come out. They did.

By 8:30 a.m. only a handful of workers remained inside. One worker, who would have chosen to stay in and not support the others, apparently, could not stand the pressure. When he came back through the gate, another worker was hard asking him, "What's the matter, not enough cheese to eat?"

We're All We Got

Before 9:00 a.m. the employer had given in and signed the agreement, bringing all his workers under a union contract.

The workers had come together, in unity, across trade lines and won a major victory. The victory was not just that the employer signed, but that the worker saw the "invisible picket line" and understood what their unity could accomplish.

The following day, seven plumbers were laid off or fired because of their participation in the one-day strike. The reason given was because they refused to work for foremen who were travelers. The complete story is still a mystery to most workers. This problem speaks to the lack of communication between the workers and across craft lines.

When a business representative from one of the craft trades was asked to look into the plumbers situation, he responded with the defensive statement, "We can't stop work every time something happens". When reminded that the workers only wanted more information on the plumber situation, his response was, "That is not my business".

This separate peace statement ("my" craft problems vs. others' craft problems) reflects the attitude of most labor bureaucrats and their unwillingness to support workers across trade lines.

This elitist attitude forces us to begin to try to understand issues ourselves and to push our leadership in a direction that is in the best interest of all workers, regardless of trade.

One way to get a better understanding of issues is to have the shop steward from each trade meet together and discuss what is going on in each trade on a regular basis. Once information is given to our stewards, they should speak to us in our dry shacks at lunch time, so that we can make decisions.

We should be clear, that union leaders work for us. Not the other way around. Some stewards think they work for the business representatives. We must change these attitudes, so that we are clear on each issue and not operating on the basis of rumors.

Most of the time, in spontaneous situations, we respond in support of our fellow workers and in support of ourselves. Sometimes, we hurt ourselves, because we don't have all the facts. We must fight for information from our stewards and union representatives, and we must fight against their unwillingness to support any militant struggle by workers.

The result of the spontaneous struggle, by so many workers, spoke to the question of what it means for workers to stand together on issues that affect their lives.

This invisible picket line is only one of many ways the rights of construction workers are protected. We will begin to see more threats to our rights as time passes. The answer is in our unity, "all we have is each other, and that is enough".

WORKERS VICTORIOUS IN ANGOLA

There arrives a moment in history when the colonized, the exploited, become conscious of their condition and of themselves; but it is not possible for them to be conscious of their situation without revolting against it, because revolt is the only human reaction to the recognition of an inhuman condition.

The exploited one doesn't separate his destiny from that of others. One's misfortune is, in fact, a collective misfortune and it is due to the economic, political and social structures of the society in which one lives.

Who Defeated the Portuguese

The real history behind the situation in Angola is being sidetracked when it is stated that there are three genuine liberation movements or that the struggle is a "tribal conflict". The essence of the Angola conflict is the struggle between the forces of international capitalists, seeking to maintain Angola by way of the tribal-based African elites, and the true forces of progressive popular democracy.

It is now clear that only one movement consistently confronted and finally defeated Portuguese colonialism in Angola. And only one movement fought for the genuine independence in the interest of the mass of Angolan workers and peasants. That movement is known as the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). It has always been a nationalist movement with a multi-tribal leadership.

After the Portuguese Coup

MPLA agreed to form a united front with the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the other two leading movements in Angola. Their objective was to negotiate with the Portuguese for the independence of Angola.

On January 14, 1976, the Alvor Agreement was signed with the Portuguese, establishing a transitional government and plans for elections to be held for Independence day.

The anti-imperialist front (MPLA) was willing to work with the puppet forces, (FNLA and UNITA) because they knew this would win greater support from the people in the long run and help expose the reactionary character of these puppets.

This is, indeed, what happened. MPLA representatives in the transitional government initiated and encouraged the organization and mobilization of workers and peasants in the urban shantytowns and villages. People's Commissions were established to tackle illiteracy and health problems and to involve the workers and peasants in the decisions of the transitional government.

Early successes included the raising of black workers' wages to equalize with the white workers' wages.

Opposition Exposed

The Angola workers' economic, political and social rights are the most important rights because it is their blood, sweat and toil that has made the nation what it is today. Everything existing is created by the Angolan workers. Therefore, it logically follows that these workers should control their economic, political and social structures.

6 no separate peace

But to enable the rich U.S. Imperialist and the Portuguese to get richer, they had to oppose this ideology of the Angolan workers taking control of what is rightfully theirs. The bourgeoisie corruptedly maintain what they wrongfully took from the workers by whatever means necessary, but the Angolan workers were constantly aware of this corruption.

The corrupt elements of UNITA and FNLA in the transitional government soon arose when they realized their dependence on the will of others.

Lacking popular support, UNITA and FNLA began trying to seize control by force and intimidation, which is a typical reaction for collaborators supporting imperialism.

But now that MPLA has declared the People's Republic of Angola, a free and sovereign state, reactionary imperialist forces have shifted forceful aggression to economic strangulation of the new people's state. A secret economic boycott, as happened in Chile before the

To call for coalition or "national unity" with such traitors is similar to calling for unity with the CIA and South African fascists.

Why Imperialist Forces Want Angola?

Are the imperialist forces intent, simply to prevent Soviet influence in Southern Africa?

President Neto's response to this question is:

"I wish to make it clear that we appreciate and recognize the assistance from all our friends, including Russia, but we do not accept any form of foreign political domination....We do not take orders from any big power in this world. We have always had the pride to determine our political line, ourselves, and the ideology which suits the people's interest."

MPLA has received support from the Soviet Union as have many other liberation movements around the world,

Angola, Potentially the Wealthiest Nation in Africa

The real reasons behind North America and West European involvement in Angola are much more than simply "preventing Soviet influence". They are actually Angola's natural wealth and strategic location, both of which are important to corporate and military interests in the West.

Last year alone, multi-national corporations extracted over \$1 billion in profits from Angola. Angola is the key to the quest for domination of Southern Africa, whose mineral wealth is increasingly a vital concern of international capital interests.

It has vast deposits of copper, iron, diamonds, manganese, titanium and other vital minerals; most of all, oil.

Agriculturally, Angola is vitally important. A study by a U.S. consulting firm suggests that Angola could become a breadbasket for Africa.

A genuinely independent Angola will utilize these resources to serve the Angolan people. They do not defend and do not intend to defend the principle that this wealth should be handed over to the Angolan capitalist. Nor does Angola intend to have its peasants and workers exploited.

We, as workers from other countries, should not allow our fellow workers to be exploited so that the bourgeoisie can maintain their standard of life to which they have become accustomed at the expense of unpaid labor, cheap labor and looting in colonies. We as workers in this country are exploited and only through workers' solidarity can we overcome international exploitation of workers.

The solidarity and commitment of other revolutionary forces has been great. The President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Samora Machel, has stated, "the fate of the revolution is being played out in Angola".

An initial force of 250 experienced FRELIMO militants fought alongside of MPLA, and workers throughout Mozambique have contributed a day's wage in support of the Angola People's Republic. The Cubans, noted for their strong international spirit and commitment, sent some of their sons and daughters to fight alongside and to assist MPLA.

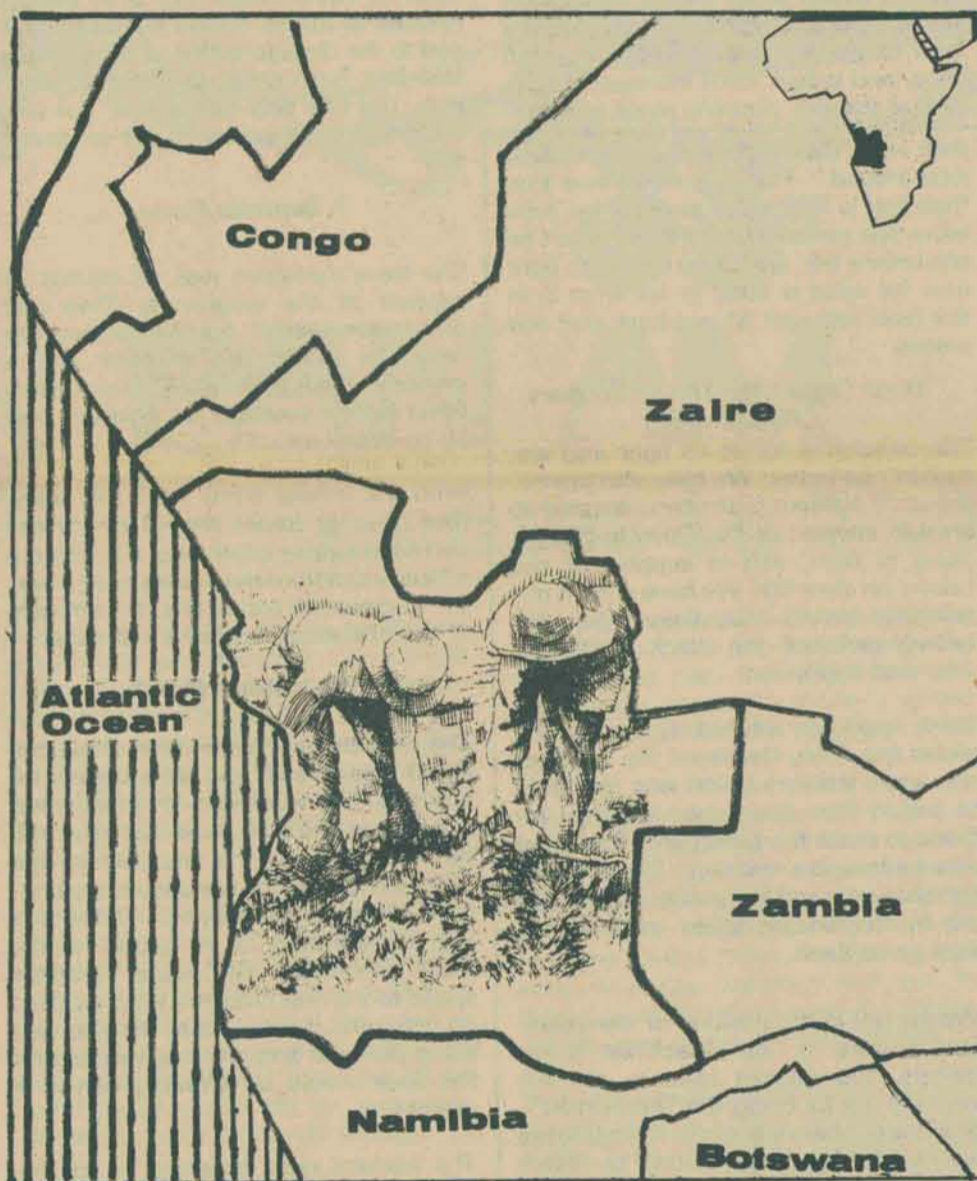
building block

Just as Angola will be a support base for other liberation struggles in Africa and just as Cuba, the Soviet Union and other countries were bases of support for Angola, it is in the interest of workers from other countries to support struggles of liberation.

A liberated Angola will be a base of support for the liberation movements in Namibia (Southwest Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South West Africa (Namibia) and an example for progressive forces in Zambia and revolutionaries in Zaire.

It is this which worries the multi-national corporations and their agents in Africa. The fact that liberation movements are rapidly growing around the world to fight and defeat imperialism means eventually bringing imperialism back home. That is to say, run away shops cannot run away any more. Multi-national corporations sought cheap labor elsewhere because wages were higher, but their leaving meant unemployment for us.

cont. pg. 7



fascist coup, is being imposed by the West.

The United States, once again, is leading the way in these maneuvers and has blocked the signing of an agreement on a coffee sale and delayed delivery on two Boeing 737's for 60 days, which had already been paid for by Angola at \$37 million apiece. Also, under heavy pressure from the Ford Administration, Gulf Oil held up a \$125 million royalties payment to the Luanda treasury.

The struggle in Angola is not a "civil war" any more than the Vietnamese struggle was. Rather it is a war of liberation against foreign aggression. MPLA's position was expressed by President Agostinho Neto, "We don't want to negotiate with UNITA and FNLA, or with any of the aggressors... There can be no agreement with the representatives of imperialism in our country."

such as the National Liberation Front of Vietnam, FRELIMO of Mozambique, the Palestine Liberation Organization, but it does not logically follow from this that they are "clients of Moscow."

By using the term "Soviet backed" referring to MPLA, the bourgeois mass media is trying to distort Angola's independent socialist character and rouse the opposition of all elements critical of the Soviet Union.

Every progressive country in Africa (Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Algeria, Somalia, Tanzania, People's Congo and Guinea) has recognized and supported the People's Republic of Angola. Other revolutionary forces supporting MPLA include Vietnam, Cuba, People's Republic of Korea, to name a few. MPLA should correctly be referred to as a **progressive, anti-imperialist, popular democratic movement.**

How To Improve Your Pensions



the necessary rank-and-file control to a few individuals called "Trustees", though our acceptance of the status quo. These Trustees, half of whom are appointed by labor and the other half by management, have the responsibility, the discretion, and the control to make all decisions about our money. Every decision from where it is invested to how much each participant will receive. These kinds of decisions will certainly be necessary to make in the future, even if the control and decision making is in the hands of the workers involved. However, we must ask ourselves at this point, why management is involved in the control of our money? We believe the answer is, that management uses it to invest in their own interest.

In every case the Trustees employ the services of a private administrator, a bank or some other type of financial institution to handle pension funds, thereby taking workers' pension money one more step away from their control.

These financial institutions are the big winners. The banks are able to benefit through the investment of workers' money in many ways, including the following: 1) through the fees it charges to manage the funds, 2) through the investments in companies which are long-standing customers of the bank, 3) through investment in companies where the bank already holds blocks of stock (other pension money), and 4) the additional corporate control gained from voting the shares of stock held in the pension fund, bought with workers' money.

Sometimes, the investment of workers' pension money by these financial institutions come into conflict with the interests of workers. Often our pension money provides the needed capital for a

The most glaring defect in the private pension system is the fact that over 50% of wage and salary workers in the U.S. do not participate in any pension program. With fewer than half of all employees now covered ever receiving a penny of benefits and the meager monthly payments made to plan participants, pensions have proven themselves to be an ineffective solution to a worker's retirement security (see "No Separate Peace", May 1976, "Pensions - Our Future Security?").

The root cause of this failure lies in the design and control of these pension plans.

As plan participants, we have forfeited

Year	Total projected employer contribution for that year	Estimated number of pensioners	Amount paid out to pensioners	Balance from employer contribution for that year	Balance when added to previous total	Interest earned on total balance at 6%	Total Balance
	(average mo. amt.)						
1976	\$420,000 (at \$.40/hr)	10 (at \$400/mo.)	\$ 48,000	\$372,000	\$372,000	\$22,320	\$394,320
1977	420,000	50	240,000	180,000	574,320	34,459	608,779
1978	420,000	60	288,000	132,000	740,779	44,446	785,225
1979	420,000	70	336,000	84,000	869,225	52,153	921,378
1980	\$525,000 (at \$.50/hr)	80 (at \$500/mo)	\$480,000	\$ 45,000	\$966,378	\$57,984	\$1,024,362
1981	525,000	90	540,000	-15,000	1,009,362	60,561	1,069,923
1982	525,000	90	540,000	-15,000	1,054,923	63,295	1,118,218
1983	525,000	90	540,000	-15,000	1,103,218	66,193	1,169,411
1984	525,000	90	540,000	-15,000	1,154,411	69,264	1,223,675
1985	\$630,000 (at \$.60/hr)	90 (at \$600/mo)	\$648,000	-\$18,000	\$1,205,675	\$72,340	\$1,278,015
1986	630,000	90	648,000	-18,000	1,260,015	75,600	1,335,615
1987	630,000	90	648,000	-18,000	1,317,615	79,056	1,396,671
1988	630,000	90	648,000	-18,000	1,378,671	82,720	1,461,391
1989	630,000	90	648,000	-18,000	1,443,391	86,603	1,529,994
1990	\$735,000 (at \$.70/hr)	100 (at \$700/mo)	\$840,000	-\$105,000	\$1,424,994	\$85,449	\$1,510,443
1991	735,000	100	840,000	-105,000	1,405,493	84,329	1,489,822
1992	735,000	100	840,000	-105,000	1,384,822	83,089	1,467,911
1993	735,000	100	840,000	-105,000	1,362,911	81,774	1,444,685

company to close its doors to hundreds of workers by moving its shops to the south or out of the country as most companies are doing today, where they find cheaper labor.

What is a worker controlled pension... and how is it better?

The answer to that question is for us all to decide in our respective locals. To give us a better understanding of what we could demand, the following is an example of what might be possible for members of IBEW, Local #46 Wireman's unit.

The calculations made in the following table are based upon rough estimates* of the number of persons to be receiving pension benefits each year. The wireman's unit in Local #46 has about 1100 members. An average of about 750 members working each month, working an average of 1400 hours each year was used to compute the total employer contributions going into the fund annually (example: for 1976 - 750 x 1400 hrs, x \$.40/hr. = \$420,000). These "employer contributions" are actually deductions from our wages before we receive our checks.

The U.S. Census Bureau reports that the average life expectancy for men is approximately 67.3 years and 71.1 years for women. With the current retirement age of 65, pensioners actually don't get full value in their monthly incomes. After pensioners die, even less goes each month to the spouse. Nevertheless, to insure that this example is an improvement over the present plan, we have used the age of 70 years for life expectancy.

The numbers of persons eligible for retirement has been estimated at approximately 10 per year. From 1976-1977, these numbers increase from 10 to 50. The reason for this is that we have attempted to lower the retirement age from 65 to 62, therefore pensioners in these additional years have been added to the total for 1977.

Practical problems arise from workers retiring at an early age. The current design of pensions comes from the "three-legged stool theory". The basis of this theory is that a worker's retirement income is a combination of personal savings, pensions, and Social Security. The problem occurs because Social Security is not designed to go into effect until the age of 65**. However, the table above reflects an early

retirement age of 62 with benefits continuing through the age of 70.

Commencing in 1980, and every 5 years thereafter, a predicted \$.10 per hour increased employer contribution and a \$100 increase in monthly benefits are reflected in the tables.

This example illustrates how a pension fund can remain solvent, yet pay its participants a livable monthly income. The constants (employer contributions, number of pensioners, and the interest rate) used are modest, and therefore the average monthly income can expect to be greater as the actual figures are used.

But the most important factor is the seizure of control by the rank-and-file. No longer will the investments benefit our class enemies, the finance capitalists. Nor will the investments conflict with the interests of workers. The money in the pension trust fund can be used to purchase municipal bonds for the construction of schools, hospitals, sewer systems, etc. and at the same time, create additional employment in the industry.

The only examples of union control plan today, are the Teamsters and the United Mine Workers. In the case of the Teamsters, the money is still misused by the union bureaucrats. Some examples are the resorts and golf courses used by Nixon and organized crime figures. However, this points to the needs to have a democratic controlled union, so our pension money starts to go for our own benefits.

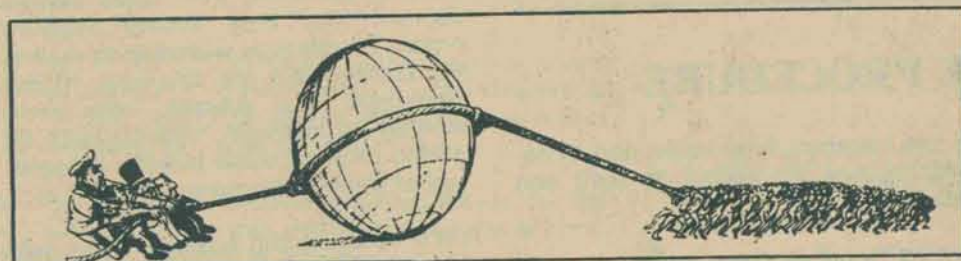
Electricians who have worked on this pension plan example will present a proposal for discussion at the next wireman's unit meeting, Wednesday, July 7th.

Members of Local #46 who agree with this design, or who have other ideas, should come and raise questions or offer suggestions.

*Accurate information is not available at this time due to inadequate disclosure laws.

**There are currently some efforts to change Social Security on a national level to include a 90% retirement income along with an early retirement age.

Workers' Victory - con't



International Workers Solidarity

Victorious liberation struggles force these giant corporations to return home and deal with the workers in their own countries. The corporations will then try to reduce wages in their own countries, so that they can maintain high profits. But with strong labor unions, we will defeat their exploitation of workers here at home.

We can now see how the struggle of the Angolan worker is tied to the struggle of the American workers. National chauvinism forces us to believe that it is in our interest for multi-national corporations to go to foreign countries. A closer examination shows us that these national liberation struggles actually work in our interest by forcing these corporations to remain here in America.

However, the determining factor in high profits is the difference in the cost of production and the market value of the product.

One of the main factors in the cost of production is the cost of labor, since these large corporations are loosing their cheap source of raw materials and labor in foreign countries and because they

will continue to do business on the world market; they will be forced to try to reduce wages at home.

This fact speaks to the need for us as American workers to build strong trade unions and resist attempts to divide us, or convince us that we should support U.S. intervention in National Liberation struggles.

Each time we look at these cases, where the U.S. government or U.S. corporations have been involved in successful intervention and overthrow of democratic governments, we can see that the first act on the part of the new leadership has been to disband the trade unions.

This was the case in Chile, where both the CIA and ITT played a major role in the overthrow of the democratic elected government. Also, in Argentina, where the military dictatorship took power with the support of the U.S. government and disbanded trade unions.

Our interest lies with the interest of workers in other countries. In order to protect our interest, we must transform workers' chauvinism and racism into workers' solidarity.

Plumbers Fight For Right To Strike

Almost 4,000 plumbers and fitters in Seattle, Central and Southeastern Washington are on strike against the Mechanical Contractor Associations of Washington (MCA).

United Association Local # 32, in Seattle, struck at 11:00 p.m. June 2nd, rejecting the latest MCA offer.

The central issue is the "Grievance Procedure". The expired agreement provides for arbitration if disputes cannot be settled between union and employer. When a dispute is arbitrated, a "third party" hears the arguments of both sides and then decides how the issue should be resolved.

These decisions however, are not binding. Except for instances where both employer and union agree with the arbitrator, the current Grievance Procedure has usually resulted in litigation, a costly and slow solution, often resulting in favor of the employer, since the orderly process of business is not interrupted.

In place of arbitration, the unions are demanding the right to strike during a contract period, when grievances cannot be settled. The significance of this right can be measured in its logic and resistance.

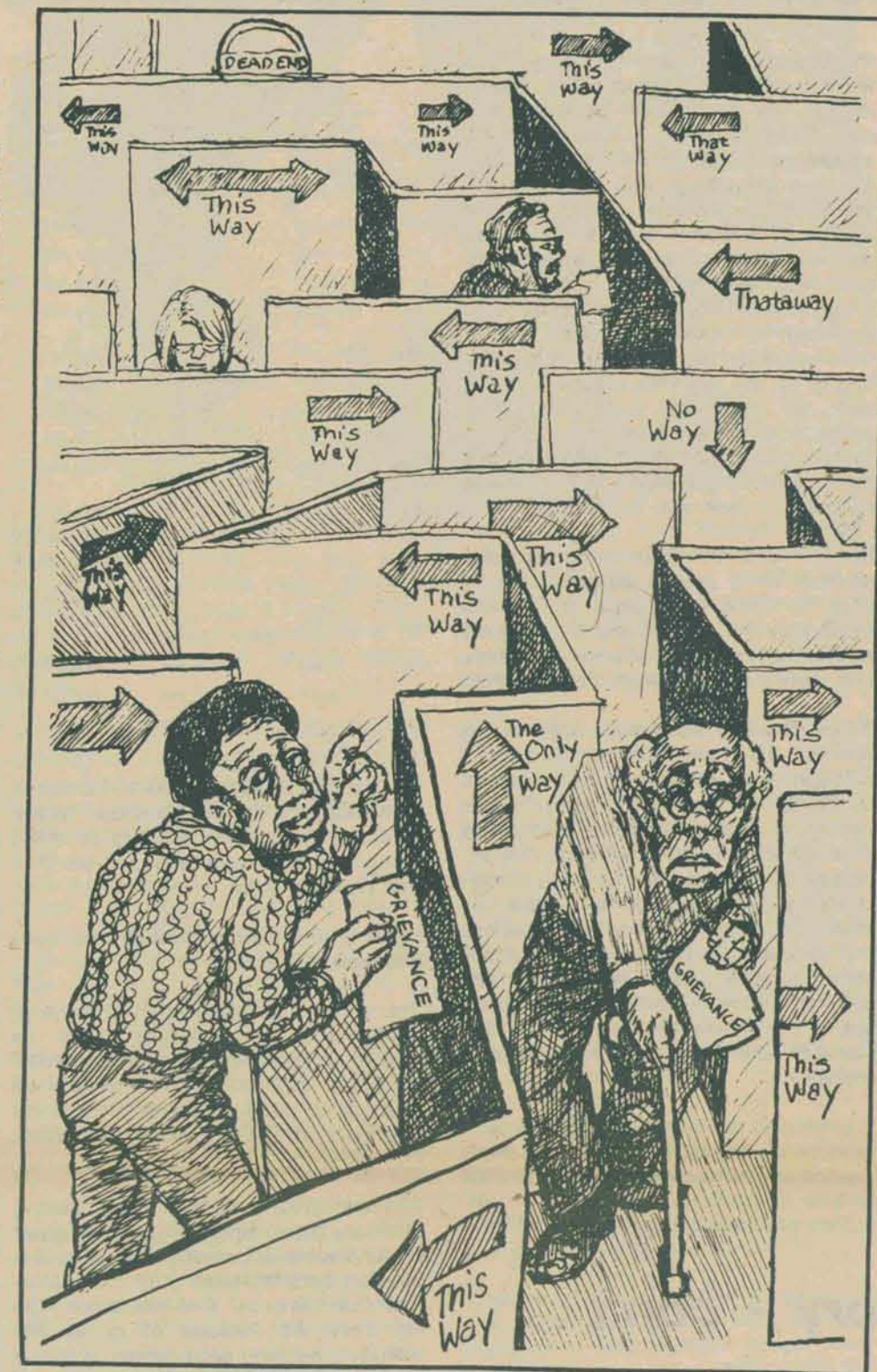
Neither a judge or an arbitrator, both of whom are "third parties" should be in a position to decide the terms of our employment. Obviously, the employers recognize the threat represented in a union's ability to strike and they have shown that they are willing to concede to most any other demand.

Money, No Problem

A total increase of \$1.25 per hour effective June 1, 1976, with a \$.65+ increase in June '77 has been agreed to, and never really was a question. Whatever the increase, it doesn't matter to the employers, because they would pass it on to the consumer anyway. Increased travel subsistence and a few other demands have been met by the employers, as well.

With the lines of division so clear now, what are the tactics of the union leadership?

With their members on strike, union leaders have chosen to wait until management indicates a willingness to negotiate. There are no pickets anywhere. The effect on construction projects has



ISSUE: GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

been minimal and therefore the burden is shifted to us workers. Even union leaders continue to draw their salaries, while only workers suffer. The employers can wait us out through the profits they have made through our labor. Are the tactics chosen by our leadership correct?

We should support our leaders in the unions. However, our leaders should also be putting forward a position that

all the members have taken part in developing and are willing to fight and sacrifice for.

A 1951 Supreme Court ruling (see front page, "Common Site Picketing - Local Control of the Right to Strike") made it illegal for unions to picket a construction site, as other workers from different employers could honor the picket and effectively close down an entire job. This ruling held that such actions would con-

stitute an illegal "secondary boycott" under the Taft Hartley Act of 1947.

Union leaders, if they submit themselves to such laws, have no recourse, but must play the overused and unsuccessful "waiting game". A strong leadership would contest and object to such laws. The struggle against Taft-Hartley is such an example (see Labor History on page 3).

In the contract that just expired, the leadership of Local # 32 conceded to the employers, a provision that established a "helpers program". These Union leaders argued that a helpers' category was necessary for the employers to be able to compete with other mechanical contractors that did not pay their workers the union scale.

In other words, these Union leaders connect our interests to the interests of management. Rather than to lower the wages of union workers, the solution should be to organize the unorganized workers.

We should not allow management or our Union leaders to disguise the conflicting interests of workers and bosses. Contrary to what they tell us, "What's good for management is not necessarily good for the workers".

However, in the current contract dispute, our leaders are correct; it is the employers who would have us lower our wages or "speed-up" so that they may continue to make profits.

We need the right to strike at any time. It is important to the protection of our job security, health, and safety. A strike provision should be fought for in every contract.

What Is To Be Done

Striking plumbers and fitters should demand that their leaders organize pickets for strategic worksites to re-shift the burden onto the shoulders of the employers. The support from other workers in different trades could be gained through these pickets, regardless of these anti-worker laws.

Let's be clear, the employers are only interested in making profits, and these profits are dependent upon the product of our work. We can only expect the employers to concede to our demands if we disrupt the flow of money into their hands. We, as workers, should not sacrifice the current struggle to gain the right to strike for any price.

no separate peace

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