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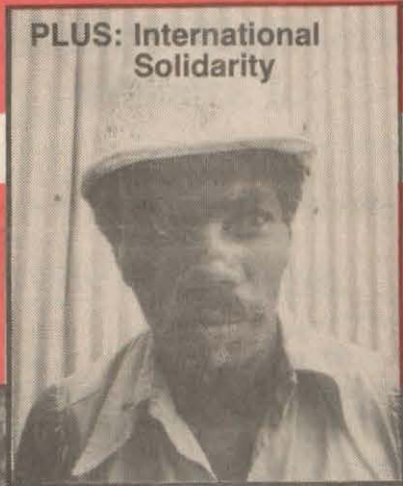
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HILDA HOWLAND M. MASON

EDITORIAL

Let's Put the "Movement" Back into Labor

We applaud the successes of trade unionists from Poland to South Africa as they continue to fight for a just society. Yet, ironically, in 1990, labor movements which have been handicapped by totalitarianism and apartheid are more influential in their nations than is our own trade union movement in the United States today.

This Labor Day can be -- and should be -- a critical one for organized labor. We stand at a crossroads. After a decade of vicious anti-union activity from politicians, the courts, and corporations, our numbers are dwindling.

A changing economy and changing demographics offer an entire new challenge for labor. Issues which historically have confronted trade unionists in this nation are coming to the surface again. What is our vision of trade unionism? Social unionism verses business unionism? A movement of empowerment verses a movement for the status quo?

This past year saw several victories for organized labor. Where there were successes, it was a combination of bold leadership and a courageous membership which led the way. We saw what the result was when the "movement" was returned to the labor movement. There were major organizing victories, even in the "Right to Work" South, and there were successful strikes.

Yet, even with these victories, the strikes were organized to maintain what had previously been won through collective bargaining. When we have to fight so hard to hold on to what we have, as we do with health benefits and wages, how do we move forward?

After a decade of greed, unions are often fighting anonymous bankers who leveraged our nation to the hilt and are putting American workers on the unemployment line to finish the business of the 1980s. This calls for sophisti-

cated corporate campaign tactics, now being pioneered by several unions.

No matter how much new organizing is done, the repressive conditions workers face from employers and the courts when they try to join a union and gain a contract make for an intensely difficult process. Private and public sector unions alike must demand labor law reform if unions are to survive. Unions can't wait any longer for a Democrat in the White House to bring about reform of some of the most regressive labor laws in the industrialized world. We must mount an ambitious campaign for labor law reform, a campaign embracing a broad coalition of progressives. We need to put our friends in Congress on the line on this cutting edge issue.

Socialists have historically played a catalyzing role in the trade union movement, offering a broad vision of international working class solidarity, creativity, and militancy. We are handicapped because we are the only labor movement in the industrialized world that isn't tied to a labor party or linked to a democratic socialist party. However, in 1990, we don't have the luxury of waxing nostalgic or wishing for models that don't fit the American experience.

The labor movement is the key constituent force to affect social change. We've watched it literally transform new societies around the world; perhaps we can now transform our own. ●

-- Jo-Ann Mort

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On this Labor Day, 1990
The National Officers' Council of the

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

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for consistently symbolizing the mutual
respect and shared values both inside
and outside the labor movement.



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Unions and the Control of Economic Activity

by David Montgomery

We face Labor Day 1990 with few of the familiar signposts that have guided, or misguided, labor movements in the past left standing. The concerted actions of millions of women and men have checked the upward spiral of nuclear weaponry, opened prospects for a more democratic polity from South Africa and Eastern Europe to Chile and Nepal, and ended the epoch of the cold war. Here at home workers have demonstrated a willingness to strike for endless months and have often enjoyed solidarity from other unions and sympathizers of a type most commentaries had thought vanished from American life after the 1940s. At Pittston, NYNEX, Boeing, and Colt the strikers won.

Nevertheless, the legacy of PATCO and twelve years of concession bargaining still dominates the domestic scene. Bankruptcy filings, decertification elections, outsourcing, "temporary" employees numbering in the millions, privatization of public services, attacks on prevailing wage requirements for government contracts, and racketeering suits by employers against strike actions have supplemented the revival of such traditional anti-union weapons as injunctions, private security forces, and "permanent replacements." Such weapons have made almost any strike today hazardous, brutally prolonged the battles against Eastern Airlines and Greyhound, and destroyed unions at Phelps-Dodge, International Paper, and Hormel.

The ideological justification for this magnification of corporate power has been celebration of the "free market." To restore America's competitive edge, to accelerate economic growth, and to bring the blessings of democracy to the



Retired coal miner with black lung disease near Pittston's Lambert Fork mine.

rest of the world, we are told, it is necessary to "unleash enterprise" and restore "flexibility" to the workplace.

What options does this paradoxical combination of democratic initiatives and market delusions leave the American labor movement? The movement has historically drawn its strength from three basic principles: solidarity, organization, and equality. A look backward at the diverse organizational forms that have embodied those principles during the past century may provide guideposts to help the struggle for democratic self-rule evade the waiting claws of the multinational corporations.

During the last one hundred years union strength has grown in three waves, each of which overlapped with the decline of the preceding wave. Moreover, each phase was dominated by different groups of workers and different styles of unionism. Today all three types of unionism play important roles, but all are on the defensive.

The first continuous surge of union growth lasted from 1897 to 1947. It featured a modified version of the nineteenth-century craft union, and its enduring centers were in construction, railroading, and coal mining (despite the disastrous set-backs for miners in the 1920s). Although these unions pioneered in the battle for safety legislation and workers' compensation, their primary political goal was to stop government interference through injunctions, police action, and enforcement of yellow-dog contracts. Their decisive victories in Congress preceded the New Deal: the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act (1932), the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage law (1931), and the Railway Labor Act of 1926.

Even at the nadir of the great Depression no less than sixty-four percent of construction workers were union members. By 1947 union membership encompassed eighty-seven percent of construction workers, sixty-five percent

of all mine workers, and ninety-one percent of railroad workers. The main obstacle to total unionization was the racial exclusions practiced by many of the building and railroad unions themselves. During the next twenty years, however, these unions suffered catastrophic losses -- especially the building trades, where union density fell to forty-one percent, less than half the 1947 level. While the labor force increased by sixty-three percent, postwar construction of suburbia was a spawning pool for open shop firms (as well as for racial segregation underwritten by federal mortgage practices). The building trades made little effort to resist the trend, concentrating their attention instead on retaining control of large urban commercial construction, and in the process reinforcing another facet of racism: the unions' own exclusive hiring practices, which generated bitter conflict between the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement.

By the 1970s anti-union contractors had developed sufficient size and strength to challenge the unions in the heartland of urban commercial construction. Tens of thousands of contractors, who combined in the name of the "merit shop," were encouraged

by the efforts of the Nixon administration and by the Reagan recession of the early 1980s to restrain building costs. By 1985 only twenty-two percent of America's construction workers were union members, while union membership among miners of all sorts was down to fifteen percent.

The reawakening of miners' militancy is a familiar story, leading from

the 1960's black lung associations through the Miners for Democracy to restructuring of the UMWA, the creative leadership of Richard Trumka, and Camp Solidarity. New initiatives in the building trades have enjoyed less attention from socialists, but are no less important. They range from increased involvement of union leaders in the bidding for job contracts, through training of apprentices in labor history and organizing drives to the successful campaign of the Massachusetts building trades to preserve the state's prevailing wage law during a 1988 referendum.

Despite intense, if sporadic bursts of union strength during the preceding half century, less than eight percent of workers in manufacturing were union members in 1931. Titanic struggles in steel, textiles, meat packing, farm equipment, and electrical manufacturing

their peak density (fourty-two percent) in 1953.

The new unions were inseparable from the political coalition that brought the New Deal. Their members were the driving force behind the Wagner Act, The WPA, social security, and minimum wages. By 1946 the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) had expanded its political demands to include national health insurance, national child care facilities, the prohibition of racial or sex discrimination, government construction of homes, voting rights for black and Chicano citizens, and national economic planning. Determined opposition from the Democrats and Republicans defeated all those measures, while the CIO's ties to the Democrats carried it headlong into support of the cold war and expulsion of dissident member unions on charges of "communist domination."

Consequently, not only did the United States emerge from the 1940s with the leanest excuse for a welfare state of any industrialized country, but its industrial unions had also ceased to espouse any fundamental expansion of the government's role in directing economic and social development. Nevertheless, they did establish national standards through



between 1918 and 1922 had all ended in defeat, leaving the women and men of the clothing industry and some textile mills lonely keepers of the union flame. After 1933, however, unions not only returned to the scenes of their earlier efforts, but also secured beachheads in auto, rubber, and aircraft. They expanded and continued growing even after the crafts had begun their decline, to reach

pattern bargaining, which flattened regional wage differentials, doubled average real family incomes during the three postwar decades, and placed most union members in the ranks of homeowners.

Although the employers' counter-attack got underway during Eisenhower's "rolling readjustment" of 1958-

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Workers, Unions, & the State

by Melvyn Dubofsky

Labor Day, 1990 bodes ill for American workers and their labor movement. The absolute number of union members continues to decline and the proportion of all workers enrolled in unions falls even more steeply, to levels of union density lower than any since the years before World War I. The more that popular discourse echoes with condemnations of "big labor" and unions as a special interest, the more labor shrinks in size and the more its influence in the workplace and the public arena diminishes. Can labor's decline into impotency be reversed? How?

A cursory look at the history of the American labor movement in the modern era suggests that trade union size and power have waxed and waned in direct relation to the size of the reserve labor army and public policy toward workers and their unions. The most impressive union growth occurred in four periods when the conjuncture of labor market realities and public policies operated to labor's advantage: 1897-1903; 1916-1919; 1937-1945; and 1951-1953 (1963-1970 might be characterized as a fifth such period).

In the first period, a burst of buoyant economic growth following the long depression of the late nineteenth century tightened the labor market, especially for the more highly skilled workers who proved the primary beneficiaries of union expansion. Simultaneously, public policy at the municipal, state, and national levels shifted away from the harsher forms of repression associated with strikebreaking by police, state militia, and federal troops so common to the labor wars of the late nineteenth century. The so-called Progressive era in U.S. history ushered in a period of welfare reforms and public legitimization of "responsible" labor-management



Eastern employees battled the airline throughout 1989 and into 1990.

relations. It also saw the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions grow more assertive politically, as labor leaders sought to emancipate unions from judicial shackles through a closer relationship with the Democratic party. Equally important, a substantial number of unions and their members in the mainstream labor movement were affiliated with the Socialist party, then entering its "golden age."

During the years 1916-1919, labor's gains seem almost self-explanatory. World War I eliminated slack from the labor market by closing the U.S. to mass immigration and conscripting workers en masse. At the same time, the AFL's links to the Democratic party grew firmer, as the administration of Woodrow Wilson promoted the cause of labor.

In the first part of the labor upsurge of 1937-1945, despite mass unemployment, unions grew largely as a consequence of the pro-labor policies of the New Deal, which owed their origin in no small measure to the political activities of the CIO, and the heightened salience of class to voting preference. And, then, during the war years, a combination of

full employment and a Roosevelt administration which preferred to woo rather than smash labor saw union density rise to its highest level in U.S. history (about 35 percent of the non-agricultural labor force).

During the years of the Korean War (1951-53), union density again reached the level of 1945-46, and the era of the Vietnam War (1963-70), saw union membership rise substantially for the first time since 1953, though density fell. Since the end of the war in Vietnam both union membership and density have fallen steadily. In this quarter-century, the structure of the labor market, the imperatives of global capitalist competition, and the collapse of the New Deal Democratic consensus (as well as organized labor's place in it) have joined to debilitate the U.S. labor movement.

For more than a decade, labor has operated in a hostile political environment. Even during the last Democratic administration to hold power, the Carter presidency, the AFL-CIO failed to win from Congress minimal reforms in the National Labor Relations Act, which might have improved labor's chances of

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

winning representation elections and which promised to outlaw employers' most blatant anti-union devices.

When Ronald Reagan and the Republicans took power in 1981 class war intensified. Reagan smashed PATCO in a style reminiscent of the administration of Warren Harding and late nineteenth-century public policy, and his choice for chairperson of the NLRB, Donald Dotson, interpreted the Wagner Act as a mandate to discipline unions and workers in the interests of "free enterprise." Such a shift in the interpretation and implementation of the nation's basic labor law suggested to Lane Kirkland and other labor leaders that unions might be better served by discarding the Wagner Act and reverting to no-holds-barred industrial warfare with corporate America.

Frustration, to be sure, breeds such reactions. But reality suggests that without allies in powerful public positions, a union movement with declining membership, momentum, and influence is unlikely to defeat its "class" enemies. Indeed, the ability of employers to create union-free environments has grown exponentially.

How can labor reverse its economic and political losses? For starters, certain political options, such as third parties, can be eliminated. We lack an existing socialist or labor party and the political structure militates against the success of third parties. Once upon a time, third parties may have served to inch one of the two major parties toward more progressive policies. Today, unfortunately, they serve as irritants, unable to win electoral victories, set policy, or influence the major parties. For better or worse, and however rigged its rules, the Democratic party represents the only game in town for labor and its friends. How can labor turn the Democrats away from their condominium with Republicans and their commitment to a politics of low taxes, balanced budgets, and spartan public expenditures?

Labor must work vigorously to realign national politics in a fashion comparable to that of the New Deal era.

During the 1930s, labor and its allies realigned national politics to the benefit of unions by mobilizing theretofore unorganized ethnic voters in the Democratic alliance and breaking the ties that bound African-Americans to the Republican party. By integrating class, ethnicity, and race as salient political issues, the Democrats succeeded in mobilizing voters who had previously been outside the electoral arena. Today a similar potential for realignment exists. On the one hand, labor should and must ally itself with the existing social movements which are active politically, namely the Rainbow coalition (which I use as a surrogate for the politics of racial and ethnic diversity), the women's movement, and the environmental movement. On the other hand, labor and its movement allies should and must mobilize the majority of eligible voters who over the past quarter of a century have withdrawn from, or who never entered, the electoral arena. On its own, labor lacks the numbers or power to realign national politics in a progressive direction. In coalition with movement allies, however, it may be able to use the issues of class, race, gender, and the environment to build a new politics in which the community prevails over the isolated individual, comity over conflict, and altruism over selfishness.

Can such a political realignment actually be built? Who knows? We historians are the worst of prophets. Last year when I lived and taught in Austria, my landlord, an elderly, retired German businessman, persistently asked me the following question: "Melvyn, as a historian, when do you think East and West Germany will be reunited?" Invariably, I responded as follows: "Ernst, sometime in the future but not in your lifetime!" In April we received a postcard from Ernst and his wife, Ruth, postmarked Berlin with the following message, "We just walked through the Brandenburg Gate and down Unter den Linden." Even if we historians are failures as prophets, miracles do occur. ●

Melvyn Dubofsky is a labor historian at SUNY Binghamton.

UNIONS & ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Continued from page 4

60, it was not until the late 1970s that the global migration of capital, increasing foreign competition, and the relocation of industry out of the unionized Rust-Belt, that business routinely employed the now-familiar arsenal of anti-union weapons, and union membership was driven down to 25 percent of the manufacturing work force. Non-union shops now set wage patterns, average family incomes went into decline, and homelessness challenged home-ownership as the hallmark of the American standard of living.

As union power in manufacturing subsided, the third wave of unionism gathered force in public employment. Here unionism has been inseparably linked to the size, health, and character of the public sector itself. The historic enclaves of unionism in municipal fire fighting, police, and maintenance work were dramatically overshadowed by the militancy of school teachers and sanitation workers during the 1960s. Employees of hospitals and universities, where ownership was private but government funding decisive, also engaged in strikes, which could be won only by alliances with civil rights, feminist, and community groups, and by dramatic demonstrations and civil disobedience. President Kennedy's executive order of 1962 reversed the thrust of the Truman-era decrees that had kept federal civil servants out of unions, and opened the door to unionism among employees at all levels of government. By 1965 union density in the public sector had surpassed that in private industry, and by 1975, 40 percent of government employees were union members.

Although public sector employees constitute almost one-third of all union members today, their numbers have also been reduced during the last decade by the combined impact of tax revolts, privatization, contracting out of jobs, and the intense hostility of many elected officials. Many unions have responded

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American Exceptionalism & the Repression of Labor

The following is an edited excerpt of the introduction to *THE WAR ON LABOR: AMERICAN CONSERVATISM, POWER & REPRESSION* (Westview Press) forthcoming, by Pat Sexton.

Labor unionism in America has been in decline since the 1960s and in sharp decline since the 1980s. In the mid-1950s, unions had organized some 35.5 percent of the labor force; in 1989 that figure had dropped to about 16.4 percent. This represents the lowest level of unionization among the world's developed democracies, with the possible exception of France. But even at its peak in the 1950s, union "density" (its share of the labor force) was lower in America than in most democracies. Now it is much lower.

What accounts for this free fall of American labor? Explanations vary widely. In contrast to other explanations, what is offered here points to the uniqueness of American capitalism rather than to the uniqueness of American labor. Today, American labor is

comparatively weak because a uniquely total war has been waged on it by employers and (for shorthand, let us say) by those economic elites who own the lion's share of the nation's wealth and who command most economic and political institutions. This war's ferocity has been unparalleled in other developed democracies, and it has been rag-

The myriad accepted "explanations" of American exceptionalism, a phrase of Tocqueville's, have mainly stressed the presumed virtues of American capitalism and/or the presumed flaws of the American labor-left. What they say in effect is that "free enterprise" or other favorable conditions in the United States -- and/or labor's own internal problems

-- have thwarted the emergence of a strong labor-left movement. These popularized arguments leave much to be explained about the actual course of American labor history.

The facts of that history, especially compared with that of similar societies, suggest a contrasting explanation that the American labor-left has been uniquely weak largely because American economic elites have been uniquely powerful and uniquely repressive in their use of that power. Those same facts show that a war on labor has been waged for more than a century by those elites,

and that the usual force of arms, law, and money invoked in this war have beaten labor into its present shape -- at the workplace and in politics. Endorsing and aiding this war on labor has been a uniquely conservative and highly manipulated political system, one favoring elites and impeding labor-left influence in government.

The major repressive instruments

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State forces lined up to halt the IWW strike of 1919.

ing, moreover, from early American history until the present time.

The search for the causes of labor's weakened position revolves around "American exceptionalism," or the question of why America has been in relative terms so politically conservative, why labor is so beaten down, and why Americans, almost alone among their peers, lack a mass labor-left party.



Michael Kaufman/Impact Visuals

Vance Security guards keep striking miners off Pittston Coal mine site.

used in the war on labor include the force of arms (especially in early labor history); the manipulation of law, politics, government, labor relations, the labor process, and macro-economic policy; the control through ownership and advertising of most mass communication media; and the century-long stigmatizing of most forms of labor-left activity as "un-American."

The behavior of economic elites in labor conflicts includes:

* The smashing of almost all early unions engaging in third party or radical politics, including the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

* The constant assaults even on non-ideological unionism which, despite fears of an elite-controlled state, has been deeply involved in politics, past and present. Many labor parties, including those in Britain and other Anglicized

nations (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland) are products of strong union movements, while American labor's strength has been too vitiated by repression to enable it to create a successful labor party. Some parties in south Europe and elsewhere have depended less on a mass union base, but the weakness of unionism in those countries has predictably diminished labor and increased elite influence in these parties.

* Legal repression of political parties and dissenting movements on the labor-left, as seen in the use of conspiracy common law, antitrust law, alien and sedition laws, immigration law, anti-syndicalist statutes, and state and local election laws such as poll taxes and other voting or registration requirements, especially in the South. It is seen also in direct legal assaults on the Debsian Socialist party and the IWW during and after World War I. Such

repression by statues, courts, and armed forces has spilled over into the entire spectrum of political opinion left of center.

* The subversion of the National Labor Relations Act (or Wagner Act), designed to protect labor, by the enactment of Taft-Hartley and by conservative NLRB administrators and "gentrified union busters" who have turned the law against labor.

In short, the strong leftist sentiment and high levels of political activity present among American workers and unionists have been constantly thwarted by employer and government repression, by an inhospitable political system, by the vastly superior wealth and institutional power of elites, and by the stigmatization of almost all left dissent as "un-American."

The records of critical events in American history reveal the repressive and often "exceptional" strategies used with such telling results in the war on labor. Many of the forms of U.S. unions are merely adaptations to their repressive environment. To understand those forms, attention must be turned to that environment.

Many explanations of exceptionalism endorse the common belief that there has been less repression of left dissent in the United States than in other developed democracies. The records do not bear out that conclusion. In fact, they strongly suggest that in critical ways there has been more, not less, repression in the United States than in other developed democracies. ●

DSA member Pat Sexton is a professor of Sociology at New York University. She is the Author of several books on blue-collar women.

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Unions and Environmentalists: Working Together

by Laura McClure

Travelling along the cracked secondary highways of rural Southern Illinois, nothing looks exactly natural. Mining companies brought their heavy machinery to dig out shallow deposits of coal here, and, when profits got too thin, they departed, leaving a mess behind.

Many of the people who used to work in the strip mines now stay at home in their aging trailers and ranch houses, collecting public assistance. There's a weak market now for Southern Illinois coal, which, when burned, produces sulfuric acid in the atmosphere, the key ingredient in acid rain.

The people of Southern Illinois are paying a heavy price for cleaner air: amid a growing national debate over "jobs versus the environment," they came away with neither. For the giant energy companies that control the mining industry, this is no tragedy: their aim was to make a profit, not to preserve the environment or the local standard of living. And if unemployed workers see environmentalists as the source of their misery, so much the better.

The jobs-environment debate has come to a head in the Pacific Northwest, where timber companies are battling with environmentalists over the preservation of woodlands and the Spotted Owl. On the frontlines of this fight are the loggers, many of whom are desperate to hold onto their way of life.

But as in Southern Illinois, control still lies in the hands of giant corporations, which aren't primarily concerned with either jobs or the environment. Says Bill Street, a staffer for the International Woodworkers of America in Seattle: "The question is, are we going to manage the forest base for profit or for people? There's no question that right now, the principle guiding forest management is the dollar sign."



Timber industry workers and environmental activists clashed over the clearcutting of Seattle's watershed ancient forest.

Corporations like Champion and International Paper have done a fine job, Street believes, of pitting environmentalists and workers against one another. The result has been tense confrontations between loggers and Earth-First! activists determined to preserve what remains of the old growth forests.

Even so, Street believes there are some things loggers and environmentalists can agree on. He says his union has initiated two meetings with environmental groups to search out common ground. The two groups talked about the fact that U.S. timber companies export most of their logs to Pacific Rim countries for processing. Restrictions on the export of raw logs would create more mill jobs for workers here.

Street also says environmentalists and the union may be able to agree on ways to reforest logged areas. He explains that trees grow more quickly when there is no forest undergrowth. The timber companies, in their quest for a

quick, cheap return, douse areas to be replanted with defoliants. Street says the union wants timber companies to use more labor-intensive and less toxic methods of cutting down on undergrowth. Loggers have some of the highest injury and mortality rates of any workers, he notes -- the last thing they need is exposure to cancer-causing chemicals that also poison the environment.

Health and Safety

It's still more the exception than the rule for unions and environmental groups to unite against corporations. But when they do, the issue that brings them together is often health and safety. If a company is spewing toxic substances into the air or water, it's a reasonable guess that workers' bodies are being poisoned as well.

Take Lordstown, Ohio, a small town built around a complex of General Motors auto and truck plants. These plants spew an estimated three million tons of

toxic emissions into the air every year. The facilities received 750 citations for health violations from the state of Ohio late last year, and 438 of the violations were deemed deliberate.

Inside the plants, workers are being poisoned by "fugitive emissions" -- evaporation from storage tanks, leaky valves, and what workers charge is a faulty ventilation system. Charles Reighard, forty-three, used to spray primer in the car assembly plant at Lordstown. "I had absolutely no protection -- no mask, no ventilation -- the company didn't want to provide it," says Reighard. Now Reighard is out on disability. "What it's done to me is it's damaged my immune system and I am now sensitized not just to hydrocarbon fumes, but to almost everything -- hair-spray, perfume. I get headaches and vomit. Sometimes I black out."

Reighard is an organizer for Workers Against Toxic Chemical Hazards (WATCH), which is trying to force GM to clean up its plants, inside and out. They've organized public hearings, initiated studies, and joined with local environmentalists fighting an incinerator GM operates in the area. "We don't think all this damage has to happen to produce autos," says Reighard.

Job Blackmail

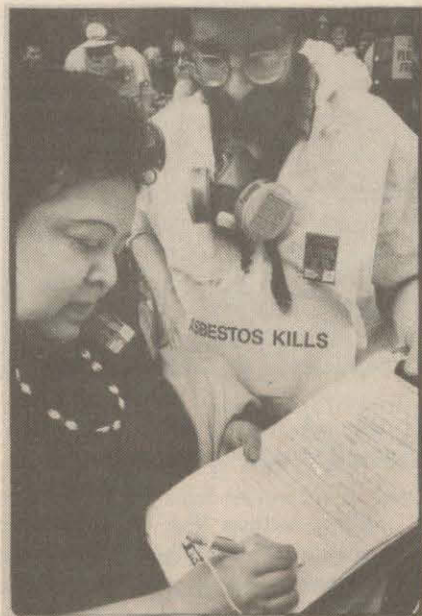
GM is using a potent weapon against WATCH: job blackmail. It's threatening to shut down production if workers and the community force a cleanup. "They've already announced they're going to move the truck plant, and they're saying that their workman's compensation cases are too high. We're saying, if you clean up the plant, you'll automatically save money on your medical bill," says Reighard.

Job blackmail like GM's is the main obstacle to the building of environmental-labor coalitions. Even when the demand is for cleanup, not for shutdown, workers often have to fear for their jobs. And in areas like Lordstown, where the economy is dominated by a single employer, workers stand to lose not just a job, but the chance for *any* job in the area. Workers who try to sell their houses to get the money to move away find that their houses are unmarket-

able in a community with no jobs and streets lined with for-sale signs.

Sometimes labor-environment coalitions are born during strikes or lockouts, when workers have less to lose and more to gain by challenging corporate practices.

Paperworkers in Jay, Maine, had been working and living with toxins from International Paper's Androscoggin Mill for years. But when they went on strike in 1987, they were on the lookout for weapons to use against the company, and what they found was pollution. The plant emits dioxin into



Workers sign petitions protesting asbestos in the workplace.

nearby streams, poisoning fish and endangering the water supply. The union joined with local community and environmental groups, eventually resulting in stricter state laws on emissions.

Probably the most intensive labor-environmental coalition work in the country was sparked by a lockout of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) members by the BASF chemical company in Geismar, Louisiana. The region is known as "cancer alley" because of all the toxins emitted by plants like BASF.

During the long lockout, which began in 1984, workers investigated BASF's polluting. Over time, they built a coalition with environmental activists, particularly Greenpeace and jointly pres-

sured the company to clean up its act. After sixty-six months, workers won back their jobs, with pay increases. Soon after, the workers voted to dedicate some of their dues money to pay the salary of an environmental researcher for the union.

A United Mine Workers activist in Gillette, Wyoming, Dallas Wolff, is organizing workers into the union and environmental activism at the same time. Mining jobs are more secure in this state than in Southern Illinois -- the coal here is low sulfur and in high demand. Wyoming is now the country's number one coal producer -- good for the local economy, bad for the environment. The region is pocked with strip mines.

The corporations will do "as little reclamation as the law permits," says Wolff. He's hoping to repeat the success he and others had in North Dakota, where concerted organizing by unionists and environmentalists resulted in stiffer laws governing strip mine reclamation. Without a union to protect them, Wolff maintains, workers cannot afford to challenge the companies this way. "We have to make the corporations accountable," says Wolff. "If they're ripping off workers, you know they're ripping off everybody else. They try to do this divide and conquer tactic, and I don't buy it."

Still, Wolff's own union is deeply threatened by proposed Clean Air Act revisions designed to curb sulfur emissions and acid rain. Last spring, when Congress was debating the Clean Air Act revisions, the United Mine Workers got behind an amendment proposed by Senator Robert Byrd that would have provided support for workers laid off as a result of the Clean Air Act. The measure lost by a vote. For the Mine Workers, the Byrd Amendment was a measure of last resort: the union's primary concern was to preserve jobs.

In theory, unions will back proposals to provide laid off people with income security or money for retraining. But in practice, unions find it politically difficult to push this agenda, which is like a tacit concession that certain jobs will be lost, that certain members will be cut loose.

Tom McKitterick/Impact Visuals

At the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons facility in Colorado, the writing is on the wall: Even the Department of Energy acknowledged that the aging plant should be phased out. Rocky Flats, the nation's only producer of plutonium triggers for warheads, has been shut since November, after a scaring series of safety hazards was revealed.

Adrienne Anderson, the Denver-based Western director of the National Toxics Campaign, says that some Rocky Flats workers are beginning to think about what will happen if the plant shuts down for good.

The National Toxics Campaign, through the local Jobs with Justice coalition in Denver, has begun a discussion with union workers about both cleanup of the plant and alternatives for those who may be laid off. There's also been discussion about reducing the health risks to workers. Anderson says a lot of Rocky Flats workers fear that if they lose their job at the plant, they'll never find another one: They're such high health insurance risks, employers might be loathe to take them on. Says Anderson, "This just underscores the need for a federal program to protect these people."

Superfund

The National Toxics Campaign has endorsed the idea of a "Superfund for Workers." This plan, which was initiated by the OCAW and supported by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, would establish a corporate-funded pool of money to support laid-off workers. The money would provide four years of income support for workers while they pursue a general education.

OCAW Secretary Treasurer Tony Mazzocchi is the leading proponent of the Superfund idea. The OCAW leader believes that the conflict between the public's interest in a clean environment and workers' interest in keeping their jobs cannot be resolved without something like the Superfund. Ultimately, he says, preserving the environment will necessitate a major economic shift that will throw masses of people out of work.

"The only time there's been a successful transition in this society is when

we did precisely what I'm proposing, only we called it the GI bill of rights," says Mazzocchi. After World War Two, millions of veterans (including Mazzocchi himself) returned home, just as the nation was preparing to shift away from war-time production. "We sent people to school, we paid them, we paid their dependents, we set up trade schools."

The corporations, Mazzocchi believes, should be the ones to finance the coming transition to a more ecological economy. "It's basically reparations -- those who are responsible for creating the problem are responsible for correcting it," he says. His proposal effectively shifts the battle from one of worker verses environmentalist to worker/environmentalist verses corporations. Mazzocchi brushes off proposals for worker "retraining," arguing that only long-term income support and education subsidy will see workers through a transition. "The word retraining is bullshit," he says. "Retrain for what?"

This is a question now being posed by analysts in Oregon, as they brace for job loss in the logging industry. Lynn Youngbar has spent nearly a year investigating economic prospects for nineteen logging towns in Southern Oregon and talking to loggers themselves about the future. "We found that many of these loggers were very willing to be retrained," she says. But retrained for what? "Most of the jobs that will be available are low-wage service jobs," admits Youngbar.

"Many workers may find they need to improve their reading and writing skills to get better jobs, Youngbar found. Right now, all laid off workers get is twenty-six weeks of unemployment. If you live in Oak Ridge, Oregon, the nearest community college is fifty-eight miles away. On unemployment, you couldn't even afford to pay for the gas every day. What people really need is income maintenance for two to five years." She adds that a lot of people will probably have to move their families out of the area to find jobs.

"People in this area are extremely threatened," says Youngbar. "A way of life integral to this state is disappearing. And people's fears are being fed by these greedy timber companies, who

have been making billions of dollars off of clearcutting trees. Workers have seen very little of that money. A lot of them live in trailers and spend a lot of their income just to maintain their log trucks."

"More victimization is in store if people don't take the future into their own hands," Youngbar believes. "We might as well start dealing with this now. It doesn't help anyone to delay the inevitable."

Laura McClure, a freelance writer, lives in New York City.

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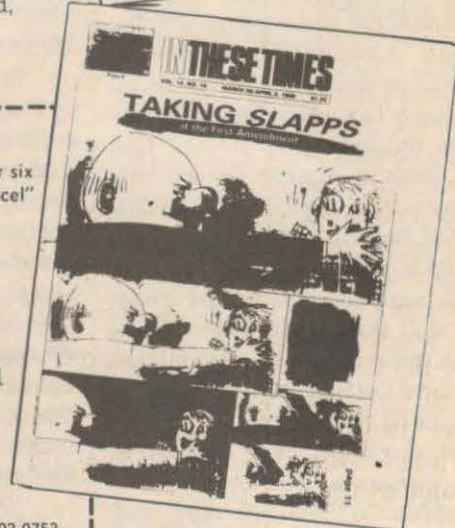
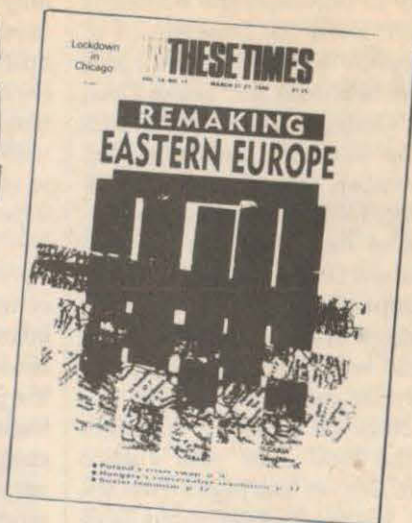
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Labor in the Global City: New York·London·Tokyo

by Saskia Sassen

In the 1980s we saw an increase in the formation of global markets and growth in international transactions of all sorts. No single power can dictate global economic policy, as did the United States for so many years. One result of these changes has been the creation of much "transnational spaces" for economic activity, which has led to changes in the relationship between capital and labor, capital and the state, and labor and the state.

Major cities such as New York, London, and Tokyo are leading examples of such transnational space. Others are export-processing zones, mostly located in the Third World, which give firms from the highly developed countries incentives to set up factories for production of goods that are shipped back to the highly developed countries and the United States itself, which has become an attractive, low-cost site for foreign manufacturing firms.

Here I want to limit myself to a discussion of the consequences of these de-

velopments for workers in three strategic locations: New York, London, and Tokyo. These are cities with different histories, cultures, and economic organization. Yet they have undergone massive and parallel changes in their economic base, spatial organization, and social structure. But this parallel development is a puzzle. How could cities as diverse as New York, London, and Tokyo

experience similar transformations in so brief a period of time? My argument is that the formation of transnational space for production, of a global network of financial markets and of an international investment and capitalization circuit has made major cities into strategic centers for the coordination and management of transnational processes of capital accumulation and has made these cities into the leading production sites for the various specialized services and financial and managerial innovations.

Concentration of Power

Beyond their long history as centers for international trade and banking, these cities now function in four new ways: first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which replaced manufacturing as the most dynamic sectors in the 1980s; third, as sites for the production of innovations in these leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the innovations produced. These changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact upon both international economic activity and urban form. Finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social and economic order. A new type of city has appeared -- the global city.

The more globalized the economy becomes, the higher



Les Stone/Impact Visuals

the number of central functions in relatively few sites, which are the global cities. Because of the territorial dispersal of factories, back offices, service outlets, and markets, the agglomeration of certain centralizing activities has sharply increased, as has the telecommunications infrastructure, in these cities. This is not a mere continuation of old patterns; there is a new logic for concentration, a new system of "coordination" -- one that rests on the development of specific geographic control sites in the international economic order.

Inequality and Casualization

What is the impact of this type of economic growth on the social and economic order within these cities? There is vast literature on the impact of dynamic, high growth manufacturing sectors in the highly developed countries, which shows that they raise wages, reduce inequality, and contribute to the formation of a middle class. But we now see that the new structure of economic activity changes the organization of work and results in a strong polarization of earnings. Major growth industries show a greater incidence of jobs at the high and low paying ends of the scale. Almost half the jobs in the producer services are lower income jobs and the other half are in the two highest earning classes. Previously, a large share of manufacturing workers were in middle-earning jobs during the postwar period of high growth in these industries. These trends hold for all three countries, particularly the United States and Great Britain, but increasingly in Japan as well.

Other developments in global cities also contribute to economic polarization. One is the vast supply of low-wage jobs required by the large consumer services sector, from restaurants to retail, typical of cities with high numbers of commuters and tourists.

Another is the supply of low-wage jobs required by high-income gentrification in both residential and commercial settings. High-income gentrification is labor intensive: fine cuisine restaurants, luxury housing, luxury hotels, gourmet shops, boutiques, hand laundries, and special cleaners all require more low-wage workers than their low-priced counterparts. A third development that has reached significant proportions is what I call the downgrading of the manufacturing sector, a process in which the share of unionized shops declines and wages deteriorate while sweatshops and industrial homework proliferate. This process includes the downgrading of jobs within both existing industries and some of the new industries, notably

Highly dynamic, technologically advanced growth sectors may well contain, low-wage dead-end jobs. Furthermore, backward sectors, such as downgraded manufacturing or low-wage service occupations, can be part of major growth trends in a highly developed economy. It is often assumed that advanced sectors, such as finance, have mostly good white-collar jobs. In fact they contain a good number of low-paying jobs from cleaners to stock clerks.

Among other things, the growth of a casual labor market facilitates the absorption of immigrants. Japan, a country that has long been proud of its homogeneity and has traditionally kept its doors closed to immigration, is now facing a significant influx of illegal immigrants from Asian countries where it has strong economic ties: Pakistan, Bangladesh, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

This new inflow of immigrants raises the question: has the internationalization of the Japanese economy created conditions that favor international migration both by creating bridges between Japan and poorer Asian nations and by disrupting established employment relations within Japan? As Japan internationalizes its economy and becomes a key investor in the Southeast Asian region, it creates -- wittingly or not -- a transnational space not only for the circulation of goods, capital, and cultural products but also for the circulation of people -- an early stage in the formation of an international labor market.

Global Power and Local Action.

Global markets and transnational economic spaces do not exist between nations, but in them. These develop-

ments alter the relationship between the state and the economy. Alongside the well-noted deregulation of major in-

Continued on page 32

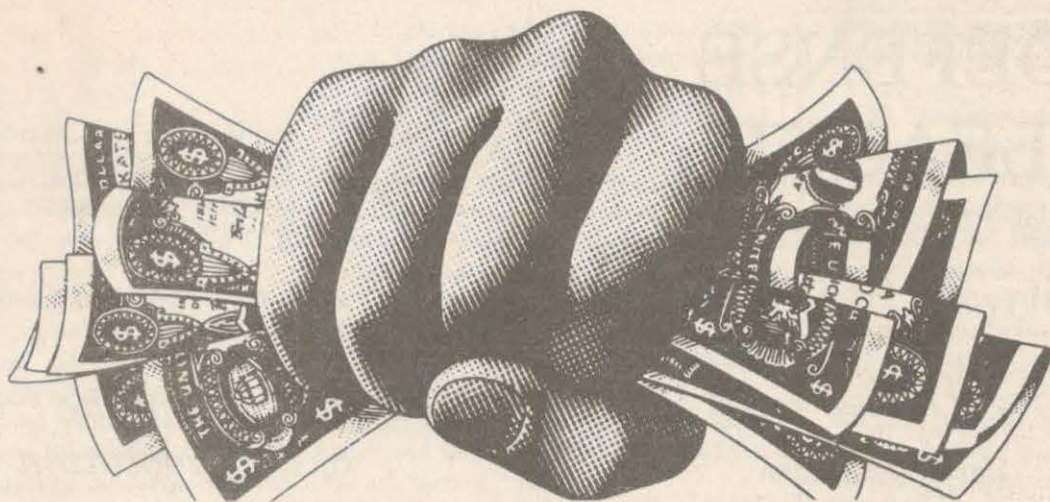


Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

electronics assembly.

The expansion of low-wage jobs as a function of growth implies a reorganization of the capital-labor relation.

Has Capitalism Won?



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But the archetypal pontificator in Rome — specifically, the one who's been a key player in Communism's collapse — dissents from this capitalist bombast. It's superficial, says the Pontiff, to interpret Bolshevism's bust-up as the triumph of capitalism or to see capitalism as the only remaining option. He says capitalism "makes people slaves of 'possession'" and promotes a grossly unequal distribution of goods — the alternative being a society where money and capital don't reign and where workers participate in the ownership and management of enterprises. The Pope a progressive? Don't be shocked! *National Review* has derided John Paul as "the last socialist."

You see, as secular reformers lose hope dur-

ing these greedy times, religious people, with their transcendental commitments, are keeping the cause of social justice alive. *The Progressive* sees Christians and religious Jews as "the fastest growing" element of the Left. Not surprisingly, we at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, an ecumenical monthly edited by lay Catholics, are energetically contending for humane social change and ecological sensitivity (according to *Utne Reader*, we "battle all the major assumptions of our consumer-crazed, growth-oriented society"). But we do so in our own unique "voice" — we're not captive to tired, predictable ideologies. The University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty, a Lutheran, says we "probe and nudge and jab in the hope of inducing fresh thought." Those who do the probing include such original thinkers as Christopher Lasch, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Robert N. Bellah, Eileen Egan, and Robert Coles.

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REPORTS

* DSA'S FOURTH ANNUAL NATIONAL LEADERSHIP RETREAT at the Oakwood Friends School in Poughkeepsie, New York, June 29 - July 1, was attended by over 100 activists, including youth section and local representatives. Lively debate on the attributes of capitalist, communist, social democratic and democratic socialist models framed the weekend's considerations of strategy and tactics for DSA. One highlight was the Recruiting for DSA workshop led by youth organizer Dinah Leventhal, which challenged participants to think of new approaches to one-on-one organizing.

RESOURCES

* *The Encyclopedia of the American Left* edited by DSAer Paul Buhle, Mari Jo Buhle and Dan Georgakis, has just been published by Garland Publishing (\$95 postpaid). The handsome 928-page book is dedicated to Jenny and Jimmy Higgins, and is the first comprehensive reference work on the history of the American Left.

* "Solidarity: A Labor support Manual for Young Activists" is now available from the DSA Youth Section, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. This manual is published as part of the American Solidarity Campaign in order to provide activists with a comprehensive guide to organizing labor support work at colleges and in communities. In addition to the valuable organizing tips, this manual also includes a listing of labor films, a labor bibliography and a selected list of labor organizations. The cost is \$3.00 each.

* "Organizing for Reproductive Freedom," produced by the Student Reproductive Rights Organizing Network, a project of the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section, is now available in a new, second edition. This student manual not only covers the nuts and bolts of organizing for reproductive freedom, but also includes a discussion of a socialist vision of reproductive freedom and a history of abortion rights in the United States, as well as comprehensive bibliography and list of organizational resources. The cost is \$3.00 each and can be ordered from the DSA Youth Section.

* The Organizing Manual of the DSA Youth Section is available in its fourth edition. This manual is an indispensable resource for campus organizers. For information on everything from how to build a strong chapter to press and publicity, from recruitment to fundraising, this manual provides it. The resource listings include a list of film and videos as well as a broad bibliography and organizational listings of international socialist and related youth organizations. The organizing manual is available at \$3.00 each from the DSA Youth Section.

* DSA's National Board meets in San Francisco November 9-11, 1990 at the Cathedral Hill Hotel. The weekend's events include a labor movement reception on Friday, November 9, 5:30-7:30 p.m., followed by a public meeting at 7:30 p.m. discussing changes in world politics and the role of democratic socialism. On Sunday, November 11, the DSA Anti-Racism Commission will conduct a conference from 1:00-5:00 p.m.. Plenaries on developing DSA strategies for the 90's, organizing for national health insurance, and charting the domestic political scene will focus the weekend's discussion and action program. For more information, contact DSA at 15 Dutch Street #500, New York, NY 10038 (212)962-0390.

INTERNATIONAL

The Socialists are Coming, The Socialists are Coming!

The Socialist International, the worldwide confederation of democratic socialist, social democratic and labor parties, will hold a meeting of its governing council on October 8-9, 1990, in New York City, their first meeting in the United States. Several hundred delegates from the SI's ninety-three member parties (thirty-six of whom are wholly or partially in control of government in their respective countries) are expected to attend, as are observers from non-member political parties, national liberation movements and governments. The themes of the meeting are "Bridging the North-South Divide: Economic Realities for the Nineties" and "East-West: The Search for Common Security."

As an SI affiliate, DSA will host this historic Council meeting, and the Bureau meeting of Socialist International Women on Oct. 5-6. Receptions, public meetings (on Tuesday, Oct. 9 at 7 p.m. at the community church, 110 E. 35th Street.), and a speakers tour are planned to coincide with the Columbus Day gatherings. Volunteers are needed to help carry out these plans. These meetings will also provide an extraordinary opportunity to demonstrate that democratic socialism is vibrant internationally and necessary to solving the persistent social problems of the United States. Because of the upheaval in world politics, sending that message through the media is more important than ever.

If you are interested in participating, contact Michael Lighty at the DSA National Office

ON THE LEFT



by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

California

A home-coming reception and book-signing for DSAers Dorothy Healey and co-author Maurice Isserman, sponsored by the Socialist Community School and L.A. DSA was held July 29 at the Sheinbaums' home. The book, *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party*, (Oxford University Press), "provides a rare look into the inner workings of the Communist Party that -- despite Healey's best efforts -- refused to reform," says DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich. Over 200 people attended and all the available books sold out . . . DSAer Dolores Delgado Campbell has been elected President of the Board of Governors of the Faculty Association for California Community Colleges (110 campuses). DSA Honorary Chair Cornel West spoke at Sacramento's May Day rally, sponsored by DSA, Sacramento Free South Africa Committee, Front-line Political Organization and Sacramento Religious Community for Peace . . . The DSA state conference in the Spring focused on Building Unity on the left, Socialism and the New Europe, Dealing with Racism and Sexism, and Strengthening DSA in California. DSA in northern California co-sponsored the July 7 conference, featuring B. Ehrenreich and M. Marable.

District of Columbia

The Friends of the U.S. Department of Labor will install socialist and union leader Eugene V. Debs in Labor's Hall of Fame in November.

Illinois

The Third Midwest Labor Heritage and Song Exchange will be held in

Chicago Oct. 19-21, sponsored by the Labor Heritage Foundation and the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois. DSAer Stan Rosen is coordinator of the program, which will include workshops on: Women, Work and Songs; Songs of Health and Safety; Using Culture to Build the Union; and Workers Culture Around the World . . . DSA friend Heather Booth, head of Citizen Action, was recently appointed director of a new coalition of progressive Democrats. The Coalition for Democratic Values was formed by eight Senators and thirty Representatives, led by Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH). Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) is among the group's supporters who are interested in moving the Democratic Party further to the left . . . Chicago DSA's Socialist Summer School held eight sessions on "Healthy Bodies, Healthy Planet: Socialist Approaches to Health Care and Ecology" . . . Chicago DSA's newly chartered Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual Commission marched in the 1990 Lesbian and Gay Pride Parade and distributed a leaflet on "Socialism and Sexuality" to the marchers and viewers . . . DSA and the Pro-Choice Alliance marched in the city's July 4th parade . . . Chicago DSA has formed a Committee for a National Health Plan and participated in the recent Citizen Action Retreat, July 27-29, recruiting socialists and distributing literature.

Iowa

The Prairie Progressive, organ of Iowa City DSA, features an article by City Council member Karen Kubby on "Time to Recycle Council Thinking?" on solid waste management. The issue also condemns the mindless violence in many of this summer's movies.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSAers joined with the Lexington Pro-Choice Alliance in the city's 4th of July parade to support reproductive freedom for all women. The local's Video Night in July featured the film, "Roger and Me" . . . Central Kentucky DSA's annual plan-

ning retreat set up working committees on reproductive rights, national health care, environmental concerns, a roadside cleanup project, and anti-imperialism.

Massachusetts

Boston Youth Section will hold an all-day Campus/Labor Institute on October 13, 1990. Topics to be discussed include: the American labor Movement and Current labor Struggles, Countering Anti-Union Rhetoric, the Historic Role of the Labor Movement in Social Change, Campus Organizing and Student Support, and International Solidarity Work.

Minnesota

Twin Cities DSA has reactivated, intiating what coordinator Dan Frankot predicts will be a "sharp emphasis on direct involvement by DSA in local issues." Having adopted housing, health care and electoral work as the Local's priorities, members are getting involved in Paul Wellstone's campaign for U.S. Senate and have heard from area homeless advocates and the director of Minnesota's Health Care Campaign, Tim Sullivan, about joining their efforts. The Twin Cities DSA contingent at the Earth Day and May Day celebrations provided fertile recruiting opportunity for their resurgent activism.

New York

New York City's DSA Labor Solidarity Task Force will collect petitions for a law banning "permanent replacement workers" (scabs) at New York's Labor Day parade Sept. 3rd . . . The Council of the Socialist International and the Bureau of the Socialist International Women will meet in New York City October 5-9, the first time in this century the Socialist International has met in the United States . . . New York City's DSA PAC endorsed Deborah Glick in her campaign to win the vacant Assembly seat in Greenwich Village. It also endorsed Jack Lester over Republican State Senator Roy Goodman, and DSAer Eugene Prosnitz, who is running for Civil Court Judge from the

East Side. Nancy Kleniewski, a member of DSA's National Political Committee, spoke for the Greater Rochester Coalition for Choice, in attacking the Supreme Court's ruling limiting teenage girls' access to abortion as "Legislation of this type is sometimes called 'parental notification,' but it should really be called 'anti-choice for teens.' Anti-abortion and anti-women forces want to make it impossible for women to get access to abortions."

Pennsylvania

"Beyond Communism and Capitalism: The Democratic Socialist Alternative"

was discussed at Pittsburgh DSA's meeting July 8, led by Rob Shepherd, and "Environmental Justice for Pennsylvanians" was the topic August 12. . . The *Allegheny Socialist* carries an article by Joni Rabinowitz on "New Winds in the Democratic Party," noting that slim progressive victories have occurred in the 14th and 7th Wards, plus the emergence of new forces in several other wards. . . DSAer Fred Gustafson, a member of Catholics for Free Choice, has written an article on "Abortion and Catholic 'Primacy of Conscience'" . . . Pittsburgh DSA songstress Anne Feeny has figured

out how to beat the system, reports the *Allegheny Socialist*. If the FBI wants to know who to round up in Pittsburgh in case of a national emergency, they can buy a copy of her new tape: "There's a Whole Lot More of Us Than They Think." To dramatize this theme, Anne invited "every lefty, radical and rabble rouser in Greater Pittsburgh" to appear with her in the cover photo. The fifty or so activists who gathered in a local studio demonstrated that while "the official line is to dismiss social activism as a relic of the '60s," as Anne explains, "people fighting for change are more numerous than ever before."

Support Work for Anti-Scab Legisla-

DSA's campaign to support the anti-scab legislation (HR 3936 and S 2112) has jump started -- so far, the DSA National Office has received over 450 petition signatures from activists all around the country. The legislation would prohibit the hiring of "permanent replacements" (a.k.a. scabs) during a labor dispute and ban discrimination against strikers who return to work after the dispute is over. If you have not yet joined this important fight, you can get petitions from DSA at 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038 (212)962-0390. Be sure to write your senator and congressperson to urge their support for this vital legislation.



Police guard scab Greyhound Bus driver, Port Authority Bus Terminal, New York City.

Kathleen Foster/Impact Visuals

In Solidarity...

with the goals and aspirations of the members of DSA and the staff of the Democratic Left in their pursuit of a better life for all working Americans.

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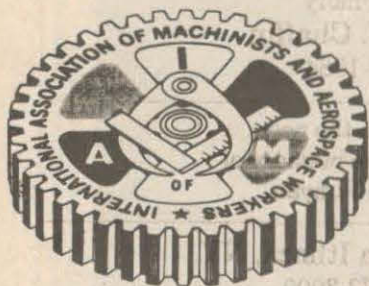
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Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

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Cleveland, OH

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Ed House
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IAM

GREETINGS!

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Lottie & Joe Friedman
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Dorothy & Samuel Tolmach
Andrew Vignali
Saul Wellman
Marianna Wells
Mel & Marje Willbach
Roger S. Wilson

Remember
Sacco & Vanzetti.
Abolish the
Death Penalty.
Richard Greene

**SOLIDARITY
FOREVER**
Larry Prendergast

Labor Day Greetings
to DSA in Memory of
Michael Harrington.
Lucille Sydnor

In Memory of Mike Harrington
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IN SOLIDARITY
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In solidarity
with working
women and men
around the world.
DC/Maryland/Northern Virginia DSA

In Memory of
Paul Guttierrez & Natalie Fleischman
-- Mark Finkle, Chair Nassau DSA

Greetings from the Epicenter.
We shall bring to birth a new world
from the ashes of the old
Gordon Haskell & Penny Schantz
Santa Cruz, CA

Atty. Jonathon Robinson
Pittsburgh, PA

Labor Day greetings to DSA.
In Solidarity,
Socialist Review

In Memory
Hugh W. Chaffin
1900-1984

More than the news
carries on the memory of
Malinda Runyan.

Socialists in Ithaca, NY
Call 273-3009
Ithaca DSA

GREETINGS



CBTU

COALITION OF
BLACK TRADE
UNIONISTS

NASSAU Long Island LOCAL DSA

Greets Democratic Left on Labor Day
In memory of Michael Harrington, whose vision
we share and whose energy, commitment and
compassion are sorely missed

and

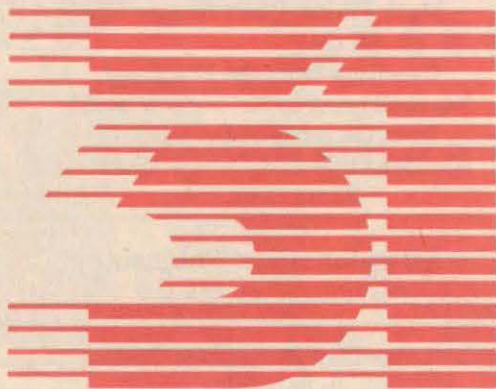
Natalie Fleischman and Paul Gutierrez who
will always be remembered.

Mark Finkel
Chair

Lottie Friedman
Treasurer

Executive Committee

Harry Fleischman, Joe Friedman, Steve Gullo,
David Sprintzen, Rosemary Tambouret



AFSCME Council 31

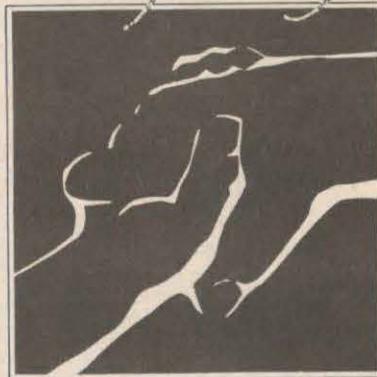
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In Unity, Strength



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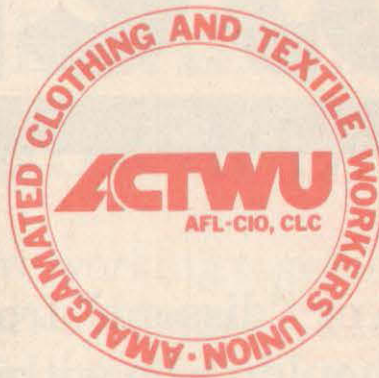
GREETINGS FROM

DISTRICT 65

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AFL-CIO

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Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer
Renee Mendez, Executive Vice President
Julio Mojica, Community Director
Regina Little, Administrative Director
William Tate, N. Y. Regional Director
Leslie Roberts, N. J. Regional Director



*We stand with our friends
in DSA on Labor Day 1990.
DSA's ideals -- social and economic justice
and a democratic vision --
are more important than ever.*

*Jack Sheinkman, President
Arthur Loevy, Secretary-Treasurer*

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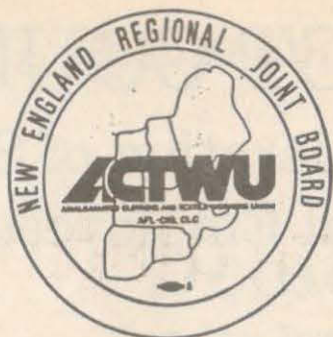
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**DSA and Its
'Democratic Left'**
for its longtime contribution
to a stronger Labor Movement.



William H. Bywater
International President

Edward Fire
Secretary-Treasurer

The Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO)
salutes the DSA on its leadership
in the struggle for progressive policies and values.



Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO)

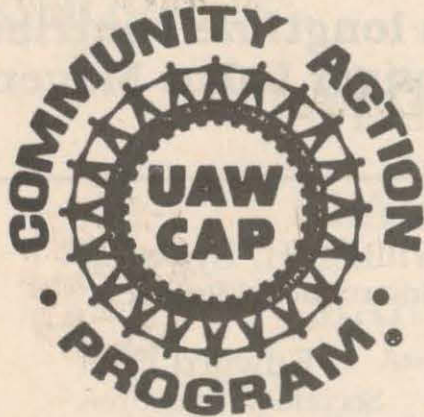
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"THE TEST OF OUR PROGRESS IS NOT WHETHER WE ADD MORE TO THE ABUNDANCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE MUCH; IT IS WHETHER WE PROVIDE ENOUGH FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TOO LITTLE."



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



LABOR DAY GREETINGS
TO OUR FRIENDS AT
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Region 9A
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Director

Bernie Mckinnon - CAP Director
David Livingston - President, District 65 UAW
Sam Meyers - President, 259 UAW
Sal Mlell - President, 365 UAW
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Judy Keenan	Dorothy Griggs	Cynthia J. LaPierre
Emma R. Stephens		William Tate

"Intelligent discontent is the mainspring of civilization.

.Progress is born of agitation..

It is agitation or stagnation".

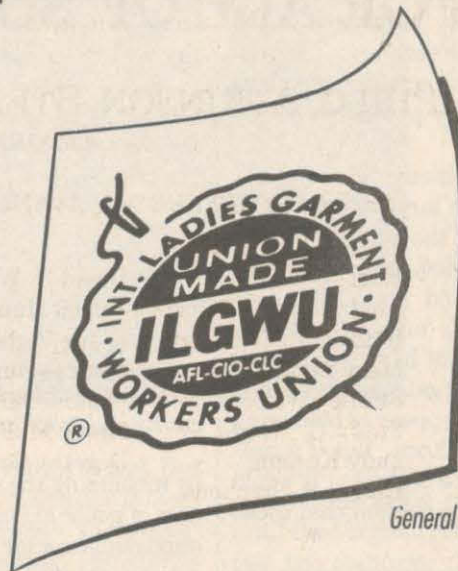
- Eugene V. Debs

CARRY ON D.S.A.!

**Communication Workers of America
District Nine
AFL-CIO
Harry Ibsen, Vice President
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**We commend and support
DSA's efforts
to fight
labor's enemies
and build
labor's ranks.**



Jay Mazur
President

Irwin Solomon
General Secretary-Treasurer

Edgar Romney
Executive Vice President

GLOBAL CITY

continued from page 16

dustries, notably finance and telecommunications, there has been a defacto deregulation of many labor markets. The state, to some extent, has withdrawn from its participation in the enforcement of labor regulation.

But the state has not benefited from these changes. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan have experienced rapid increases in government deficits, and growing unemployment, deindustrialization, and income inequality. What contributes to growth in the network of global cities does not necessarily contribute to growth in nations. For instance, growth in global cities has been fed by the deficits of national government and the decline of major industrial centers.

What happens to labor under these circumstances? While the heightened mobility of capital has degraded working conditions, the new organization of the world economy has created one type of strategic location much less susceptible to such mobility: the global city itself. These cities are precisely the points of concentration necessary to manage and organize territorially dispersed networks of factories, offices, service outlets, and markets. Moreover, they are the most advanced production sites for key industries in the current phase of the economy. In brief, they concentrate the strategic machinery for running key processes in the world economy.

The work of managing the world economy includes a large array of jobs that are not part of the new imagery of a postindustrial society: many blue-collar, white-collar, and pink-collar jobs servicing the needs of firms, of real estate owners, and of households. Labor markets are organized in such a way that these jobs appear as belonging to less necessary sectors. But if a general stoppage could be organized, it would immediately become evident that these are necessary jobs.

From the perspective of theory, the global city contains a strategic complex of relations between capital and labor

that should give labor the type of leverage it had in large industrial cities in the recent past, but clearly under different conditions of organization. Political action could be planned with two points in mind: first, there are strategic locations for major components of capital that are not as mobile as firms would like to have us believe. For example, Castells has shown in his new book, *Informal Economy*, that the massive cost of advanced telecommunications means that many cities could not catch up and compete with New York, Los Angeles, or London as centers for global management and coordination. Second, while many low-income workers may feel overwhelmed by their increasing inability to meet monthly bills and by their apparent irrelevance in an economy dominated by advanced, high-income, high-visibility service firms, they are actually essential to the operation of that economy. They constitute the local infrastructure for the provision of labor, goods and services, without which neither the advanced sectors of the economy nor the government nor the high-income households could function. If strategic sectors of capital are less mobile than is usually thought because of the physical infrastructure and human resources required to run globalized markets and production processes, and if they are more dependent on a vast supply of local labor, then it would seem local action matters most in precisely these global centers. ●

Saskia Sassen, a DSA member, is a Professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University.

UNIONS & ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

continued from page 8

by mobilizing the electorate and recipients of public aid in defense of the threatened public sector. They have mixed job actions with lobbying, arbitrations, public appeals, and well-planned strikes to block dismantling of government services.

The crisis and partial revitalization of all three segments of twentieth-century unionism highlights labor's need to confront openly the myth of market panaceas and smug individualism. Although much union action for years to come will seek collaboration with employers in defense of existing contracts, new directions are also evident. First, from the grass roots to the headquarters of the AFL-CIO the necessity of coalitions with nonunion groups is now accepted. Second, the fight for national and even international standards is evident in the auto workers' New Directions movement, the struggle of the Mine Workers to preserve the integrity of national contracts, joint bargaining by multiple unions with General Electric and Westinghouse, some international cooperation among unions, and legislative campaigns (most effective at the state level) for comparable worth, parental leave, plant closing, and occupational health bills.

Finally, successful mobilizations of craft, industrial, and public service unions to meet the challenges of our day have invariably led workers' organizations to venture deeply into the terrain once clearly marked Management Prerogatives. The four-year strike at Colt Firearms ended with the employees becoming part owners through a state-financed purchase of the plant. Public employees' unions have responded to threats of privatization by their own initiatives to improve delivery of services. The machinists resisted mismanagement of Eastern Airlines first by challenging the plundering of the company by bank and aircraft company directors, and then dumping Frank Lorenzo.

All these instances of the democratic upheaval of our times evoke the historic socialist linkage of workers' control, production for use, and a vibrant public sector serving community needs. In defiance of corporate insistence that the world be reshaped to satisfy "the needs of the economy", these campaigns point toward conscious re-direction of economic activity to create a more livable world. ●

David Montgomery, a DSA member, teaches history at Yale University.

THE PRACTICE OF SOLIDARITY

by John Hudson

Solidarity between South African and North American clothing and textile workers has evolved over the years to respond to the challenges we face in a mobile, labor-intensive industry. The stakes are high. Clothing and textile is still often, as in the United States, the largest industrial employer in many developed countries, providing crucial jobs for new immigrants and the working poor. At the same time, this sector is often the cornerstone of building industrial economies in developing countries. Whenever wages nudge upward, from either labor scarcity or concerted worker activity, manufacturers move on to the next low wage haven.

Labor must be as international as capital if workers are to avoid the race to the bottom, which is the product of wage competition. The only effective response by workers to the increasing integration of the world economy

is to organize internationally. Labor must coordinate its strategies, and fight together for the establishment of international fair labor standards and trade union rights. And we must fight for national industrial policies that help our national industries compete on non-

labor cost factors such as product quality, design content, and market responsiveness.

These are hardly new ideas. You will find them expressed in the resolutions of almost any union convention. But many unionists would agree that the actual practice of international solidarity often falls well short of its mission. Labor generally remains in disarray relative to capital.

ACTWU has worked with the South African Clothing & Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) and its predecessor unions over the last ten years to build a solidarity that truly serves its members needs. International pressures provided the original incentive to work together,

ism.

The result of this ideological and practical cross-fertilization is that we increasingly function as virtually one union -- or one movement -- with one agenda. Supporting a struggle of textile workers across the ocean thus becomes as natural as supporting one across town.

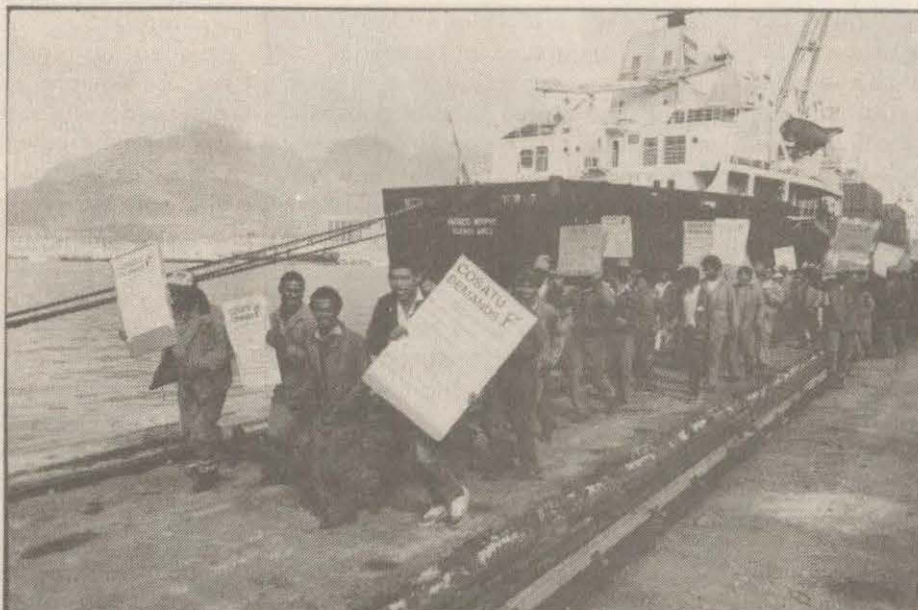
Answering the Call

The organizing campaign was not going well. Courtaulds, a British synthetic textile multinational, was getting the upper hand through numerous unfair labor practices at its Martinsville, Virginia facility, which ACTWU was trying to organize in the fall of 1987.

As we had often done in similar situations, ACTWU contacted unions representing Courtaulds workers around the world, asking them to send letters to the company protesting its tactics. Unions in England, France and Italy answered our call. But National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) shop stewards at Courtaulds in Durban, South Africa decided they should do more.

Led by chief steward and veteran

unionist Andrew Joyisa, Courtaulds workers declared a ban on overtime until the Virginia NLRB election. They told the company that their stewards would stop work on the day of the election to call ACTWU for the election results. And they pledged to go on



COSATU members rally on Cape Town Docks in May.

Paul Grendon/Afrapix/Impact Visuals



Police lay siege to the headquarters of COSATU in central Johannesburg, 1987

strike if we lost the election and called on them for further support.

NUTW was saying through its actions that real solidarity meant taking on our struggle as their struggle. We didn't win the Courtaulds election, but Courtaulds workers did win a new respect for the potential power of solidarity.

Two years later the first ACTWU delegation to South Africa visited workers at the Hextex woolens mill in Worcester in the Western Cape, who were making plans for what they expected to be a very difficult negotiations. Hextex workers struck the company shortly after our return to the States. ACTWU responded much as we would to a strike of our own members. We undertook an international pressure campaign, threatening product boycotts against suppliers and sanctions against Hextex. And we quickly raised over \$25,000 to support the strikers from our locals and individual members. In a letter to ACTWU after the victorious forty-four day strike, South African textile unionist Ebrahim Patel said, "I want to emphasize the absolute importance of your financial assistance and solidarity actions in helping to make the strike a disciplined, well organized trial of strength against the employer, and of course, in securing the eventual victory for the strikers."

Origins of Solidarity

The main impetus for the relationship between ACTWU and SACTWU evolved from the desire of the new generation of unions in South Africa to build international solidarity through "union to union" ties.

NUTW and ACTWU representatives met in international meetings soon after the formation of FOSATU and established regular contact. ACTWU's interest in the relationship at this time was motivated primarily by a desire to further contribute to the fight against apartheid.

The first real opportunity for solidarity action presented itself in the monumental NUTW battle to organize the Frame Group, the largest textile manufacturer in South Africa with over 20,000 workers. The Frame struggle was similar in its size, length and impact on the fortunes of NUTW to ACTWU's struggle at J.P. Stevens in the 1970s. ACTWU worked with other textile unions around the world to pressure Frame into recognition through international industry links.

Then, when health and safety became a key organizing issue, ACTWU sent its Health and Safety Director Eric Frumin to South Africa for two weeks to help establish brown lung and steward training programs. NUTW gained a real boost not only for the Frame cam-

paign, but for its general leadership and skills development program. NUTW finally won recognition from Frame in 1986, thirteen years after the first strikes.

Frumin returned to ACTWU enthralled by NUTW's militancy and worker democracy. He shared his experience in a number of ACTWU meetings over the following year, giving our members their first taste of South African unionism. This experience of direct solidarity on basic workplace issues started the process of developing a broader common language and community of interests. We instituted exchanges of educational materials and research on companies that operated in both countries, and started to explore other possible areas of interaction.

In early 1985 NUTW President Nelson Mthombeni visited ACTWU as part of a tour of South African trade unionists sponsored by the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid, which ACTWU had been instrumental in founding. The interchange of worker leadership further demonstrated that direct contact was invaluable. ACTWU locals in Philadelphia and Chicago helped found labor anti-apartheid committees, and labor forums with our South African visitors were held in those and other cities. ACTWU nationally became more involved in broader anti-apartheid work, and also established working relationships with the South African chemical and metal unions, with which we also shared some industrial overlap. Nelson Mandela added his endorsement to this kind of activity while visiting the United States in June. In response to a question of what U.S. labor should be doing, he urged union to union exchanges.

Shortly after this visit in '85, FOSATU unions, along with the giant National Union of Mineworkers and some independent unions, formed the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). COSATU was largely responsible for holding together and leading the internal opposition during the successive states of emergency imposed by the regime beginning in 1986.

The Maturing of Solidarity

At an International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation

continued on page 43

Labor's Road to Renewal

by Roberta Lynch

Another Labor Day, another season of lament. By now the figures are depressingly familiar: Over the course of the past three decades, the proportion of the non-agricultural workforce that is union-represented has declined from more than thirty percent to less than seventeen. While there are many factors that have contributed to the labor movement's unswerving march away from the majority status that once seemed within its reach, four variables are of particular note.

Beginning in the 1970s, as the U.S. economy slipped into low gear, the corporate class, abetted by the media, sought to lay the blame for the nation's emerging economic woes squarely on the shoulders of America's workers, portraying them as overpaid featherbedders who were indifferent to the quality of the goods they produced, the efficiency of the operations they performed, or the cost to the consumers whom they supplied.

This ideological cannonade was but the first volley in an assault on the nation's workers and their unions that was ravaging in its swiftness and its scope. Driven by the intensified internationalization of capital, and the resulting growth of both global production and global competition, U.S. corporations set about a massive economic restructuring that resulted in the shutdown or downscaling of thousands of manufacturing operations. Within less than a decade, more than five million jobs had been lost, most of them in the industries that had formed the bedrock of the American labor movement.

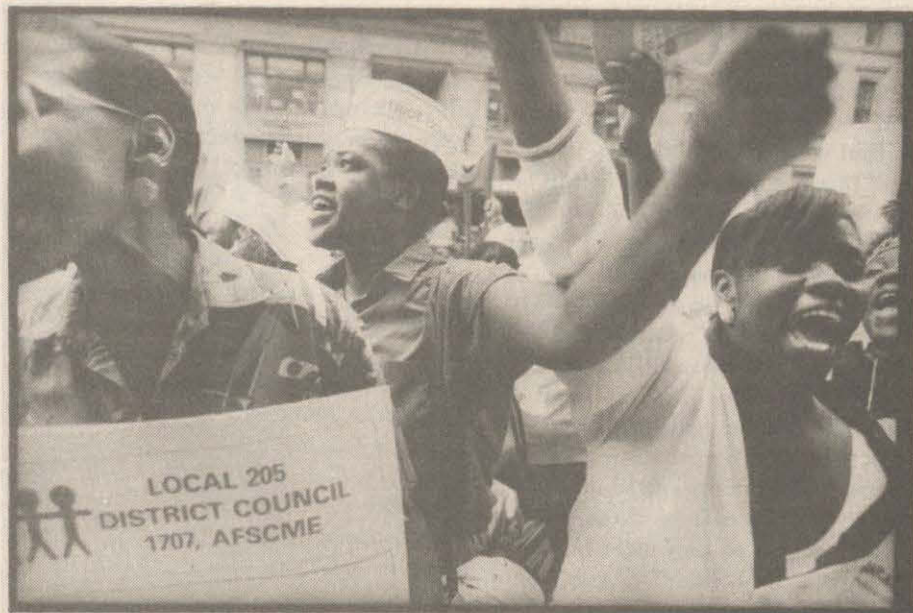
Perhaps this devastation might have been weathered with less dire conse-

quences were it not for a third critical reality: much of the labor movement had succumbed to a debilitating complacency, and thus found itself removed from its membership, encumbered by internal bureaucracy, and lacking an animating vision. It had, with a few notable exceptions, abandoned its calling to organize new members, leaving millions to labor daily without the safeguards of a union contract and to nurse their resentments toward the perceived privileges of their organized brethren.

Moreover, labor had drifted into a formulaic brand of political action that pumped out money and mailings oblivious to the growing disaffection at its base. As early as the elections of 1968, polls were documenting labor's dimin-

bargaining, whipsawing, and plant closings pounded against its weakened bulwarks. Even for those not directly impacted by the crisis in manufacturing, the message could not be missed: Organized labor was not the powerhouse once believed, but a toothless tiger. Emboldened by such perceptions, and by the Reagan administration's deft-estimation of the NLRB, employers intensified their anti-union activity. Small wonder that decertification campaigns flourished and organizing drives foundered in this era.

This loss of confidence in the efficacy of labor organizations has been reinforced by a fourth feature: the heightened individualism, some might say egocentrism, that has held sway in the past



Bill Biggart/Impact Visuals

ishing influence over the political behavior of its own members. By 1980, the landslide election of an anti-union president provided telling evidence of its diminished influence in the political process.

It should come as no surprise, then, that labor found itself virtually paralyzed as wave after wave of concession

decade. Labor's problems in the 1980s were compounded by the elevation of this theme of personal aggrandizement and entrepreneurial zeal. Much of the initial lure of trade unionism was based on the conviction that an employee would have one employer, perhaps even one job, for his/her entire working life. Such certitude has gone the way of the hula

hoop. Now, we are told, individuals rise by dint of their own determination; and, we have seen, they can fall whether they have a union or not.

Strategies for Change

There is no denying the challenge these developments pose to the future of the labor movement. Earlier this year, a new study was released which predicted that private sector unionization would decline to five percent within another decade. If the pundits are to be believed, the handwriting is on the wall.

But there's another story that's being written -- some of it in the highest chambers of the AFL-CIO, much of it in a diverse array of local unions scattered all across the country. While no definitive strategic consensus has emerged, a number of elements critical to the potential for labor renewal are beginning to be implemented.

The labor movement has indisputably recognized the urgency of bringing new blood into its ranks. The herculean task of organizing today's diverse and radically shifting workforce is garnering at least a measure of attention and resources in virtually every major labor organization.

Moreover, there is a growing awareness that some of the barriers to successful organizing are flaws within labor's own house that can and must be repaired. There is the need to foster greater involvement and leadership of minorities and women at every level of the union movement; to sweep clean of all corruption and vigorously champion internal democracy; and to craft a modernized public relations program that can seek to dispel the prevalent negative images of organized labor.

With the ranks of labor so shrunken and the power of employers so bloated, the necessity for solidarity among unions, particularly in the cases of strikes and boycotts, has become ever more apparent. In many instances, this solidarity can be broadened to draw in community, religious, and other non-labor forces. In addition, the globalization of production has made the once hazy ideal of international labor solidarity a pressing task on the agenda of American labor.



David Vita/Impact Visuals

New forms of labor action are coming to the fore. More and more unions are shedding reliance on the strike, which has now become a tool of management as well as labor, and looking to new forms such as the "corporate campaign" or the "working strike." Worker participation in management, not as a form of "cooperationism," but as a means both to empower workers and to address rampant mismanagement, is gaining increasing credence.

Finally, labor's role as a voice for workers must extend to the wider society as well. In order to play this role the labor movement must develop and articulate a broader social justice vision that can break through the vacuity of the Democratic party.

This incipient strategy for revitalization is impressive in its scope and creativity. Yet none of these elements can succeed without the addition of a crucial missing link, one which is too often absent from the current discussion: The realization that the labor movement cannot revive unless it can truly lay claim to the loyalty of its members. For what is too rarely acknowledged is not just that the proportion of the workforce which labor represents is shrinking, but that we are still very far from insuring the involvement and allegiance of those whom we now represent.

Both those in labor's mainstream and those on its left shy away from discussing the true magnitude of this problem. Many of those on the left imagine that workers are just waiting to take to the picket lines if only it weren't for hidebound bureaucrats who are stifling rank and file initiative. Conversely, many traditionalists in the movement bemoan workers' lack of interest in union activities as though it were the workers' fault and as though the union could do nothing about it.

Diversity of Interests

In reality, the passivity at labor's base is in large measure a function of broader social trends that exert powerful "pulls" on millions of workers. One of the most compelling of these is the alteration in family dynamics resulting from the skyrocketing numbers of women who have entered the workforce. Men can no longer stop by the union hall for a drink or plan to attend a late-night meeting secure in the knowledge that a wife will be waiting at home with a warmed-up dinner and the kids safely tucked in bed. Now there is a growing expectation that even if men do not take on major family responsibilities, they will at least be present at home to lend a hand.

Meanwhile women, who still do bear overwhelming responsibility for family

maintenance in addition to their jobs, find it extremely difficult to also sandwich in union activities. Working women who are single heads of households carry an even heavier burden.

There are a host of other centrifugal forces that tug at our members' time, energy, and commitment. They can range from second jobs, to night school, to physical fitness/diet programs, to strong religious ties, to social issues such as abortion or the environment.

Given these compelling social pressures, the labor movement must have

reaching national and international goals can possibly succeed.

Such a program must go beyond the traditional emphasis on membership recruitment to encompass several interrelated elements: gaining supporters; increasing participation; strengthening activism; building solidarity; and deepening understanding.

Fostering Solidarity

The overriding imperative for such a program is to alter the basic dynamics of the workplace in a way that involves

and empowers workers. In this effort, the union contract should be viewed not as a barrier, but as an essential tool. A local union that cannot win and institutionalize such elemental rights as protection from arbitrary firing or job reassignment will find it hard to retain its members' respect.

Nor do I agree with those who think it wrong to fight contractual violations through the grievance procedure. The idea that the members should take direct action every time there is a contract violation

vastly overestimates the potential for mobilization that exists in most local unions. We cannot expect our members to rise up every time the rights of an individual worker are violated; but nei-

ther can we allow management to get away with violating even one worker's rights. The grievance procedure offers the most viable means for a union to fight to protect workers' rights day in and day out on the job. If it does so effectively -- and too many do not -- it will have a baseline of respect and support to build on.

It is also a mistake -- and a much more common one -- to simply accept the limits of the contract and assume that the union can do no more than file grievances from one round of bargaining to the next. For in establishing what rights workers do have, the contract also clarifies what rights they lack. It should then be the task of the union to identify those issues that are of concern to a large number of workers, and to build a campaign to win those rights through grassroots activism.

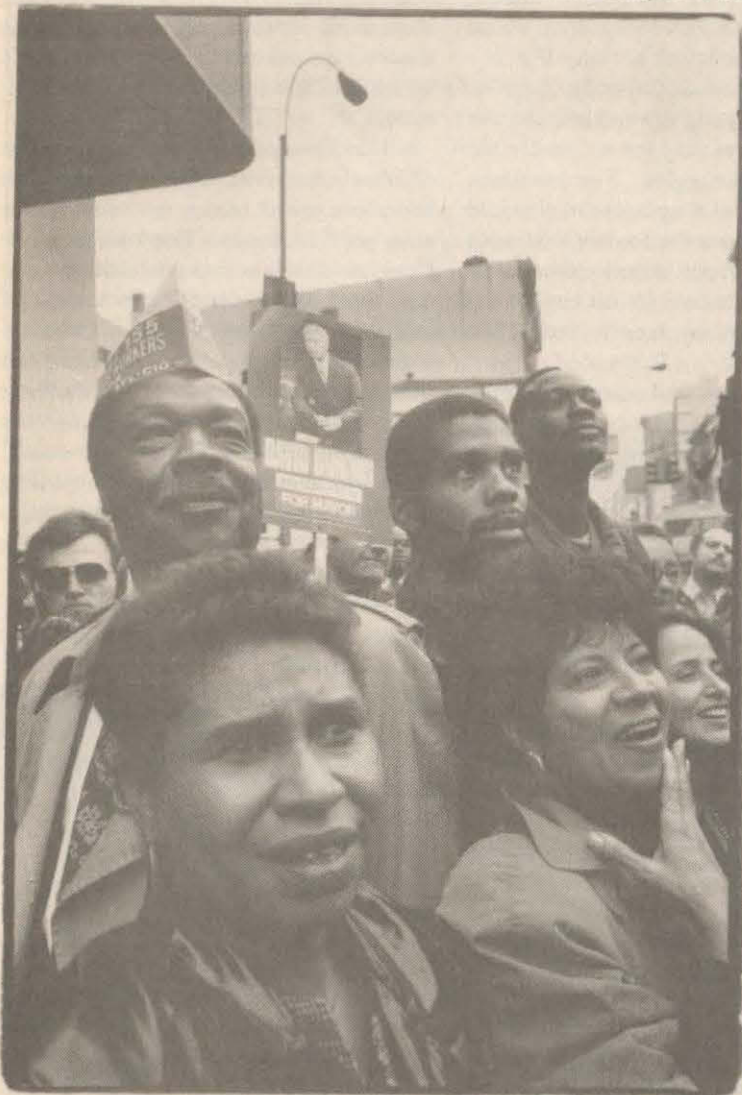
If we are to successfully wage such campaigns, few elements are more important than effective communication. It is critical that any battle that we undertake really does have the support of the members, not just a vocal few. Moreover, it is vital that members perceive such efforts as something that is being done in response to their concerns, not just something the union has dreamt up and is now attempting to convince them to support.

One-on-one organizing was developed to address this need through the use of survey techniques and direct discussion, and it is an approach that should be an ongoing element in the life of every local union. It is the surest way to let members know that the union is interested in their views and to let them know as well why the union takes the actions that it does.

All of our efforts should be directed toward seeking to foster the widest possible participation in union activities. While an important starting point is to breathe new life into local union meetings that may have become dull or dispirited, we must also transcend the idea that the entire life of a union is bound up in its monthly meetings.

The steward structure is one alternative measure of a union's vitality. But currently the steward system is largely limited to handling grievances

Tom McKittrick/Impact Visuals



at its center an unceasing and deliberative program of internal organizing that can create strong and vibrant local unions. For it is only by fostering such renewal at its base that labor's far-

and that limits who becomes involved in it. Some workers do not feel comfortable in the role of informal "lawyer," but may well be willing to be the union's communicator with their fellow employees. Thus a one-on-one program can involve workers as "communication" stewards who may not want to be "grievance" stewards.

And, as Andy Banks and Jack Metzgar persuasively argue in a recent article in *Labor Research Review*, the opportunity to address longstanding frustrations about mismanagement and to have a voice in determining workplace policies can draw many workers into the union's program for various forms of employee involvement or labor-management task forces.

It is also crucial that we seek to address issues that have not traditionally been with the union's purview, so that we are seen not so much as competing with other elements of workers' lives, but as complementing them. For instance, local unions have set up committees on child care to try to exert greater pressure for on-site child care or for other forms of employer assistance in addressing the dilemmas that face working parents.

Another area which has proven immensely important to many union members is adult education. In some measure, such programs have soared in popularity because of technological change and plant closings: workers have had to learn new skills as their current jobs disappear. But our experience in the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) shows that these programs also receive a very strong reception even when workers already have a secure job.

A subtext of all our activities should be the fostering of solidarity in our ranks. This must begin within each local union by creating experiences which can allow workers to grasp at both an intellectual and emotional level their interconnectedness and to feel a deepened sense of humanity and empowerment through this connection. Nowhere is this task more compelling than in initiating activities that can help to overcome racial and sexual prejudices and animosities and enhance greater unity.

The task of expanding that solidaristic impulse must be integral to all of our efforts. It may be simple enough to convince carpenters to support the efforts of their fellow building trades workers. It becomes far more difficult to convince private sector workers of the necessity to ally with public employees in their fight for adequate revenues. Or to explain why workers in this country should rally to the cause of trade unionists in El Salvador. Yet it is precisely this more encompassing solidarity that must eventually take root in our ranks.

The growth of a local union's strength in its own workplace or local area is the crucial foundation upon which we can build political action efforts -- whether for candidates or for legislation -- that truly engage and involve our members. These may grow directly out of workplace struggles. For instance, after years of fighting hospital closures and budget cutbacks, some 25,000 health care workers from across New York state recently rallied in Albany to demand a universal health insurance program.

In other cases, the connection may be less direct, but ultimately as crucial. For instance, every union member has an enormous stake in the legislation now before Congress to outlaw replacement workers, even if that stake is not immediately obvious. Such issues make clear the vital importance of internal education programs that can deepen understanding of and commitment to such expanded goals.

It is important to keep in mind that a union is not a cadre organization. Every worker will not be directly involved in every issue confronted by the union. But every worker who has actively participated in a union struggle and gained a greater understanding of what unionism means will be part of an ever-growing core of supporters whose commitment will periodically be rejuvenated.

Changing the Culture of Labor

The goal of such an internal development effort is in a very fundamental sense to change the culture of the labor movement, to make it an organization that plays a much more central role in

the lives of those whom it represents, to make it more profoundly an institution that belongs to the members.

Just as the AFL-CIO has acted to establish an Organizing Institute that can recruit, motivate and train young organizers to expand the ranks of the labor movement, so we need to look at a conscious program to organize those who are already within our ranks. It makes little sense to criticize current union staff for servicing rather than organizing, for the need for "servicing" is not about to disappear. We need to see the need for complementary internal staff that can provide assistance and training to current staff and local leaders in structuring new programs that can transform an internal dynamic which has too often settled into lassitude.

Ultimately, the issue cannot be one of labor's survival. For we cannot win members to our ranks, nor allies to our side, on that basis. The real issue is: How can the labor movement come to play the critical role of empowerment of working people on the job; of counterweight to the power of capital in the political arena; of shaper of solidaristic civic values; and of advocate for the more equitable distribution of wealth? Only by reclaiming such a compelling mission and seeking to draw every single member into its realization can we hope to not only survive, but to thrive. ●

Roberta Lynch is Director of Public Policy at AFSCME Illinois.

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REVIEWS

Teaching International Labor Solidarity

by Paul Garver

THE GLOBAL FACTORY: ANALYSIS AND ACTION FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ERA by Rachael Kamel, Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102), 1990.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND LABOR: A DIRECTORY OF RESOURCES by Thomas Fenton and Mary Heffron, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989.

A few years ago, when I began to think and write about the implications of the global economy for labor strategies in the United States, the discussion was largely framed in terms of the historical debate over the AFL-CIO's foreign policy. The immediate context was the struggle between the AFL-CIO's international affairs apparatus and its critics within the labor movement over labor policy on Central America. These ideological disputes were not rooted in an analysis of the actual strategies of transnational corporations and the changing international division of labor as they impact on U.S. workers and communities. As such they were of little interest to most union leaders and members. Therefore, we began to work toward a better statement of the necessity for genuine international labor solidarity. By 1987, with the publication of Dan Cantor and Julie Schor's *Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America* (South End Press), opponents of existing policies were beginning to outline positive alternatives based on the real needs of workers both in the United States and in the Third World.

As I tried to deepen my understanding of the broader issues, I found it difficult to locate useful resource materials on transnational corporations and labor. When I began to

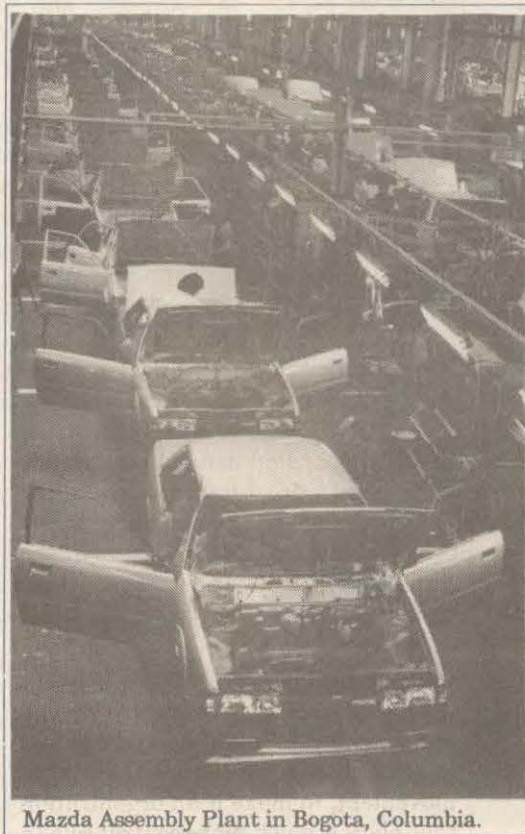
teach workshops and courses for members of labor unions and students of labor studies programs on strategies to counter the globalization of capital. I found only scattered materials for their use. We had to rely on liberal use of photocopying machines and my own personal files of pamphlets and clippings to provide a base for common discussion and analysis. Fortunately the recent publication of *The Global Factory* and *Transnational Corporations and Labor* has enormously alleviated these problems for future students and teachers of labor and the global economy.

The Global Factory is an attractive, accessible, and user-friendly introduction to the subject. Developed by the Women and Global Corporations Project and Maquiladora Project of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), it was put into its present form by Rachael Kamel. The final result represents a stunning achievement of form and substance. Its ninety-four pages include some forty-five photographs, evenly

divided between Third World workers and U.S. workers (many of them women, people of color, and immigrants). This ratio symbolizes the balanced approach of the text, which begins with chapters on the globalization of the U.S. economy and on plant closings in the United States, proceeds with case studies of the impacts on labor in Mexico and the Philippines, and concludes with a chapter on organizing efforts in both the U.S. and Third World and another containing suggestions for starting discussion and action projects. The book includes a useful list of audiovisual, print, and organizational resources, a set of discussion questions, and a glossary of unfamiliar terms. All of this comes packaged in a visually attractive and readable format, and at the price of \$7.50 (only \$5 in bulk), it is a steal.

The Global Factory was published just in time for my Rutgers undergraduate labor studies class to experiment with using it as a study guide midway into the

Joe Fish/Impact Visuals



Mazda Assembly Plant in Bogota, Columbia.



Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

Family dependent on the nearby maquiladora "industrial park."

term, and without reservation I recommend it as the best introduction to the issue for Americans at any level of group or individual study. The author makes an intelligent political choice from the outset by focusing on global economy trends as a major source of local economic problems in the U.S. The book places these problems in the context of the restructuring of national economies into an integrated global economy dominated by transnational corporations. The interconnected problems of Third World working women in the export processing zones are then explained as part of the same restructuring. Despite the focus on the problems posed to workers by international capital strategies, this guide does not leave the reader feeling overwhelmed, perplexed, and hopeless (as is often the case with other treatments of this material). The book constantly presents us with examples of organized responses at workplace and community levels in both the United States and Third World, and with proposals for linking these struggles across borders. The AFSC's own rich experience in the Mexican maquiladora helps convey a texture of specific possibilities for effective action.

There are some limitations to the scope of its analysis. By focusing primarily on U.S.-based transnationals, Kamel fails to capture some of the complexities of international capital, in which transnationals based in Japan and Europe both compete (and cooperate via joint ventures) with those based in the United States. She ignores the implications for

international labor strategies of foreign direct investment in industrialized countries like the United States, and of contemporary production methods ("just-in-time," flexible specialization, etc.) that encourage automated production in the "First World." But if *The Global Factory* is not a comprehensive guide to all the tasks of international worker solidarity, it does do a superb job of connecting the concerns and interests of U.S. and Third World workers.

Perhaps the great strength of *The Global Factory* is its sensitivity to the human dimension of labor issues, apparent in its focus on women, people of color, and immigrant workers, as well as in its presentation of the actual struggles of working people in specific workplaces and communities around the world. The book incorporates a tough-minded analysis of the corporate offensive against organized labor, the debt crisis, and other institutional issues, but it does not make the incorrect assumption that U.S. workers respond only to economic appeals based on narrow self-interest.

This may help explain the apparent paradox that a religious organization is publishing such a useful guide for labor. For generations "labor internationalism" has been polarized along political lines, social democrat vs. communist and/or United States vs. Soviet Union. Unions were judged on the basis of their "democratic" adherence to U.S. foreign policy goals (which promoted the globalization of capital), or, alternatively, on the basis of their adherence to the Soviet line or support for revolutionary movements. Somehow the actual impact of the international economy on working people has gotten more attention from church missions, feminist anthropologists, and specialists in third world development than from most "labor internationalists."

This becomes evident when you examine the sources listed in *Transnational Corporations and Labor*, a resource directory published by the Maryknoll Order and compiled by the staff of the Third World Resources project of the Data Center. Having this directory would have saved me hundreds of hours of frustrated searching. While it emphasizes TNC impacts on Third World labor, its well-organized listings of organizations, books, periodicals, pamphlets, articles, and audio-visual materials also contain excellent annotated material on all related issues. Its compilers and editors do an amazing job of making the listings up-to-date, with addresses and telephone numbers. They annotated hundreds of books and articles published in the late 1980s. The most serious systematic defect is a tendency not to list established international labor organizations such as International Trade Secretariats, which can often be excellent sources of information on labor struggles around TNC's. Thus, while listing numerous sources on the struggle of Coca-Cola workers in Guatemala that document the indispensable supporting role of the International Union of Foodworkers, the directory nowhere lists the IUF or its publications. However, this is an invaluable resource for scholars and educators (and another steal at \$9.95).

Paul Garver, a member of DSA, teaches at Rutgers Labor Center.

Greyhound Strike: The Struggle Continues

By Alex Wolloch

Like the strike at Eastern, and the strike of the United Mineworkers of America against Pittston Coal Company, the Greyhound strike is clearly of the Reagan-Bush era. In all cases, workers struck as much over the simple survival of their union as over specific contractual issues.

Greyhound's final offer included demands that would be virtually impossible for any trade union to accept. The company demanded the right to subcontract out any and all maintenance work to nonunion shops, entirely eliminating one large section of the union's membership. Greyhound also demanded that professional drivers service equipment and clean drivers' dormitory rooms between their driving shifts! Measures like these, which parcel out sections of an industry into nonunion hands and eliminate the basic dignity of secure job classification, strike at the most fundamental characteristics of a unionized industry.

In addition, Greyhound issued a series of economic demands, that by themselves seemed designed to precipitate a strike. On the heels of two concessionary contracts in 1983 and 1986, Greyhound proposed an across-the-board three-year wage freeze and steep health and pension benefit cuts. Under these terms, Greyhound drivers would end up going a total of thirteen years without a pay raise. Service workers, many of whom are already so poor that they qualify for federal assistance programs, would receive no pay increase for six years.

The union contends that Greyhound Executive Fred Currey wanted to force a strike in order to hire permanent "replacement workers" and transform Greyhound into a nonunion bus company. This accusation was

affirmed by a regional NLRB ruling that stated that the company, "is failing and refusing to bargain collectively and in good faith." If upheld, this ruling will mean that Amalgamated Transit Union is engaged in an unfair labor practices strike, which would force Greyhound to pay back wages for all employees from the date of the strike and to rehire the striking workers. The preliminary ruling put more financial pressure on the debt-ridden corporation and set back Currey's scheme to permanently keep the scab labor force that is currently running the busline. Soon after this ruling Greyhound filed for bankruptcy

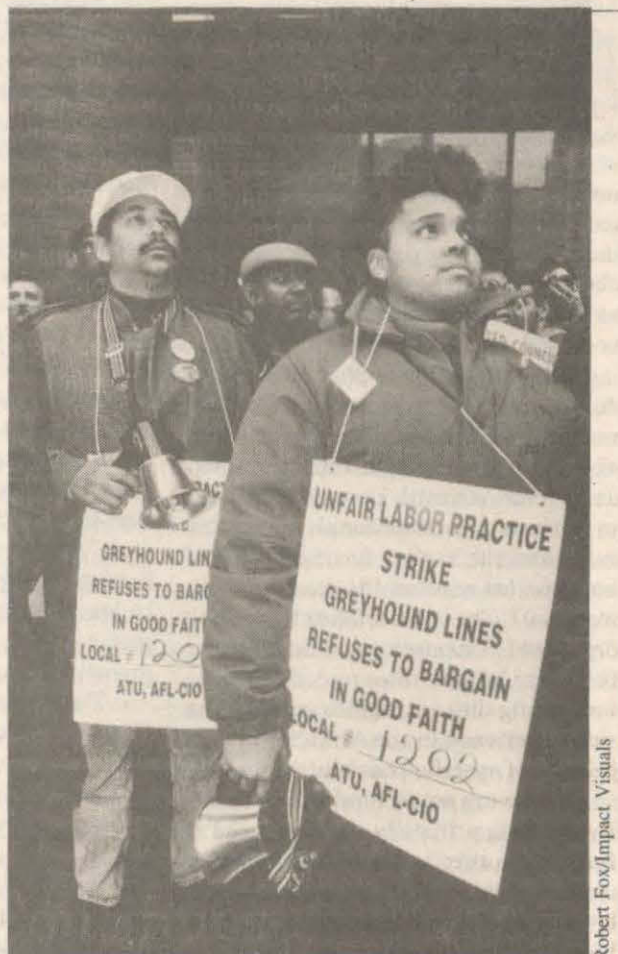
The outcome of the strike now rests largely in complicated legal wrangling between ATU, Greyhound, and its panicked creditors.

ATU, while clearly counting on favorable decisions in the courts, has also launched a massive grassroots campaign to boycott Greyhound. The premise of the boycott is that the workforce that Greyhound is exploiting primarily poor African-American and Latino workers--hail from the same communities that receive most of Greyhound's advertising and give Greyhound much of its business. The boycott has the outspoken support of civil rights heroes like Rosa Parks and Jesse Jackson, and the backing of scores of

progressive elected officials and community leaders.

Between legal fighting in the courtroom and populist campaigns like the bus boycott, the ATU seems to be edging towards a victory. But it is a shame that workers must endure a long and bitter strike, not to achieve real economic and industrial justice, but just to maintain the most basic structures of collective bargaining.

Alex Wolloch is a student at Columbia University in New York City.



Robert Fox/Impact Visuals

Intern Program Forges Link Between Students and Labor

by Mitch Horowitz

Thousands of people crammed New York's Yankee Stadium last June to see Nelson Mandela. But Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) member Alex Ott was one of the few who wound up standing backstage next to the South African hero.

A Youth Section member at SUNY Geneseo, Ott was part of DSA's Labor Internship Program this past summer. At United Auto Workers Local 259 in New York, Ott worked on the committee that organized the ANC leader's historic visit. "It was incredible," Ott said, remembering the landmark rally.

Helping to organize 450 volunteers before the event and dealing with missing t-shirts and a massive collection of donations right up until the moment Mandela took the stage was a little beyond what Ott had to deal with as a chapter activist at Geneseo. "I learned a lot about how these things come together," he said. He jokingly recalled organizing a benefit concert at school with DSA's own Noise (The) and thinking *that* was as tough as it would get.

DSA activist Erika Von Rautenfeld said she was able to put a number of her concerns into action this past summer when she helped organize an innovative women's health program with the largest union-operated health care center in the United States. As a labor intern with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in New York City, Von Rautenfeld, a junior at Mount Holyoke, helped design and run a women's health outreach program. The program brought more than 200 union workers into the health center for mammographies, a procedure to detect breast cancer. "It's incredible that I'm working on this," she said earlier in the summer. "I'm working with labor and I'm working with women on health issues. These are my priorities and I'm

fulfilling all of them."

Von Rautenfeld's work included keeping in contact with hundreds of union members through a hotline and correspondence to ensure that women would know of the service and sign up for exams. About one in every ten women in the United States is stricken with some form of breast cancer, Von Rautenfeld said, and the seventy-five year-old New York clinic often provides the only cancer screening services the mostly older women of color who use the clinic have access to.

While the idea for the outreach program had existed for about a year, Von Rautenfeld and others were able to actually put it in motion. "This is the first time that I've been in a position as a supervisor," she said in July. "I'm working with three other women; we were given the facts and the idea about the program and designed it ourselves."

Ott and Von Rautenfeld are two of the seven Youth Section members who were part of DSA's Labor Internship Program this past summer. Revived as a broad program in the summer of 1989, the Labor Internship Program is now a project DSA is committed to for the future, organizers said. "We're helping to develop interns into Youth Section leaders in an atmosphere of commitment to progressive change," said Youth Organizer Dinah Leventhal. In addition to assisting labor unions in general, "we're putting some of our Youth Section people in a situation where they'll be learning about the movement while getting good job experience in a progressive line of work."

The program also helps to strengthen DSA's ties to the labor movement. When organizers began to ask union officials earlier this year to make room for DSA summer interns, former International Association of Machinists President William W. Winpisinger, a DSA honorary chair, made the formal request to more than thirty labor leaders with a

personal letter. Further, the Youth Section is planning a number of Campus-Labor Institute programs on several college campuses. The Institute brings students and labor leaders together for a one-day forum to discuss the current state of the labor movement and the ways in which the two groups can work together. The first Institute was held in Cleveland last winter where DSA activists and local students spoke with guests that included the president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO. In fact, DSA's strong linkage to labor was further manifested this past summer with the appointment of Michael Lighty as new DSA organizational director. Lighty comes from the leadership of NABET 15, an entertainment union with new-found power in New York City.

One of the interns, Bill Dixon, a student at the University of Chicago, spent his summer working under Lighty at NABET 15's New York office -- and found himself on something of an espionage mission for working people. The union was considering a picket against a production company that was dodging back-wages for NABET members. It was Dixon's job to pose as a producer from California and scout out the production company's building. "I put on sunglasses and funky pants and turned my shirt inside out," Dixon remembered of the impersonation. "It was fun; I got to pretend I was a spy."

Dixon was asked for a business card and grilled on the specifics of some new California film equipment, but still he managed to pull it off. "I scouted out the location and found out where all the entrances were so that no union member could get in without crossing the line," Dixon said. An eleventh-hour agreement emerged and the picket was called off. But, Dixon said, if the line had gone up, he was certain that about fifteen picketers would have been enough to shut down the
continued on page 46

INT'L SOLIDARITY

Continued from page 34

(ITGLWF) meeting in Turkey in 1987, not long after the Courtaulds campaign, ACTWU and NUTW leaders had their first detailed discussions about formalizing a solidarity program. The fact was, however, that we shared few common multinational employers which would have lent themselves to coordinated strategies. Moreover, the 1986 U.S. sanctions legislation prohibited import of South African textiles. Our focus was therefore more on global developments in the industry, which promised to continue to heavily impact both of us. NUTW was specifically concerned that South African industry, which had seen wages rise dramatically due to labor activity there, was starting to move into low-wage Southern African nations. That region promised to eventually attract Western investors as well. A proposal to the ITGLWF to establish an African regional presence became our first specific collaboration in an international body.

But equally important in these discussions was the recognition that our growing experience on a range of other union matters was having a positive impact on building our unions generally. There was a growing awareness among the members of both unions that brothers and sisters across the ocean were becoming part of our union life. Further, this "secondary" activity was in turn important in developing the consciousness and will among our members to take on the global issues.

We shared many common needs and interests in the building of our respective unions, and believed we could benefit from more systematically sharing our respective models of unionism. ACTWU was the product of merger of four unions, and NUTW was about to enter similar mergers. NUTW was therefore interested in our experience with more complex union structures and internal management issues. With the expansion of its jurisdiction through mergers, NUTW also wanted to study the growing success of our organizing program.

ACTWU felt that it could learn from the highly democratic and participatory structures that NUTW and other COSATU unions had built. A new generation of ACTWU leaders were coming into their own. They saw their mission as rebuilding working class militancy, and the South African situation had many useful parallels. Moreover, among unions in other countries with whom ACTWU had contact, NUTW was by far the most willing and able to build a multidimensional relationship.

A plan for regular delegations was outlined. Additionally, we felt that our professional support functions could be strengthened through direct contact and interaction, which might include extended exchanges of staff. By the fall of 1988 ACTWUSA President Amon Ntuli and General Secretary John Copelyn toured ACTWU affiliates for three weeks. NUTW had merged with several other unions and had taken the name "ACTWUSA," Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union of South Africa -- as a symbol of the growing solidarity with ACTWU. This was the first attempt to consciously combine the more basic elements of union building with the broader solidarity agenda. The ACTWUSA delegation toured shops, observed negotiations and organizing campaigns, participated in steward training programs, and met at length with each of our departments. We also arranged meetings with U.S. experts on the development of worker cooperatives and farm labor organizing, which were two pending ACTWUSA initiatives.

ACTWU was then invited to send a return delegation to attend a special ACTWUSA congress in the Spring of 1989. The Congress was to consider a further merger with the largest apparel union in South Africa, the Garment and Allied Workers Union (GAWU).

Following the Congress we toured ACTWUSA branches. For most ACTWUSA members, we were their first foreigners. But any differences we might have otherwise felt were overcome by the acceptance of our common purpose as trade unionists. ACTWUSA members embraced us as "comrades" in their struggle, and pledged to stand

with us in ours. The intense curiosity of ACTWUSA members about workplace and political problems in the United States also made it clear to us that the playing field for our solidarity would be less and less directly concerned with the end of apartheid, which workers seemed to feel was imminent, and more concerned with the struggle after "normalized" relations between labor and capital.

At the conclusion of the Congress and tour it was agreed that a detailed solidarity program would be drafted for consideration after the consolidation of the new South African union. (Under the banner of "Workers Take the Lead", ACTWUSA and GAWU merged in September of 1989 to form SACTWU, which has 185,000 members out of an industry of about 270,000).

Organic Solidarity

We were invited to discuss a draft solidarity program at the first post-merger SACTWU National Executive Committee meeting which was held in Cape Town amidst the historic events of February, 1990. The legalization of the African National Congress and other liberation organizations and the release of Nelson Mandela signaled that apartheid was finally on its last legs. But a trade unionist put things in perspective when he told me, "Of course it's wonderful. But tomorrow workers go back to their jobs and nothing will have changed." The national nightmare was drawing to a close. The struggle of workers was just beginning a new phase.

At the NEC meeting ACTWU and SACTWU agreed on a five point Solidarity Program to guide our relationship into the future. We organized our solidarity work into five categories: Basic Solidarity, Worker to Worker Solidarity, Local to Local Solidarity, Department to Department Solidarity, and International Solidarity.

Our first official activity after agreeing on the Cape Town program was a visit of two SACTWU leaders to our national convention in Miami this past June, followed by a national tour of ACTWU locals. ACTWU plans to send a delegation to South Africa in early

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Int'l Solidarity

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1991. Work is underway to match up each of the thirty-one SACTWU branches with an ACTWU local or joint board. Future "worker to worker" delegations will be organized around these local ties.

Staff exchanges are being discussed involving organizers, researchers and corporate campaign operatives. Our research departments in particular are engaged in an extensive program of sharing information and methods. SACTWU organizers have been invited to work in key ACTWU organizing campaigns. SACTWU has already experimented successfully with the ACTWU "blitz" method of organizing, which frontloads staff and resources for intensive house-calling in the early stage of campaigns before the company can react. Corporate campaign staff are exploring applications in South Africa of the various non-workplace leverage strategies we have developed here. Our education officers are working with MIT to help set up an advanced training program here for SACTWU leadership. ACTWU has assisted individual SACTWU staff members in getting accepted into education programs here.

In recent months ACTWU, in coordination with its

Amalgamated Bank, has been assisting in securing bridge funding for SACTWU's cooperative sewing venture in Durban, Zenzeleni Clothing. Zenzeleni was set up with money negotiated from the Frame Group to employ laid off textile workers. It is the largest and most successful worker owned enterprise in South Africa, employing over 300 workers in the manufacture of t-shirts and work clothes. Zenzeleni could become an important model for black economic enfranchisement in the new South Africa.

These practical pursuits are the flesh on the framework of our solidarity. Solidarity is indeed becoming both the creator and the result of conscious social unionism. We work together on problem solving in the building of our separate unions, we refine our common language, and in doing so we strengthen our ability to confront global industry issues. The next frontier is to expand this model of organic solidarity, based on our experience, to clothing and textile workers in other countries. ●

John Hudson is a Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union.

JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS



OH, SO YOU WANT A PENSION, THAT'LL BE EXTRA. Not only are workers being forced to pay a larger share of their health care costs, companies increasingly require matching contributions to pension plans, or provide no plan at all. (Profit-sharing and stock bonuses are the alternatives of corporate choice). Especially in the growing service sector com-

prised of small, nonunion companies, as little as 12 percent of workers have a pension. Unionization makes the biggest difference: 89 percent of union represented employees have a pension vs. 52 percent of the unorganized. Not surprisingly, from supermarkets to factories, workers are noticing the difference, and demanding not a share of management's past performance, but rather their fair share for the future.

WELL, THAT'S A RELIEF. To defend his handling of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, Secretary of State James Baker assured the U.S. press that there is "very strong support for this agreement among the military leadership of the U.S. of A. -- support for it as a good agreement that is very much in the national security interests of the U.S." From his lofty perspective inside the beltway near the Potomac, Baker added that "most of the criticism is coming from those who in the past, from time to time have simply rejected the concept of arms control generally." It's good to know Jim Baker is taking on those self-interested no-arms-control-in-my-backyard fanatics... but it seems like half the picture is still missing.

JACK BE NIMBLE. Summing up the new bleeding heart conservatism, HUD Secretary Jack Kemp gushed to Bill

Buckley, "I am saying with all my heart, that I don't think we ought to leave fighting poverty to the Left." And what unique insight has the Secretary discovered? "We know what cures poverty," Kemp asserted, "jobs, education, housing and opportunity." Well, well, Kemp doesn't have far to look for the Republican approach to fulfilling these needs: proliferating McDonald's, underfunded schools and suburban speculators. For a minute there, it seemed like Jack had read *The Other America*.

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING. According to the *UN Development Program Report 1990*, you do not have to be wealthy to be healthy and wise: "Life doesn't begin at \$11,000, the average per capita income in the industrial world." For example, Sri Lankans have a life expectancy rate of 71 years and an adult literacy rate of 87 percent with a per capita income of \$400. Perhaps the free marketeers are the last to learn that people are not just economic creatures, but instead it is longevity, accessible health care, education, human rights and political freedoms that determine one's full quality of life.

SOME GUYS JUST DON'T GET IT. It seems *U.S. News & World Report* columnist John Leo is feeling a little put out, fearing for his very identity: "On the campus, this is the worst possible time to be a straight white male. Many SWAMs simply lie about their color and sexual orientation, just to avoid being provocative," Leo quotes an "anonymous" letter writer. Moreover, "ashamed of their background, many often make loud and derisive remarks about typical SWAM pursuits such as croquet, Beach Boy music and white collar crime." Speaking of race, class and gender... if only it were just about croquet!

INTERNSHIPS

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Most of the interns said they were considering either working in the labor movement or some other progressive field when they graduate from school. "It's the greatest job in the world to be working for a union," said Alex Wolloch, a Columbia student who worked for the summer at the national office of the ILGWU in New York. Wolloch worked under Dorothy Benz, another DSA member on the union's newspaper and said his main interest lay with the labor press. "I think the labor press is really important because the mainstream press damages unions," he said. There's very little information on unions and very rarely are working conditions mentioned at all. The labor press is the main mechanism for generating the truth about unions and working conditions."

Wolloch seemed to be speaking for most interns when stressing the importance of unions to his political values: "To me personally unions are a big crux of socialism and social movements."

Von Rautenfeld said the ILGWU's work on women's health

was important to her personally -- and to the labor and socialist movements as a whole. "I think it's fantastic that this union is addressing such a critical women's health issue," she said. "And if we're going to build a strong labor movement we need to do that -- address these critical issues in people's lives."

For Ott a meaningful moment came the day when he and other UAW staffers participated in a march for health care outside of New York's state legislature. Ott recalled hundreds of older union members and retirees streaming to the state capital for the protest -- and what he saw was devotion to a cause. "A lot of them physically could have much more easily stayed home," he said. "But they decided to do it -- for the union."

As the internship program ended this summer, that kind of dedication seemed to remain alive. ●

Mitch Horowitz, a member of the Youth Section Executive Committee, serves on the Democratic Left editorial board.



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The UAW and all of organized labor ask your support in the fight to win passage of H.R. 3936 and S. 2112, which would bar employers from hiring permanent replacements during an economic strike. Such legislation would end the one-sided advantage employers now possess in a labor dispute, and would help return justice to American workers. Please write your Senators and Representatives in Washington now and urge them to back these bills.



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