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### Framing

#### The value is justice.

The resolution asks us what a just society would do. This means that according to the words of the resolution, the highest value is justice.

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#### The value criterion is mitigating structural violence. The way society is structured, who it includes and excludes determines whether or not justice is possible. A pre-requisite to having a just society is the mitigation of structural violence.

#### The value criterion is mitigating structural violence.

#### Structural violence is based in moral exclusion, which is fundamentally flawed because exclusion is not based on dessert but rather on arbitrarily perceived differences — the only way to mitigate structural violence is through knowledge of how it works.

**Winter and Leighton 99** |Deborah DuNann Winter and Dana C. Leighton. Winter|[Psychologist that specializes in Social Psych, Counseling Psych, Historical and Contemporary Issues, Peace Psychology. Leighton: PhD graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Arkansas. Knowledgeable in the fields of social psychology, peace psychology, and justice and intergroup responses to transgressions of justice] “Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century.” Pg 4-5 ghs//VA

Finally, to recognize the operation of **structural violence forces us to ask questions about how and why we tolerate it, questions which often have painful answers for the privileged elite** who unconsciously support it. A final question of this section is how and why we allow ourselves to be so oblivious to structural violence. Susan Opotow offers an intriguing set of answers, in her article Social Injustice. She argues that **our normal perceptual cognitive processes divide people into in-groups and out-groups. Those outside our group lie outside our scope of justice. Injustice** that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to someone we love or know **is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are invisible or irrelevant**. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts to everyone, so **we draw conceptual lines between those who are in and out of our moral circle. Those who fall outside are morally excluded, and become either invisible,** or demeaned in some way so that we do not have to acknowledge the injustice they suffer. **Moral exclusion is** a human failing, but Opotow argues convincingly that it is **an outcome of everyday social cognition**. To reduce its nefarious effects, **we must be vigilant in noticing and listening to oppressed, invisible, outsiders.** Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, communication, and appreciation of diversity. Like Opotow, all the authors in this section point out that **structural violence is not inevitable if we become aware of its operation, and build systematic ways to mitigate its effects.** Learning about structural violence may be discouraging, overwhelming, or maddening, but these papers encourage us to step beyond guilt and anger, and begin to think about how to reduce structural violence. All the authors in this section note that the same structures (such as global communication and normal social cognition) which feed structural violence, can also be used to empower citizens to reduce it. In the long run, reducing structural violence by reclaiming neighborhoods, demanding social justice and living wages, providing prenatal care, alleviating sexism, and celebrating local cultures, will be our most surefooted path to building lasting peace.

**“Shall the labor unions use their influence to deprive the black man of his opportunity to labor… [or] unite with those who want to give every man, regardless of color, race or creed, what Colonel Roosevelt calls the ‘square deal’ in the matters of labor?”By Booker T. Washington**

**CP**

Plan text: A just government ought to recognize an unconditional right of workers to strike for all unions but racist ones.

#### Racist Labor Unions have used their influence to be discriminatory against Blk workers

**Washington’ 1913** ( Booker T. was an American educator, author, orator, and adviser to several presidents of the United States. In addition to that,was an African Community leader)“Booker T. Washington on African Americans and Unions.” *The Atlantic*, June 1913 , [https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1913/06/the-negro-and-the-labor-unions/52924/](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1913/06/the-negro-and-the-labor-unions/529524/) (SPHS,LF)

When the Negro boy from the Southern states leaves the plantation or the farm and goes up to the city, it is not work, in many cases, that he is looking for. He has labored in the field, beside his father and his mother, since he was old enough to hold a hoe, and he has never known the time when he, and every other member of the family, could not find all the work they needed and more than they wanted. The one thing of which he has always had plenty at home has been work. **It is very likely that a promise that he would earn more and do less has turned his steps from the farm; but at bottom it is not the search for easier work or higher wages that brings the country boy to town; it is the natural human desire to see a little more of the place he has heard of over yonder, beyond the horizon—the City.**The thing that takes the country boy to the city, in short, is the desire to learn something, either through books and in school, or in actual contact with daily life, about the world in which he finds himself. One of the first and most surprising things the country boy learns in the city is that work is not always to be had; that it is something a man has to go out and look for. **Another thing he very soon learns is that there is a great deal of difference between skilled and unskilled labor, and that the man who has learned to do some one thing well, no matter how small it may be, is looked upon with a certain respect, whether he has a white skin or a black skin: while the man who has never learned to do anything sell simply does not count in the industrial world.**The average Negro learns these things, as I have said, when he comes to the city. I mention them here because in considering the relation of the Negro to the labor unions it should be remembered that the average Negro laborer in the country districts has rarely had the experience of looking for work; work has always looked for him. In the Southern states, in many instances, the employment agent who goes about the country seeking to induce laborers to leave the plantations is looked upon as a kind of criminal. Laws are made to restrict and even prohibit his operations. **The result is that the average Negro who comes to the town from the plantations does not understand the necessity or advantage of a labor organization, which stands between him and his employer and aims apparently to make a monopoly of the opportunities for labor.**Another thing which is to some extent peculiar about the Negro in the Southern states, is that the average Negro is more accustomed to work for persons than for wages. When he gets a job, therefore, he is inclined to consider the source from which it comes. The Negro is himself a friendly sort of person, and it makes a great deal of difference to him whether he believes the man he is working for is his friend or his enemy. One reason for this is that he has found in the past that the friendship and confidence of a good white man, who stands well in the community, are a valuable asset in time of trouble. For this reason he does not always understand, and does not like, an organization which seems to be founded on a sort of impersonal enmity to the man by whom he is employed; just as in the Civil War all the people in the North were the enemies of all the people in the South, even when the man on the one side was the brother of the man on the other.I have tried to suggest in what I have said why it is true, as it seems to me, that the Negro is naturally not inclined toward labor unions. But aside from this natural disposition of the Negro there is unquestionably a very widespread prejudice and distrust of labor unions among Negroes generally.One does not have to go far to discover the reason for this. **In several instances Negroes are expressly excluded from membership in the unions. In other cases individual Negroes have been refused admittance to unions where no such restrictions existed, and have been in consequence shut out from employment at their trades.For this and other reasons, Negroes, who have been shut out, or believed they had been shut out, of employment by the unions, have been in the past very willing strike-breakers.** It is another illustration of the way in which prejudice works, also, that the strikers seemed to consider it a much greater crime for a Negro, who had been denied an opportunity to work at his trade, to take the place of a striking employee than it was for a white man to do the same thing. **Not only have Negro strike-breakers been savagely beaten and even murdered by strikers or their sympathizers, but in some instances every Negro, no matter what his occupation, who lived in the vicinity of the strike has found himself in danger.**Another reason why Negroes are prejudiced against the unions is that, during the past few years, several attempts have been made by the members of labor unions which do not admit Negroes to membership, to secure the discharge of Negroes employed in their trades. For example, in March, 1911, the white firemen on the Queen and Crescent Railway struck as the result of a controversy over the Negro firemen employed by the road. The white firemen, according to the press reports, wanted the Negro firemen assigned to the poorest runs. Another report stated that an effort was made to compel the railway company to get rid of the Negro firemen altogether.Shortly after this there was a long controversy between Public Printer Donnelly and the Washington Bricklayers’ Union because, so the papers said, Mr. Donnelly would not ‘draw the color line’ in the employment of bricklayers on a job at the Government Printing Office. It appears that an additional number of bricklayers was needed. Mr. Donnelly drew upon the Civil Service Commission for the required number of men. A colored man was certified by the Commission, whereupon the white bricklayers struck, refusing to work with a Negro. Other Negroes were hired to take the strikers’ places. **The labor union objected to this and threatened to demand that President Taft remove Mr. Donnelly. These are some of the reasons why Negroes generally have become prejudiced against labor unions.On the other hand, many instances have been called to my attention in which labor unions have used their influence in behalf of Negroes.** On the Georgia and Florida Railway the white and colored firemen struck for higher wages. Mobs composed of both white and black men held up trains. It was reported that the Negroes were as violent in their demonstrations as the whites. In this instance the strikers won. A recent dispatch form Key West, Florida, stated that the white carpenters in that city had struck because two Negro workmen had been unfairly discharged. The members of the white Carpenters’ Union refused to return to work until the Negroes had been reinstated.At the 1910 National Council of the American Federation of Labor, resolutions were passed urging Negroes and all other races to enter the unions connected with the Federation. Since that time I have learned of activity on the part of the Federation in organizing Negro laborers in New Orleans, Pittsburg, Pensacola, Richmond, and several other Southern cities. In spite of the impression which prevails generally among colored people that the labor unions are opposed to them, I have known several instances in which Negroes have proven enthusiastic trade-unionists, and in several cases they have taken a leading part in organization and direction, not only in the colored, but in the white unions of which they chanced to be members.Notwithstanding these facts, some of which seem to point in one direction and some in another, there seems to be no doubt that there is prejudice against Negroes among the members of labor unions and that there is a very widespread prejudice against labor unions among Negroes. These are facts that both parties must reckon with; otherwise, whenever there is a strike, particularly among those trades which have been closed to Negroes, there will always be a considerable number of colored laborers ready and willing to take these positions as individuals, but also for the sake of widening the race’s opportunities for labor.In such strikes, whatever disadvantages they may have in other respects, Negroes will have this advantage, that they are engaged in a struggle to maintain their right to labor as free men, which, with the right to own property, is, in my opinion, the most important privilege that was granted to black men as a result of the Civil War.Under these circumstances the question which presents itself to black men and white men of the laboring classes is this: Shall the labor unions use their influence to deprive the black man of his opportunity to labor, and shall they, as far as possible, push the Negro into the position of a professional ‘strike-breaker’; or will the labor unions, on the other hand, admitting the facts to be as they are, unite with those who want to give every man, regardless of color, race or creed, what Colonel Roosevelt calls the ‘square deal’ in the matters of labor, using their influence to widen rather than to narrow the Negro’s present opportunities; to lessen rather than to magnify the prejudices which make it difficult for white men and black men to unite for their common good?

**Blk workers are excluded in major areas of the economy due to the anti-Blk practices practiced in Labor Unions.**

**Hill ‘1959** / Herbert ( the labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for decades and was a frequent contributor to New Politics as well as the author of several books. He was later Evjue-Bascom Professor of Afro-American Studies and Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and eventually emeritus professor. ). *Labor Unions and the Negro:The Record of Discrimination - Herbert Hill,*. Commentary Magazine. Accessed November 20, 2021, <https://www.commentary.org/articles/herbert-hill/labor-unions-and-the-negrothe-record-of-discrimination/> (SPHS,LF)

The removal of the sanction of law from racial segregation has sharply posed the issue of the Negro’s status in virtually every area of American life. As much as the public schools, religious organizations, and business firms, the labor movement is on trial today. For labor’s democratic ideals are in serious conflict with a tradition of racial discrimination in the unions that is currently very much alive**.To some degree, union discrimination simply reflects the racial and religious prejudices among union members—prejudices that many unionists share with other prejudiced persons. Thus recently in the North, groups of white workers participated in violence against Negroes at Trumbull Park in Chicago and at Levittown, Pennsylvania. And in the South, workers have given considerable support to the White Citizens Councils and other groups seeking to perpetuate segregated institutions.**But trade union discrimination against the Negro is something more than the simple result of rank-and-file prejudices. To understand this one must make a distinction, in the history of the American labor movement, between economic and non-economic liberalism. Organized labor’s struggle for the right to bargain collectively, unemployment insurance, and minimum wage laws was a central part of the liberal program. But in non-economic matters—in such areas as civil liberties for political dissidents, and equality of opportunity for racial minorities—the practices of many important labor unions can hardly be described as liberal. **Many unions have a long history of racial discrimination—and it is this tradition of discrimination which is responsible, at least in part, for the marginal status that Negro wage earners have today in key sectors of the American economy.**Today, as in the past, there is a profound disparity between the public image presented by the national AFL-CIO, with its professed devotion to racial equality, and the day-today experience of many Negro workers, in the North as well as the South, with individual unions. To be sure, there are important exceptions, particularly in the mass-production industries, where a large concentration of Negro workers actually preceded unionization. Such unions as the United Automobile Workers, the United Packinghouse Workers, and the Rubber Workers Union have conscientiously worked to eradicate institutionalized job bias. **Nevertheless, the Negro is discriminated against by unions in major areas of the economy—including the building and construction trades** (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Plumbers Union, Carpenters Union, Operating Engineers, etc.), the railroad industry (the four “operating” railroad brotherhoods, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks), the metal crafts (the Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders Union, etc.), and pulp and paper manufacturing (Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers Union, United Papermakers and Paper-workers Union). **In these and other industries, trade unions practice either total exclusion of the Negro, segregation (in the form of “Jim Crow” locals, or “auxiliaries”), or enforce separate, racial seniority lines Which limit Negro employment to menial and unskilled classifications.The Negro worker’s historical experience with organized labor has not been a happy one. In the South, unions frequently acted to force Negroes out of jobs that had formerly been considered theirs.** Before the Civil War, Negroes had been carpenters, bricklayers, painters, blacksmiths, harness-makers, tailors, and shoemakers. However, in urban centers like New Orleans, the historian Charles B. Rousseve observed in *The Negro in Louisiana*, “the Negro who in ante-bellum days performed all types of labor, skilled and unskilled, found himself gradually almost eliminated from the various trades.” **Unionization in the South often led to the redesignating of “Negro jobs” as “white man’s work,” and even to excluding Negroes from entire industries**.In the North, unions were stronger at an earlier period, especially among the craft occupations. But, as Gunnar Myrdal stated in *An American Dilemma*, “most of the time they effectively kept Negroes out of skilled work.”

#### Racist Unions have used striking to stop Blk workers from having equal opportunities.

**Hill ‘1959** / Herbert ( the labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for decades and was a frequent contributor to New Politics as well as the author of several books. He was later Evjue-Bascom Professor of Afro-American Studies and Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and eventually emeritus professor. ). *Labor Unions and the Negro:The Record of Discrimination - Herbert Hill,*. Commentary Magazine. Accessed November 20, 2021, <https://www.commentary.org/articles/herbert-hill/labor-unions-and-the-negrothe-record-of-discrimination/> (SPHS,LF)

This basic AFL attitude continued after the end of the Second World War. The 1946 AFL convention defeated resolutions aimed at ending the system of “Jim Crow” auxiliary locals. In 1949, a resolution endorsing federal Fair Employment Practices legislation passed only after delegates deleted the words “and labor unions” from a motion, calling for the “elimination of discrimination in industry and labor unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. . . .”**Discrimination has traditionally been most severe in the AFL building trades unions and the powerful railroad brotherhoods. The result of this today is that when the colored worker is forced out of the railroad industry, where employment is diminishing, he is prevented from finding employment in the construction industry, where the job market has been rapidly expanding.**Fifty years ago Negro firemen, brakemen, and switchmen worked on all the Southern and Southwestern railroads. As late as 1920, there were 6,595 Negro firemen, and a total of 8,275 Negro brakemen, switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen. In 1940, the number of firemen had dwindled to 2,263 and the other job categories to 2,739. **Today’s Negro employment figures in these highly skilled, well-paid railroad jobs are much lower, for there has been virtually no hiring of Negro replacements as the older workers have retired or died.The efforts of the four railway brotherhoods to keep Negroes out date back to the 1890’s at least. In 1909, the Firemen’s Brotherhood staged a violent strike against Negro firemen on the Georgia railroad, demanding their replacement by white men. In 1890, the Trainmen and the Conductors negotiated what is called the “Washington Agreement” with most of the Southeastern railroads; this provided that Negroes were not to be employed as baggagemen, flagmen, or yard foremen.** A similar agreement was concluded with the Mississippi Valley railroads in 1911.During World War II, the Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission was able to crack discriminatory patterns in several major industries, but it could not budge the railroad brotherhoods. The FEPC formally charged that the unions had clauses in their constitutions excluding Negroes from membership, and also cited hostile acts by the unions against the remaining Negro train and engine service workers. **The brotherhoods simply ignored the charges**. The FEPC held a four-day hearing in Washington in September 1943, charging the railroad unions with impeding the war effort; the unions simply refused to attend. **The FEPC ordered the carriers and the unions to cease and desist their discriminatory practices; neither obeyed the order.** **Instead, both preferred charges against the FEPC before the Smith Committee of the House of Representatives and hinted at a work stoppage (in wartime) if the government insisted on an end to discrimination.**Where they do work on the rail lines today, Negro employees are denied proper job classifications, seniority rights, and wages. During World War II, the FEPC tried to determine the difference between a steward and a waiter-in-charge in dining cars; it finally concluded that the only difference was that the (white) steward wore a black coat, while the (Negro) waiter-in-charge wore a White coat and was paid half the steward’s wages. **Today, when the Pullman company places a Negro in charge of a sleeping car, it calls him a “porter-in-charge” instead of a Pullman conductor, thereby saving a substantial amount on his wages.**Because of these discriminatory practices, Negro railway workers formed their own union organizations and turned to the courts for protection. In 1948, seven all-Negro rail unions banded together into the Negro Railway Labor Executive Committee, which brought many cases to the Federal courts on behalf of colored railway workers. In the Steele and Tunstall cases, the U. S. Supreme Court decided that a majority union cannot, under the Railway Labor Act, make contracts and discriminate against non-member minority groups. The principle established by this decision is all that stands in the way of total extinction for the Negro railroad worker.

#### Over a century has passed, and Labor unions still use discriminatory strategies to keep Blk workers from entering the Industry.

**Watson’21 |** Travis (creator of [ADOSConstruction.org](https://adosconstruction.org/) and chair of the [Boston Employment Commission](https://www.boston.gov/departments/economic-development/equity-and-inclusion-office/boston-employment-commission) (BEC). Appointed by former Boston mayor and current US Department of Labor Secretary Martin J. Walsh, the BEC oversees the Boston Residents Jobs Policy, which sets employment standards on city-assisted construction projects. Travis also is a board member of YouthBuild Boston and NEI General Contracting’s Workforce Opportunity Resource Center.). “Union Construction’s Racial Equity and Inclusion Charade (SSIR).” *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 14 June 2021, Accessed: 11/11/21 [**https://ssir.org/articles/entry/union\_constructions\_racial\_equity\_and\_inclusion\_charade#**](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/union_constructions_racial_equity_and_inclusion_charade#) **(SPHS,LF)**

**Union construction jobs are not just good jobs, they are great jobs.** **They have a relatively low entry barrier and offer world-class training, great pay, and benefits that allow members to retire with dignity. However, what’s often overlooked is union construction’s racism, and that those great jobs, particularly leadership positions, are designed to remain filled by white men.**Thanks to [construction workers](https://chicagocrusader.com/black-workers-locked-out-of-unions-hold-labor-day-action/), [activists](https://www.teenvogue.com/story/black-activists-shaped-the-labor-movement), and [journalists](https://whyy.org/articles/in-2017-is-white-supremacy-still-alive-and-well-in-this-philadelphia-building-trades-union/), **there are countless** [**documented examples**](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1227858) **of the widespread racism that Black people face in interactions with construction unions. From being called racist names to being administered tests designed to ensure their failure, a gamut of discriminatory practices make it difficult for Black workers to enter, remain, and grow in the industry.**In an effort to understand the barriers to racial equity and inclusion in Boston union construction, I’ve spoken to dozens of union and non-union workers and activists about the industry’s racism. Some respondents rehearsed revisionist histories and pretended that racism within the trades has never existed. But others fully acknowledged the industry’s history of racism and wanted to collaborate on solutions towards equity and inclusion. “The building trades unions are committed to access to wages and benefits,” [says Brian Doherty](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfWRPDNcAYw&t=3358s), secretary-treasurer/ general agent for the Building & Construction Trades Council of Boston’s Metropolitan District, **“but for a hundred years, it was for very few people, it wasn’t for everyone. The past is shameful.”In order to create a more diverse and inclusive industry, and to avoid the same mistakes in the future, we first need to learn from this shameful past.** Referencing historical examples—primarily found in researchers David A. Goldberg and Trevor Griffey’s [*Black Power at Work: Community Control, Affirmative Action, and the Construction Industry*](https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/KznksoNFszYC?hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiN_M7QgJXwAhWOtp4KHW3HAWkQ7_IDMBR6BAgJEAI)—I describe the six strategies that have made the process of joining a construction union as frustrating as possible for Black people. **So frustrating and exhausting, in fact, that many Black people would rather give up trying, or not try at all. And, when a particular strategy fails to dissuade Black applicants, white union members resort to intimidation and erecting other** [**barriers for entry**](https://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/waldinger/pdf/The_A19.pdf)**, such as devising a racially biased entrance exam that projects racism as a kind of failure onto Black people. Other times it’s openly calling Black workers the “N-word” and explicitly telling them that they aren’t welcome into a construction union.** I then turn to the case study of union construction in the Boston area to examine how racism manifests today.White union construction workers often stymie prospective Black workers’ attempts to join a union by trapping them in a Catch-22: requiring the worker to have a job prior to being admitted into a union, but also requiring union membership before getting a construction job.Former United Community Construction Workers activist Omar Cannon recalls Black workers being told by white union officers that they “had to be in the union to get a job.” However, the problem, [Cannon explains](https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv941wxz.23?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents), is that “you had to get a job to get in the union.” Former Army veteran and construction worker Gilbert Banks has told a [similar story](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Black_Power_at_Work/16RmDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0) about treatment by foremen and unions:“They’d say, ‘Have you got a (union membership) book?’ I’d say, ‘No.’ ‘Well,’ they said, ‘Go get a book and we’ll give you a job.’ And I’d go to the union and ask them for a book. They’d say, ‘Listen, if you get the job, we’ll give you a book.’ **There was no way of fighting it.”This no-win situation is not a coincidence. This Catch-22 is a form of structural racism intended to exclude people not already on the inside.**Another strategy white union members use to frustrate Black workers into giving up their effort to join a union is intentionally refusing communication, ignoring, and silencing them. Stonewalling effectively blocks Black workers from jobs and from unions, even when those workers have superlative skills, training, and experience. For example, former member of the Congress of Racial Equity (CORE) and construction activist [Oliver Leeds recalls](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7v804) how his work as an Army engineer wasn’t enough to even get considered for work and union acceptance:“I was in the Corps of Engineers. And you know what we do? We worked to win the war. We built anything that could be built: bridges, tunnels, houses, officers’ quarters, Myers quarter, roads, and airstrips. We loaded and unloaded ships. We did anything in the way that involved work, construction work. You know, when I got back to the United States, after the war, I couldn’t get a job in construction, that there was no union that would let me in? And there was damn little that I couldn’t do in the way of construction work**. They’ll take you and turn you into construction workers in the army, in a segregated army, and then when you get back into civilian life, you can’t get a construction job.**”These first two strategies—the Catch 22 and stonewalling—cloak the structural racism operating within unions by displacing the consequence onto the Black person: that *they* gave up, or that *they* got frustrated, rather than seeing the mechanisms at work that produced this outcome.Many construction unions place unemployed members “on the bench” while they wait to be sent to work by dispatchers, the union members who distribute the jobs. Dispatchers play a central role in access to jobs and, therefore, to union entry. However, by **intentionally refusing to send Black workers to jobs, racially biased dispatchers play a pivotal role in keeping unions white**.In Boston, former construction worker Earl Quick [recalls](https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/437214073/) receiving his union book but never being assigned work. **“White guys would come in and go right into the business agent’s office and they’d get work and me and the rest of the Black guys would just sit there,” he explains. “I never did work in Boston.”** [According to](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7v804) the former Northwest American Friends Service Committee Director Arthur Dye, **“Some [Black] workers appeared at the hiring hall day after day for several months and were never dispatched. If they began to ask questions why they were not dispatched they would be sent out to jobs … a hundred miles or so away, only to find out that when they arrived at their destination there wasn’t a job. Or they would be dispatched to a job where there was considerable possibility for physical intimidation.”**Because this is a well-known practice, Black workers have often [applied directly to employers](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7v804), going around the union hiring halls. But in most cases, employers are required by union policy to hire only workers referred by union hiring hall dispatchers. And even when employers [intentionally](https://www.reviewjournal.com/local/local-las-vegas/vegas-discrimination-lawsuit-could-be-headed-to-arbitration/) seek to diversify their employees and union contractors, dispatchers can thwart this effort. For example, when Robert Lucas, the president of the refrigeration contractor Lewis Refrigeration, who is a white man, [called Local Union 32](https://hcommons.org/deposits/objects/hc:16486/datastreams/CONTENT/content) and specifically asked for a Black plumber to be dispatched to his job, the dispatcher reportedly laughed and dismissed his request.

#### Condition - Trade Unions ought to take a stand against white nationalist extremism in order to be allowed to Strike.

Stöss’ 17 | Dr. Richard Stöss is a retired political science professor who taught at the Freie Universität Berlin. His main areas of interest in terms of both research and teaching were the political parties, trade unions and right-wing extremism in Germany and Europe, and he is widely published in this area./ “TRADE UNIONS AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN EUROPE” Published 2017/ Accessed 11/11/21/ <https://euagenda.eu/upload/publications/untitled-108082-ea.pdf> (SPHS,LF)

Globalisation has effects similar to those of the emergent industrialisation in the 19th century: namely, almost revolutionary changes to the socio-economic and political-cultural circumstances in all the states of the EU. The social-democratic century with its promises of welfare is being replaced by an era of neoliberal politics that is accelerating the global expansion of capitalism, but at the same time is compounding social inequality, contributing to the reduction of social standards, causing employment relationships to become precarious, fostering high (youth) unemployment, and ultimately causing old-age poverty.The gulf between modernisation’s winners and losers is growing dramatically. The fear of downward mobility long since has spread from the lower segment (which is in any event more disadvantaged by globalisation) to the lower middle segment of society, and is amplified by growing migration movements and the rise of asylum and refugee issues. The growing need for protection, security, and justice is not adequately addressed by established politics, and in particular not by the political left, which has lost substantial levels of trust among its followers as a result. This vacuum is being filled increasingly successfully by far-right and right-wing conservative forces that have an apparently plausible response to the alleged external and internal threats: the return to the sovereign and ethnically homogenous nation-state. The programmes of right-wing extremist groupings, especially, have begun to put much greater emphasis on social issues. **As a result of that new orientation, right fringe movements and parties have increased their appeal substantially. Above all on account of socio-economic change in the world of work, the lower strata of society – but not only they – expect to find a solution to or alleviation of their problems in nationalism and ethnocentrism. The fact that this rightward drift affects particular employees as the primary reference group of trade unions and even trade union members** (“mirror-image theory”) **means that the trade unions are subject to a special level of responsibility in confronting the extreme far-right**. This is because these forces also shake the very raison d‘être of the trade unions by weakening their function as an important ordering force of industrial relations and calling into question their competence to represent the interests of dependent employees. **The pattern is apparent not only in European countries, but also in the European institutions**, as is shown in the following chapter. **It is incumbent on trade unions at both the national and international levels to take suitable measures to disarm the forces on the right fringe.**

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