GENOCIDE IN ETHIOPIA • APOCALYPSE COW

27th Anniversary

In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

February 16, 2004

Can Labor Lead Again?

$2.95 Canada $4.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In These Times
INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

"... with liberty and justice for all"

James Weinstein
Founding Editor and Publisher

Editor: Joel Bleifuss
Senior Editors: Craig Aaron, Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
Managing Editor, Logistics: Jessica Clark
Managing Editor, Content: Cynthia Moothart
Editor-at-Large: Sheryl Larson
Assistant Editor: Brian Cook
Contributing Editors: Terry J. Allen, Eleanor J. Bader, Bill Boisvert, Darryl Cater, Ana Marie Cox, Susan J. Douglas, Barbara Ehrenreich, Annette Fuentes, Juan Gonzalez, Miles Harvey, Paul Hockenos, George Hodak, Doug Ireland, Naomi Klein, Robert W. McChesney, Dave Mulcahey, John Nichols, James North, Geov Parrish, Kim Phillips-Fein, Jeffrey St. Clair, Jane Slaughter, Fred Weir, G. Pascal Zachary, Slavoj Žižek
Proofreaders: Alan Kimmel, Norman Wishner
Interns: Nathan Cann, Nicholas Halverson, Ana Hristova, Daniel Hughes, Erin Mosely, Melissa Pavolka, Jessica White

Art Director: Jim Rinnert
Associate Art Director: Seamus Holman
Illustrator: Terry LaBan
Intern: Maria Dimanshtein, Will Hopkins

Publisher: Jeff Epton
Associate Publisher: Aaron Sarver
Associate Publisher: Tracy Van Slyke
Assistant Publisher: A.L. Loy
Circulation Director: Peter Hoyt
Advertising Director: Emily Udell
Interns: Jason Griffin, Joe Schmidt

In These Times Publishing Consortium:
Grant Abert, Theresa Alt, Stuart Anderson, R. Brent Fisher, Collier Hands, Polly Howells and Eric Werthman, Anne Larson, Lisa Lee, Chris Lloyd, Robin Lloyd, Edith Helen Monsees, Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin, Dave Rathke, Perry Rosenstein, Lewis Steel, Studs Terkel, James Weinstein

In These Times (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times,* 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue **(Vol. 28, No. 5-6)** went to press on January 16 for newsstand sales January 30 to February 13, 2004.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are ***copyright ©2003*** by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times'* contract with the ***National Writers Union*** are available upon request. Contact the union at (212) 254-0279 or http://www.nwu.org.

Subscriptions are $36.95 a year ($59 for institutions; $61.95 Canada; $75.95 overseas). For ***subscription questions, address changes*** and ***back issues*** call (800) 827-0270.

Editorial correspondence and ***letters*** should be sent to: 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Phone: (773) 772-0100. Fax: (773) 772-4180.

Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from Bell and Howell, Ann Arbor, MI. *In These Times* is ***indexed*** in the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Newsstand circulation through the IPA International Sales Cooperative at (415) 643-0161, or info@bigtoppubs.com.

759-C

Editorial

Union Makes Us Strong

With this issue "Can Labor Lead Again?" *In These Times* celebrates its 27th anniversary by examining America's unions and the role they play in leading a progressive movement.

With more than a century of success at bettering the lot of working people, labor provides progressives with a vital lesson. At its heart, the union movement is an exercise in democracy—people joining together to exercise their collective will to improve the lives of themselves, their families and their fellow citizens. Similarly, only by coming together as an organized and strategically focused political force will American labor and progressives be able to change the current political system that puts corporate interests above that of the public good.

In the first editorial focusing on labor and written just weeks after its founding, *In These Times* underscored the importance of labor unions to developing a united progressive movement. In "Labor and Electoral Politics," published on November 29, 1976, we observed:

> For the left as a whole, the trade union movement is centrally important. Unions are the largest and most consistently active organizations of working people. ... The labor movement has provided and continues to provide the richest experience of working people cooperating across lines of race, ethnic origin, sex and age in a common organizational framework and toward common goals.

In the first issue of *In These Times*, David Moberg critiqued the United Auto Workers' 1976 contract with Detroit automakers. He followed up in our second issue with the first story in a series on American unions, in which he wrote: "Unions or, more accurately, unionism does give workers a sense of 'we' that is one of the main balances to the American cultural emphasis on 'me.' ... The impact of unions in America today is not only to win wages and benefits but, perhaps even more important, to give workers a small measure of security, a feeling of power, a sense of self worth, defense against arbitrary management authority and a belief in solidarity with other workers."

With this special issue on labor we continue that tradition of giving the labor movement the coverage it's due.

Moberg writes today that labor is unified by a "new sense of urgency about organizing," but "will have to confront serious restructuring, expand its organizational options, and reconcile internal democracy with the need for industrial democracy if it hopes to create its own new tidal wave of expansion."

Andy Stern, president of the 1.6 million-member Service Employees International Union, writes that "revitalized unions are crucial to a revitalized progressive movement" and that for labor to revitalize it must learn to function as a "united workers' movement" rather than a "loose trade association of 65 disparate unions."

Gerald McEntee, president of the 1.4 million-member American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, writes: "To really improve the lives of working men and women, and build lasting power, we must grow our unions by organizing. ... [A]nd it is the best way for us to bolster the efforts of the entire progressive community."

Dorian Warren, of the Chicago Center for Working Class Studies, writes that while the current discussion focuses on how unions can grow and mobilize, the labor movement must learn to recognize that the multiple ethnic, racial, gender and sexual "identities of workers—and the varied and overlapping injustices they face as a result—bring valuable and often underused resources to a union."

Adam Werbach, former president of the Sierra Club, writes that the Bush administration is compelled to find wedge issues that divide the labor and environmental movements because if "these two groups joined together to support an agenda for working families that included ecological protection, the president could find himself out of a job."

Only by coming together can American labor and progressives change the current political system.

These stories are followed with snapshots of current labor struggles that illustrate the challenges labor faces today.

This issue of *In These Times* also celebrates another kind of union, the community of readers who donate above and beyond the cost of their subscription and thus publish this magazine. On page 38 we thank you for helping us through our 27th year.

—Joel Bleifuss

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In These Times

Vol. 28, No. 5-6 February 16, 2004 www.inthesetimes.com

4 **News**

6 **Appall-o-Meter** By Dave Mulcahey

9 **The Third Coast** By Salim Muwakkil

11 **Capitol Report** By Craig Aaron

12 **The First Stone** By Joel Bleifuss

Can Labor Lead Again?

16 **Change Labor, Change America**
By Andrew L. Stern

17 **Organizing: The Future of the Labor Movement**
By Gerald McEntee

18 **Organize, Strategize, Revitalize**
By David Moberg

22 **Laboring for Justice in 2004**
By Dorian Warren

24 **Bridging the Labor-Environment Gap**
By Adam Werbach

26 **21st Century Labor Struggles**
- Healthcare Workers Win Raises
- Poultry Giants Fight Organizers
- Magnet Consolidation Threatens Jobs and Security
- Tech Workers Combat Offshoring
- Migrant Pickers Expose Slavery Rings
- Grocery Workers Go to War for Healthcare
- The Maturing Movement Against Sweatshops

43 **Questioning Labor History**
By David Moberg

45 **Lula Rising**
By Kevin Y. Kim

46 **"Solidarity Forever!" Posters**
By Carol A. Wells

50 **Labor Paeans**
By Jody Kolodzey

51 **Two Tales of One Monster**
By Todd Lillethun

54 **Haymarket**
By Martin Duberman

31

32

34

45

51

COVER ILLUSTRATION: (SEE PAGE 47)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's in a Name?

Mark Lewellen-Biddle's "Voting Machines Gone Wild" (January 5) contains several inaccuracies. The article states that: "Accenture was known as Andersen Consulting, a part of Arthur Andersen." This is incorrect.

In 1990, the United States Securities and Exchange Commission recognized that Accenture was a legal entity distinct from Arthur Andersen. In the early 1990s, Arthur Andersen formed its own consulting practice, which was distinct and separate from Accenture's business.

The story also states that: "In the late '90s, [Accenture] was hired to overhaul Ontario's welfare service for $50 million-$70 million. By 2002, the project was capped at $180 million, although the total reached $246 million. To meet its contractual agreement with Accenture, the Ontario government was forced to cut welfare payments to $355.71 per child in poverty and fire large numbers of social service workers."

Accenture was never "hired to overhaul Ontario's welfare service for $50 million-$70 million." In its proposal to the Ontario Ministry of Children, Families and Social Services (MCFSS) Accenture noted other governments of similar size around the world had paid on average $50-70 million for social welfare payment systems. After the work was awarded to Accenture, Accenture and MCFSS together studied the complexity, scope and size of the Ontario Project for an entire year before they negotiated a contract that capped the amount paid to Accenture at $180 million.

Accenture was paid only $180 million for our welfare payment system work with MCFSS. Accenture received more than $180 million from MCFSS during this same period of time because MCFSS contracted with us for additional work in other areas. It is also important to note that our $180 million fee was paid from the more than $378 million in Ministry savings (not related to benefit decreases) realized from the project.

As for the reductions in payments per child in poverty, Lewellen-Biddle should have consulted with the MCFSS, which would have explained that the reduction number he cites is incorrect and that a change in the welfare formula, not Accenture's contract, was the reason for any change at all.

Roxanne Taylor
Partner, Corporate Communications
Accenture

Lewellen-Biddle responds: *The Polaris Institute's Web site, where I gleaned some of the information on Accenture (including the material on the Ontario welfare reform), reads: "Accenture is the new name for Andersen Consulting, which broke away from Arthur Andersen in 2000, after a longstanding feud. The change to Accenture was the fastest, most expensive re-branding effort in history as everything was changed to fit the new logo in a matter of days. … While Accenture states that because it is no longer tied to Andersen, it is not implicated in the Andersen/Enron scandal, the* Wall Street Journal *reported that Accenture might have some legal exposure to the Enron scandal, especially if Accenture had anything to do with consulting for Enron's 'special-purpose entities' which were among the main players in Enron's collapse."*

According to Accenture's own Web site, "On Jan. 1 2001, the company changed its name to Accenture (from Andersen Consulting) as the result of an arbitrator's decision in August 2000 that severed the contractual ties between Accenture and Andersen Worldwide Societé Cooperative (AWSC)."

I apologize for my misstatement that Accenture was formerly "a part of Arthur Andersen." A better phrase would have been that they had contractual agreements with "Arthur Andersen of Enron fame."

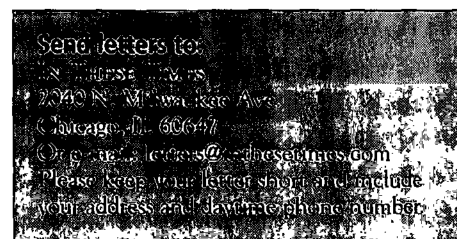
The editors respond: *Taylor's claim that Accenture saved the Ontario ministry $378 million seems at odds with the analysis of Ontario's provincial auditor, who, after publicly castigating the ministry's contract with Accenture three times in six years, said in 2002: "I consider the ministry's involvement with Accenture to have been a very expensive lesson in how not to implement a new (information technology)-based service-delivery system."*

Corrections and omissions

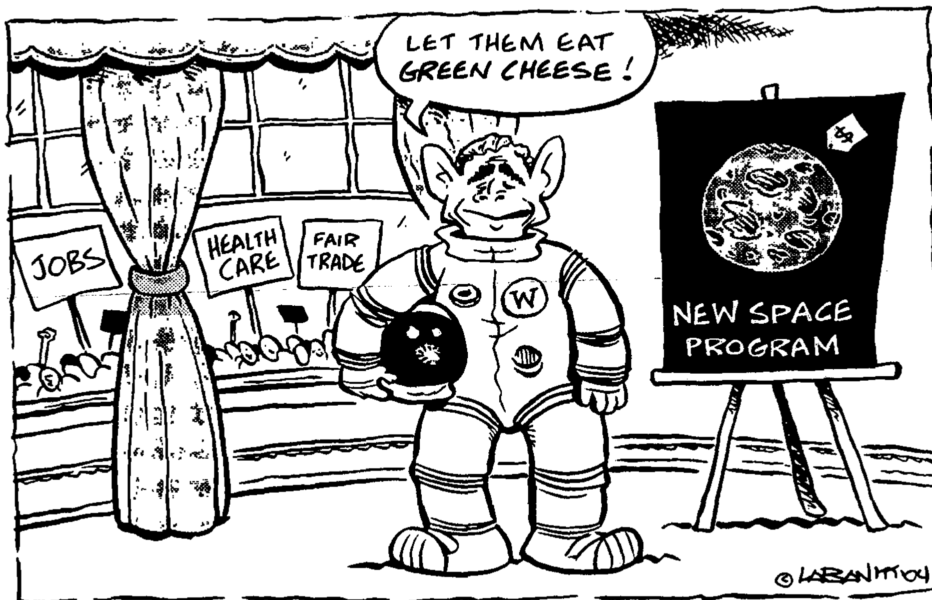
The article "A Farewell to Arms?" (January 19) incorrectly said that a trio of paramilitary leaders from Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia "lined up to the podium to lay down their arms." Though hundreds of soldiers did in fact lay down weapons, the military leaders appeared via telecast.

Adam Werbach's article "Liquidation of the Commons" (December 22) reported that President Bush was the first chief executive to fail "to list even one species to the Endangered Species Act." In fact, he did add species to the list, though he was compelled to do so by dictate of court order.

We also neglected to print the Web site of James Weinstein's book, *The Long Detour" The History and Future of the American Left* (Westview Press, 286 pages.) Visit www.thelongdetour.com for more book information.



Terry LaBan



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union

The North American Union of Hospitality Workers

- Organizing for the Future
- Protecting Workers' Rights
- Securing Good Contracts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ethiopian Genocide

Military massacres Anuak

By Doug McGill

On Saturday, December 13, in a single bloody burst of targeted mass murder, Ethiopia became the world's latest sovereignty to attempt genocide as a way to solve its problems with a troublesome minority.

The United States, which gave Ethiopia $32 million in foreign aid last year, is investigating the massacre, in which eyewitnesses say uniformed Ethiopian soldiers were aided in the murder of more than 400 members of the Anuak tribe.

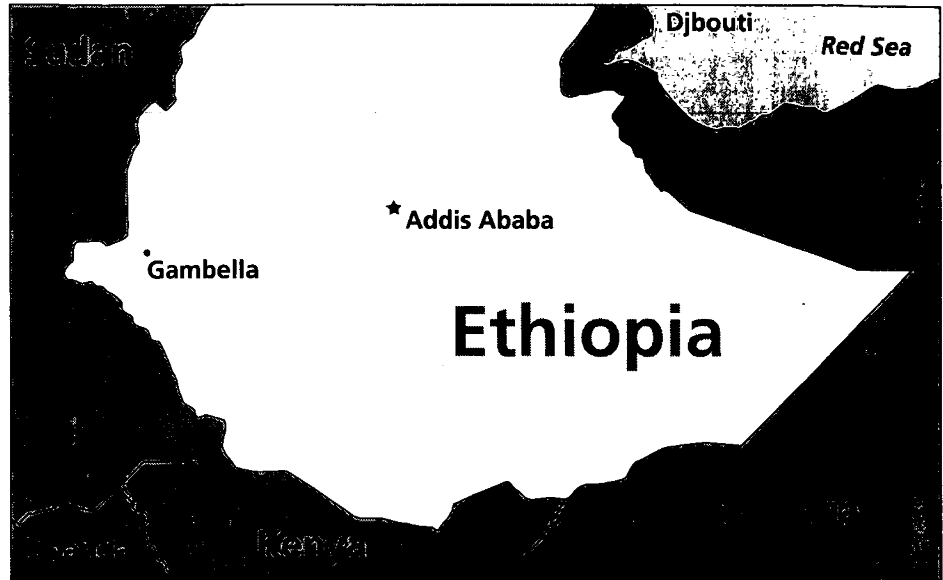
The charge is being made by dozens of refugees who live in the United States who spoke by telephone to surviving relatives. During the last decade more than 2,000 Anuak have settled in the United States after fleeing ethnic cleansing—said to be carried out by rival tribes backed by the Ethiopian government.

December's massacre, by far the worst single-day killing of Anuak, was the first time Ethiopian soldiers were widely witnessed leading such an attack. It took place in Gambella, the capital of the state of Gambella in remote western Ethiopia, which shares a long border with Sudan.

According to eyewitnesses, the soldiers were joined by dozens of members of the Amara, Oromo and Tigray tribes who were seen chopping and stabbing Anuak with machetes.

Omod, an Anuak survivor, described what happened in a telephone interview: "About 300 uniformed soldiers marched into the town. They knocked on doors or pushed them down and pulled out all the men and the boys. Then they beat them on the street and told them to run. When they ran, they shot them. They killed my boy. He was a driver and they shot him in his car. I hid in the bush and I saw them beating people, shooting people and burning houses. We collected 403 bodies. They are in a mass grave."

The Anuak have lived for centuries in a verdant western region of Ethiopia. There are active gold pits and oil reserves on the Anuak's ancestral land, resources the Ethiopian government covets. Over the past decade the Anuak have pressed the factional government in Addis Ababa for a share in the projected development of these resources and have been answered in political subjugation, physical beatings and now the government-led pogrom.



403 Anuak were massacred in Gambella on December 13.

It is a small genocide compared to those of the Turks, Jews, Cambodians, Tutsis and Bosnian Muslims, but it has all the markings of a state-sponsored attempt to extinguish an entire race.

Over the past decade some 20,000 Anuak have fled into refugee camps in northern Kenya (primarily the Ifo camp), and into southern Sudan. Until December 13, most of the killings of Anuak were by their ancient tribal enemies, the Nuer, many of whom have resettled on Anuak land as civil war refugees from Sudan. The United Nations runs three refugee camps in western Ethiopia for these refugees, most of whom are Nuer.

Anthropologists and missionaries say the Anuak and the Nuer in previous decades evolved ritualistic peaceful ways to solve grazing rights disputes that arose between their tribes. The displacement of more than 100,000 Sudanese civil war refugees onto Anuak land upset those traditional ways.

The Anuak for years have claimed that the Ethiopian government was using the Anuak-Nuer rivalry as its main tool for Anuak extermination, arming Nuers and de-arming Anuak and then standing by when the inevitable occurred.

According to witnesses and United Nations accounts, the massacre began when a van containing eight U.N. and Ethiopian government refugee camp officials was ambushed on a road connecting the towns of Itang and Gambella. All eight occupants of the van were killed.

At 1 p.m. that afternoon, Ethiopian soldiers brought the van and the corpses to Gambella, attracting crowds of angry onlookers. Here are three Anuak eyewitness accounts:

Obang: "The crowd of highlanders was angry about the killings [of the people in the van]. They asked 'Who killed these people? Who killed these highlanders?' All these people followed the van to the hospital. They are all angry. One soldier fired his gun in the air, and all the highlanders scattered and ran home. In a few minutes they came back carrying anything they could get from their homes – knives, guns, machetes, spears."

Romeago: "They burned down my mom's house and my sister's house. My mom said about 400 Anuak were killed and they are still finding bodies in the bush and in the river. My other sister ran with her family into the bush; we haven't heard from her. We don't know if she and her kids are alive."

Okun: "The soldiers knew who they were looking for. They went only to the houses of the Anuak, and then mainly for the educated ones, the students, the lead-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers. I talked to a cousin on my mom's side. He hid under his bed to survive. He saw a soldier kill a boy in the street. They told the boy to run and then they shot him. He saw another boy who was shot in the leg but wasn't killed; he was just lying in the street, calling for help. No one could go to him. The soldiers burned down houses and stole TVs, refrigerators and cash. All the houses with grass roofs, they burned."

A spokesman with the Ethiopian embassy in Washington said eyewitness accounts of uniformed Ethiopian soldiers killing Anuak were "completely false and unfounded. The defense forces are doing their level best to look for those people who were involved in this sad event."

When asked why 2,000 Anuak had fled Ethiopia as refugees, the spokesman said they had not fled ethnic cleansing. Rather, "they are enjoying the right of movement to live anywhere they like and to enjoy their own pursuit of life."

A spokesman for the U.S. State Department, which has advised Americans not to travel to Gambella, said it had confirmed 113 dead and has sent a security team to the area to investigate the massacre.

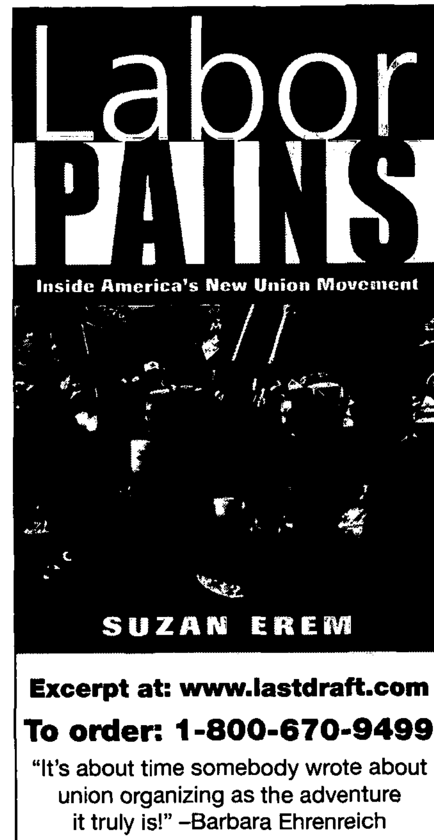
In St. Paul, Minnesota, the Anuak tribe's leadership in exile meets Saturday afternoons at an Ethiopian restaurant to plan relief efforts and a lobbying campaign to catch the attention of U.S. Sens. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.) and Norm Coleman (R-Minn.).

The Anuak held a rally December 20 on the steps of the state capital. More than 100 Anuak men and women marched in a circle carrying signs asking "Mr. Bush, Terrorism? Now Genocide?" and "Where is the International Body?"

An Anuak leader in St. Paul sent a New Year's e-mail to a dozen Anuak friends in the United States, Australia and Canada. The e-mail had photographs of smiling Anuak boys and girls, and the message read:

"No one is going to stand up for us, so we must stand up for ourselves. We all need to come together and tell the whole world, and our enemies too, that the Anuak people have a right to live in this, God's world. It is our birth place, just like the rest of the human species." ■

Doug McGill *is a writer in Rochester, Minnesota.*



Excerpt at: www.lastdraft.com
To order: 1-800-670-9499
"It's about time somebody wrote about union organizing as the adventure it truly is!" –Barbara Ehrenreich

IN SHORT

Bush to Find New Ally in Guatemala

BY DANIEL J. HUGHES

The victory of conservative candidate Oscar Berger over left-wing opponent Alvaro Colom in Guatemala's run-off presidential election December 27 may be good for the Bush administration and big business but is disappointing for Guatemala's rural poor.

Berger, of the Grand National Alliance, received just more than 54 percent of the vote to Colom's 46 percent, completing an electoral process that stalled in November when none of the 11 candidates received the required 50 percent to win the election outright.

Only 47 percent of Guatemala's 5 million registered voters cast ballots, 11 percent less than in the initial race, but the election was considered a success nonetheless. Few incidents of violence or voter fraud, which plagued the run-up election, were reported in this, the nation's second democratic election since the end of its 36-year-long civil war in 1996.

Berger, a businessman, lawyer and mayor of Guatemala City throughout the '90s, swore to stay out of politics after his defeat four years ago but was persuaded to run for office by Guatemala's most powerful business interests.

Engineer and businessman Colom of the New National Alliance had the support of rural Mayans and vowed to help Guatemala's poor and prevent privatization of state companies.

Berger's pro-business and pro-free-trade agenda should boost relations with the United States. Geoff Thale, a senior Central America associate for the Washington Office on Latin America, a think tank that promotes human rights in Latin America, referred to Berger's economic policy as "very similar to that of the Bush administration." Berger plans to continue negotiations for a U.S.-Guatemala free trade agreement stalled by a lack of cooperation in the U.S. war on drugs by his predecessor, Alfonso Portillo.

Colom conceded to Berger on December 29 but refused a position in his government, saying: "We congratulate him and I appreciate the invitation he extended to me. But out of respect for the more than 1 million Guatemalans who disagree with his opinions, I won't accept."

Berger's support came mostly from urban areas, and Colom supporters worry that he doesn't understand the rural, native population and their harsh living conditions. "The win is good for Berger but not for the poor people," said Georgina Martinez, a Colom supporter. "Berger is with the rich people."

Unlike his predecessor, Berger has said he is committed to following the U.N. peace accord of 1996 that ended Guatemala's civil war. Two days after the election, Guatemala's Nobel laureate, Rigoberta Menchu, and other human rights activists urged Berger to implement the accords. "[They] offer us a national agenda and they offer us a chance to make the country more democratic," Menchu said. "Important provisions of the accords have stagnated; it is time to revive them."

Efrain Rios Montt, an ally of Portillo at one time supported by the United States, placed third. He faces genocide charges in Guatemala and Spain for his ruthless tenure in 1982 and 1983 and did not receive U.S. support in this election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Working the System

Agency advises employers how to duck overtime pay

By David Lindorff

When the Bush administration announced plans last year for a controversial "reform" of New Deal-era wage and hour regulations, it assured Congress and labor unions that the proposal would make overtime pay available to some 1.3 million low-paid workers—even as it removed many high-paid employees from overtime protection.

It now turns out that the administration's Department of Labor (DOL), in a little-noticed report on the proposed regulations published in the *Federal Register*, actually was offering alert employers a set of instructions on how to avoid paying overtime to many of those long-suffering low-paid workers.

The document stated, for example, that employers could raise employees' pay to the new $22,100 annual salary threshold, above which no overtime must be paid. If an employee were earning $21,000 in base pay on an hourly basis and was typically working four or five hours a week of overtime at time-and-a-half, this option would represent a big savings. The employee would continue to work 44- or 45-hour weeks, but would no longer collect overtime after the first 40 hours.

The report also suggested a tactic to convert an employee's salary, upon which overtime would now have to be paid for all work beyond a 40-hour week, to payment on an hourly basis. This would reduce the hourly wage to a level that, when overtime was added in, would equal the old salary level. This strategy would have the effect of negating the rise in the cutoff level for paying overtime to salaried workers, which, under the regulations, went from $13,000 a year to $22,100 a year.

"Most employers affected by the proposed rule would be expected to choose the most cost-effective compensation adjustment method," the DOL document stated, adding that because of this, the financial impact of the new regulations—despite the administration's claim it would aid lower-paid workers—could be

---

BY DAVE MULCAHEY

Nuts for Puppies 2.2

Millennia from now, when archaeologists study our strange era, what will they make of the neuticle? When they unearth pet burial sites, what will the two nut-shaped bits of polypropylene (or sometimes silicone) nestled near the hindquarters of canine skeletons tell them about homo sapiens' notions of nature and sexuality? Don't ask.

Neuticles, in case you haven't heard, are prosthetic testicles that some pet owners insist be sewn into their pooches' nut sacks after castration. A man named Gregg Miller has sold about 100,000 neuticles worldwide, according to *Agence France-Presse*, and has diversified his product range to offer larger pseudobollocks for gelded livestock and beasts of burden.

The prostheses serve no therapeutic purpose for the animal but rather exist to assuage the many psychological qualms of the human who orders the neutering. Inevitably, they have become an accessory for status display as well. An Indiana veterinarian told *AFP* of one case where a man had very big balls transplanted into a little dog. "The scrotum literally dragged on the floor it caused irritation," he said. "It was not fair to that pet, it was very inhumane."

Secret Policemen's Ball 5.4

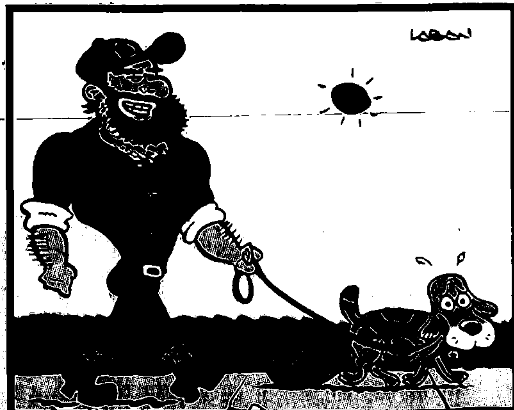
It's natural for citizens of a budding, petroleum-rich democracy to want a constitution, a legislature, something like autonomy. But first they must have a secret police agency. Luckily for the Iraqis, the United States has anticipated this vital need and is making sure it does not go unmet. According to Britain's *Telegraph*, the CIA is helping to set up the force, with $8 billion appropriated to the task over the next three years.

The *Telegraph* quotes several former CIA officials to the effect that the new secret police initiative will work something like Operation Phoenix did in Vietnam. That rather unsuccessful program, you may recall, entailed kidnapping, assassination and other sorts of mayhem to lean on civilians with warm feelings for the Vietcong.

It's too early to tell what the new Iraqi secret police have up their sleeve. But a former U.S. intelligence officer familiar with the plan told the *Telegraph*, "It could be expected to be fairly ruthless in dealing with the remnants of Saddam."

Low-Priced Jurors, Always 1.1

In the movies, if a judge in some Southern backwater orders a county sheriff to rustle up some jurors, you know that the next few scenes will show him clearing off the rocking chairs in front of the general store, collaring the pump jockey at the ol' fillin' station, entreating the bookmarm to shutter the library and come along, and so forth. Reality is a little less picturesque. When a North Carolina Superior Court judge found himself short of jurors for a murder trial, he ordered Wayne County, N.C., Sheriff Carey Winders to fetch some from a public place. Winders no doubt turned over the phrase "public place" in his mind a bit and then sent his deputies to the local Wal-Mart to buttonhole shoppers. According to the Associated Press, the errand turned up 50 prospects and one juror. But Winders was forced to apologize for misinterpreting the judge's order and disturbing the sacred civic act of Christmas shopping.


TERRY LABAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"near zero." The financial benefit of the regulatory "reform" for low-paid workers also would be "near zero."

Yet those same regulations, expected to go into effect in two months, will end overtime eligibility for some 650,000 higher-paid workers, while another 1.5-2.7 million other higher-paid workers will be "more readily identified as exempt" from overtime pay requirements, according to the Department of Labor's own analysis. Labor union studies indicate that the number of workers who can expect to lose out on overtime from the changes is closer to 8 million.

The proposed new rules don't bar overtime pay for higher-paid workers, which can be included, for example, in union contracts; they simply establish pay thresholds above which employers are not mandated to pay time-and-a-half beyond a 40-hour week.

Suzanne Ffolkes, a spokeswoman with the AFL-CIO, says the DOL study is "just an example of the administration's attempt to take away essential income from employees who need overtime to make ends meet." She noted that the study does not bother to offer employees advice on how to take advantage of the new regulations—for example, rejecting a change in pay from hourly to salaried or the offer of a minimal raise that would result in a net loss of income.

"We think it is outrageous that the Bush administration would be giving instructions to employers on how to avoid paying overtime to low-income workers, especially when they told Congress this bill was designed to help more low-wage workers become eligible for overtime," says Alan Reuther, legislative director for the United Auto Workers (UAW).

A Labor Department representative insisted that the March 2003 report was not meant to serve as a set of instructions to employers on how to avoid paying overtime. "We were required to identify to the regulated community the impact of the proposed regulations," she said. Added Ed Frank, another department spokesman: "We're not saying anybody should do any of this."

But U.S. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) isn't convinced. He is a critic of the proposed rules change and calls the DOL report "a gut punch to American workers."

Harkin says the study is "proof positive that this administration is dead set on taking away overtime from 8 million Americans and denying even the lowest wage workers overtime protection."

Last fall, Harkin and most Democratic senators, along with a number of Republicans like Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, managed to include the Harkin Amendment in the annual omnibus appropriations bill, which would have barred the Labor Department from making any rules change reducing overtime eligibility. Under pressure from the Bush administration, however, the measure was deleted in conference, where negotiations are dominated by leaders of the majority party in both houses of Congress.

The UAW's Reuther notes that the omnibus appropriations bill, reported out of the House-Senate conference and already approved by the House, awaits Senate action on January 20. "We've called on Democratic senators to filibuster it unless they put the Harkin Amendment back into the bill," he says. ■

THIS MODERN WORLD by TOM TOMORROW

REFERENCE SOURCES OF TERROR

THIS IS TRUE: THE FBI IS WARNING POLICE TO WATCH OUT FOR PEOPLE CARRYING *FARMER'S ALMANACS*--WHICH, THEY SAY, COULD BE HELPFUL TO *TERRORISTS!*

WHY, THIS BOOK COULD SUPPLY THEM WITH A ROUGH IDEA OF WHAT THE WEATHER *MIGHT* BE LIKE ON THE DAY OF A PLANNED *ATTACK!*

NOT TO *MENTION* ALL THE HELPFUL *GARDENING TIPS!*

OF COURSE, THERE ARE PLENTY OF *OTHER* BOOKS OUT THERE WHICH TERRORISTS MIGHT *ALSO* FIND USEFUL!

IT'S A DIRECTORY OF *TOURIST LANDMARKS*--AND *SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS* FOR *LOCATING* THEM! I CAUGHT 'EM WITH IT--*RED-HANDED!*

WHO *IS* THIS "ARTHUR FROMMER"--AND *WHY* DOES HE *HATE AMERICA?*

AND EVERY DAY, SO-CALLED "NEWSPAPERS" PROVIDE A *TREASURE TROVE* OF POLITICAL, MILITARY AND CULTURAL INFORMATION!

YES, THAT'S RIGHT, OFFICER! HE *PORES* OVER IT EVERY MORNING--*FIRST THING!*

WHO ARE YOU TALKING TO, HONEY?

FOR THAT MATTER, LIBRARIES AND BOOKSTORES ARE *FULL* OF PUBLICATIONS AND PERIODICALS WHICH COULD EASILY BE PUT TO *NEFARIOUS USES!*

THIS THESAURUS WILL *REALLY* HELP ME PUNCH UP MY NEXT CALL TO *JIHAD!*

I'M GOING TO GAIN INSIGHT INTO THE DECADENT WEST BY CAREFULLY STUDYING THIS *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED SWIMSUIT ISSUE!*

SO *BE ALERT,* CITIZENS--BECAUSE A *LITTLE KNOWLEDGE* IS A *DANGEROUS THING!*

EXCUSE ME--WHAT TIME DOES THE TRAIN TO NEW HAVEN LEAVE?

HAH! YOU AND YOUR BUDDIES IN AL QAEDA WOULD *LIKE* TO KNOW--*WOULDN'T YOU?!*

LATE-BREAKING UPDATE: THE FBI HAS JUST LEARNED OF SOMETHING CALLED "THE INTERNET." IF SIGHTED, IT SHOULD BE APPROACHED WITH *EXTREME CAUTION!*

TOM TOMORROW©2004... www.thismodernworld.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The 1.4 million members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, proudly salute *In These Times* for 27 years of speaking out on behalf of working people everywhere.

Now more than ever, we need to organize for justice.

Gerald W. McEntee
International President

William Lucy
International Secretary-Treasurer

#036-04

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Racist Slurs Taint U.S. Sports

By Salim Muwakkil

The sports media spoke in a unified voice of praise in January when Joe Gibbs was named new coach of the National Football League's Washington Redskins. Gibbs is a Hall of Fame coach who led the Washington franchise to three Super Bowl titles in the '80s and '90s. Many headlines enthused his return would mark a "New Era For the Redskins."

The paradox of that idea is striking: In the 21st Century an NFL team is still known by an ethnic slur crafted during the nation's frontier days. The term "Redskins" derives from an old, genocidal practice in this country of scalping Native Americans to earn a bounty. A bounty hunter could prove he had killed a native by turning in a scalp, which often were bloody and called "redskins." This bit of etymology was part of a July 2000 editorial in Maine's *Portland Press Herald* explaining why it banned the team name from its sports pages.

But in the *Washington Post* there were few questions raised about coupling the team's new era with a racist slur from an old era. This newspaper that serves the "capital of the free world" still prints that insult in bold headlines. It may be true that stereotyping nonwhites is as American as apple pie and such deeply ingrained cultural habits die hard, but the lack of public outrage at these continuing racial slurs is a bit surprising. After all, there's little debate that the use of people as mascots is, at best, humiliating. As the American Jewish Committee noted in a 1998 report, "The use of mascots is a reflection of the limits of dehumanization our culture will allow."

The name of the D.C. NFL franchise is particularly egregious, but it is far from the lone offender among professional sports teams. The Cleveland Indians and their "Chief Wahoo," is another, as are the Kansas City Chiefs and the Atlanta Braves. Universities, like North Dakota, Illinois and Florida State among others still sport Native American mascots.

But there is increasing opposition, as well. Other newspapers have banished Native symbols and logos from their pages. Nebraska's *Lincoln Journal Star* has banned the Redskins name and has stopped printing logos for professional and college sports teams that use or caricature Native American symbols. The *Oregonian*, the *Minnesota St. Cloud Times*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Kansas City Star* also limit publication of Native mascots and images in varying ways.

Many colleges and universities across the country have dropped their Native American mascots, and some schools, like the University of Minnesota, won't compete with out-of-conference schools that use Native American mascots, names or logos. Several public school systems, including those of Dallas and Los Angeles, also prohibit the use of such symbols.

Virtually every Native American organization has condemned the use of demeaning images or mascots. In 2003, the Native American Journalists Association urged news organizations to stop using sports mascots and nicknames that depict Native Americans by 2004.

Yet, many Americans seem to believe that their right to use these symbols in frivolous, casual ways is a matter of personal opinion. Had some reporter interrupted the Gibbs veneration fest with a question about the Redskin name, it would have been dismissed as so much political correctness.

But the fight against Native American mascots and logos is a serious struggle to overturn the stereotypes and cultural assumptions that were forged in our racist past but still help determine the trajectories of our lives today. And while more Americans are becoming aware of this struggle to rearrange our cultural iconography, resistance remains strong.

The offense of anti-black images like "Black Sambo," or anti-Latino ones like the "Frito Bandito" only recently have been made obvious to many Americans, and we still find it difficult to understand why Native Americans find sports symbols demeaning. Like those Redskins fans who insist their team's name is an honorable tribute, partisans of mascots everywhere claim their devotion is bias-free. Americans' denial of indigenous peoples' grievances is a product of our sordid role in their history. Americans stole their lands, destroyed their civilizations and damned near killed off all their people. That's a lot of baggage to carry; why not deny?

What I find mystifying, however, is the civil rights community's lack of attention to this issue. One would shudder to think what the NAACP would do with a sports team named the Chicago Jigaboos. We saw how angry many black groups became when the rapper Nelly announced he was marketing something called "Pimp Juice."

The fight against Native American mascots and logos is a struggle to overturn stereotypes forged in our racist past that determine the trajectories of our lives today.

African Americans know the difficulty of holding America accountable for the errors of its past, so we should be leading the way in correcting the ongoing error of demeaning mascots. That's why I was happy to see Bill Fletcher Jr. of TransAfrica Forum make the call for other black groups to get involved in the fight to change the name of the Washington Redskins. I join Fletcher in his call and expand it to retire all Native American mascots to the dustbin of discarded stereotypes. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leading in Labor Studies

Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union

David Witwer

A Choice Magazine Outstanding Academic Title

This book is the first in-depth historical study of the forces that have contributed to the Teamsters' troubled past, as well as the various mechanisms the union has employed—from top-down directives to grass-roots measures—to combat the spread of corruption.

The Working Class in American History · Hardcover, $39.95

After the Strike

A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman

Susan Eleanor Hirsch

Hirsch connects the stories of Pullman car builders with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, addressing issues about American society such as the creation of job segregation by race and gender and its roles in shaping the labor movement. Hirsch illuminates the relationship between labor organizing and the racial and sexual discrimination practiced by both employers and unions.

The Working Class in American History · Hardcover, $44.95

The End of Baseball As We Knew It

The Players Union, 1960–81

Charles P. Korr

Foreword by Bob Costas

"A sympathetic profile of the Major League Baseball Players Association. This academic book chronicles the organization as it rose from house union in the 1960s to the powerhouse that won free agency through the Andy Messersmith—Dave McNally case in 1975."

—*Washington Post Book World*

Sport and Society · Hardcover, $34.95

William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism

James R. Barrett

"This is more than a biography, it is a look inside the radical left world through which Foster travelled. . . . A must read for all those interested in radical history!" — *The Socialist*

Hardcover, $34.95; Paperback, $16.95

"We, Too, Are Americans"

African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940–54

Megan Taylor Shockley

Shockley examines the African American women who worked in two capitols of industry, making a compelling case for viewing the war as the crucible of the civil rights movement. Shockley shows that as these women strove to redefine citizenship, backing up their claims to equality with lawsuits, sit-ins, and other forms of activism, they were forging tools that civil rights activists would continue to use in the years to come.

Women in American History · Hardcover, $39.95

Holding Up More Than Half the Sky

Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948–92

Xiaolan Bao

"Bao does an excellent job in not only portraying Chinese women workers' work and lives, but also revealing that the Chinese women's labor history in New York's garment industry is also part of American labor history, and they can only fully be understood through the complex interactions of race/ethnicity, class, and gender." — *Journal of Asian Studies*

The Asian American Experience · Hardcover, $44.95

Women, Power, and Dissent in the Hills of Carolina

Mary K. Anglin

"A fascinating and important study of the women of the Mica industry in Western North Carolina. It begins with an impressive run-down of the context for the industry, then gets into some concrete life histories and ends with a section putting it all in the context of academic anthropology."

— *Appalachian Heritage*

Hardcover, $39.95; Paperback, $16.95

The Samuel Gompers Papers, Vol. 9

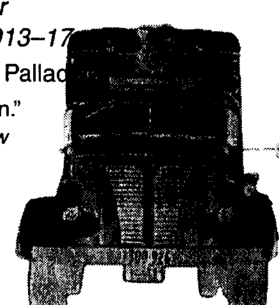
The American Federation of Labor at the Height of Progressivism, 1913–17

Edited by Peter J. Albert and Grace Palladino

"A distinguished and invaluable collection."

— *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*

Hardcover, $100.00



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

Order from your bookseller, call 800-537-5487, or visit www.press.uillinois.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Devil's Advocates

By Craig Aaron

From razor blades in the Halloween candy to shark attacks to teen "super-predators," the media love a good scare. Such stories—a staple of the newsweeklies and local news broadcasts—are high on drama and low on facts. But they're a big reason why Americans are afraid of the wrong things.

As Barry Glassner demonstrates in his book *The Culture of Fear*, statistics show you're much safer riding in a plane than a car, and you're far more likely to die from heart disease than a flesh-eating virus. Glassner points out that the media—not personal experience—is usually the source of such irrational anxiety.

The December 15 issue of *Newsweek* offers a case in point: "Lawsuit Hell," blares the cover headline, beneath a photo of a preacher, doctor and policeman. "How fear of litigation is paralyzing our professions." Inside is a 10-page exposé, written by Stuart Taylor Jr. and Evan Thomas, on "a legal system gone mad" that "has made us less free to use our own judgment to make common sense or humane choices about the way we live and treat others."

The authors uncover an alleged epidemic of "legal fear." Unnerved by the threat of a sexual harassment lawsuit, the Rev. Ron Singleton has adopted "a policy of no hugging from the front" when consoling "the lost and the grieving." Sandra Scott, an emergency room doctor, "hears her patients threaten lawsuits—even while she's treating them." Neither one of them has been sued.

Taylor and Thomas also tell the story of a convict on the lam in Maine who hid from police in snowy woods. By the time they found him, he had lost two toes to frostbite. "Incredibly," the duo writes, "the man threatened to sue the police for not catching him sooner." *Newsweek*'s editors liked this story so much that they flew Penobscot County Sheriff Glenn Ross to New York for the cover photo shoot (alongside Singleton and Scott). Just one catch: The con "couldn't find a lawyer." No lawsuit filed there either.

If they haven't actually been sued, why are these folks all so scared of lawsuits? Blame the media. Or better yet, blame Philip K. Howard, whom Taylor and Thomas credit with the concept of "legal fear." Howard is a "legal reformer" who has written two books and numerous articles on the subject (which feature anecdotes bearing a remarkable similarity to those described in *Newsweek*). Howard, by the way, also is vice chairman of Covington and Burling, a corporate defense firm that represents tobacco, chemical and pharmaceutical companies (as well as *Newsweek*).

The "legal fear" storyline masks the real goals of Howard and his ilk: taking away one of the last weapons consumers have left to combat corporate and medical malfeasance. But *Newsweek*'s assessment that "our insistence on enforcing our 'rights' has made us less free" should come as no surprise. In fact, Stuart Taylor—a former corporate lawyer best remembered for a series of high-profile articles promoting Paula Jones' case against President Clinton—made the exact same argument in a *National Journal* column profiling Howard two years ago. That column, which quotes only Howard, concludes "in your heart, you know he's mostly right."

To be fair, the *Newsweek* article describes some actual lawsuits. But a detailed report released in December by my colleagues at Public Citizen shows the authors' examples are sketchy and incomplete. For example, Taylor and Thomas cite a recent California judgment in which "a couple won a $70 million judgment against Stanford University Hospital and two other healthcare centers for failing to prevent their child from becoming disabled by a rare birth condition." Though *Newsweek* doesn't say so, the jury awarded this amount to the family of 9-year-old Michael Cook after doctors failed to test for a rare but preventable metabolic disorder. If the legally required test had been performed properly, Michael could have gone on to lead a healthy life. Instead, he is fed through a tube and will never be able to work or live on his own.

Another anecdote describes a Kentucky mother who "sued her daughter's school after the girl had performed oral sex on a boy during a school bus ride returning from a marching-band contest." The daughter later said she had been forced—but then *she* was suspended for not reporting the assault sooner. Though *Newsweek* laments that "parents will sue for anything," the magazine doesn't mention that the suit seeks for the school board to set up a training course to instruct employees about sexual assault. Instead, *Newsweek* concludes: "If the case goes badly for the school system, such trips could be jeopardized."

Articles like "Lawsuit Hell" succeed in planting the idea in the heads of average citizens—and potential jurors—that most lawsuits are frivolous. Taylor and Thomas claim Howard's legal reform group, Common Good, is simply just trying "to raise public consciousness, not to lobby." But the same corporations backing Common Good are also spending millions lobbying Congress to pass "tort reform" measures.

In fact, since the *Newsweek* article was published, two key Democratic senators have switched sides to end a filibuster against the "Class Action Fairness Act"—a bill that would move more class actions to federal court, where corporations anticipate a procedural advantage and more sympathetic judges. Next up on the "reform" agenda in Congress are caps on medical malpractice verdicts—which would place an arbitrary limit of $250,000 as the amount the most severely injured patients could receive for lifelong pain and suffering. Note that both these proposals would limit the legal rights of individuals but not those of corporations.

The truth is, we're just beginning the real descent into Lawsuit Hell—a place where average citizens injured by delinquent doctors or defective products are denied any recourse. Be afraid, very afraid. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIRST STO

JUSTIN SULLIVAN / GETTY

Quarantined "mad cow" suspects at a farm in Sunnyside, Washington.

By Joel Bleifuss

How now mad cow?

The unfolding story of mad cow disease follows an all-too-familiar and damning pattern. A threat to public health is discovered, the affected industries and their allies in government respond with a public relations campaign, the evidence mounts and some reforms are implemented. This is followed by more evidence and more reforms. Yet nowhere in this scenario have the federal agencies charged with protecting public health—the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention—taken proactive steps to remedy the situation. Rather, they have operated in the interests of huge agriculture and food lobbies.

Since 1993, I have devoted numerous "First Stones" to mad cow and related diseases. Nearly every prediction—and warning—from scientists who are experts in this field has come to pass. Yet, by and large, the mainstream media have chosen to listen to the palliative pronouncements of government officials and industry flacks. With mad cow disease now established in the United States that may be changing.

Mad cow, first discovered in Great Britain in 1985, is a type of malady known as transmissible spongiform encephalopathy (TSE). The disease gets its name from the sponge-like formations that occur in the brains of infected mammals. The sheep form of the disease, which has been recognized since 1755, is known as scrapie. In Britain, cattle contracted mad cow disease, known as Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), by eating protein feed supplements that contained scrapie-infected sheep.

The human strain of TSE comes in several forms, including Creutzfeldt-Jacob disease (CJD), Kuru (a TSE that several decades ago plagued a population of New Guinea cannibals before changes in dietary laws), and new variant CJD (nvCJD), the form of the disease that comes from eating infected cattle.

The USDA has long known that mad cow disease posed a threat. However, department officials were worried about danger to the industry—not the public. In 1991, the USDA prepared contingency plans to deal with the possibility that mad cow disease could rear its ugly head in the United States. To wit, it drew up a strategy paper titled "BSE Public Relations." That plan reads in part, "The mere perception that BSE might exist in the United States could have devastating effects on our domestic markets for beef and dairy." And it noted that the agricultural industry is "vulnerable to media scrutiny" regarding "the practice of feeding rendered ruminant products to ruminants and the risk to human health" that might stem from this practice.

Mad cows in America

To all indications, and contrary to recent news reports, an American strain of BSE has long been circulating through the food chain. In 1985, a Stentsonville, Wisconsin, mink ranch was wiped out by transmissible mink encephalopathy. The diet of the mink consisted of 5 percent horsemeat and 95 percent "downer cows"—cows so lame they fall down and are unable to get up.

Could one of those downer cows fed to the mink have been infected with an American strain of BSE? In December 1992, the late Richard Marsh, a veterinary scientist at the University of Wisconsin, reported on experiments in Mission, Texas, and Ames, Iowa, where brain matter from scrapie-infected American sheep was injected into the brains of cows. The infected cows developed BSE, but their symptoms differed from the mad cow disease that was plaguing Europe. In May

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1993, Marsh told me, "The signs that these cattle showed were not the widely recognized signs of BSE—not signs of mad cow disease. What they showed was what you might expect from a downer cow." In other words, BSE-infected cattle in Europe went mad before dying, but BSE-infected cows in the United States simply fell down and died. Each year in the United States about 150,000 cattle suffer from downer cow syndrome. Those downer cows that made it out of the pasture alive ended up in the slaughterhouse and into the food chain. Until 1996, when the practice was banned by the USDA, the slaughterhouse remains of at least 14 percent of all cattle, including downer cows, were rendered into protein and fed back to other cows as feed supplements. What's more, the meat from these tough and old downer cows usually ended up in fast-food hamburgers and other highly processed meat products—that is until the slaughter of downer cows was halted by Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman on December 30, 2003.

"The USDA tends to respond to commodity groups rather than the consumer. And the government hasn't taken any measures to restrict what goes into animal feed," Marsh said in 1993. "The Center for Veterinary Medicine at the FDA would have to make the recommendation not to feed ruminant animals to cattle, but we can't get them to do this."

In 1996, the USDA belatedly decided it was time to stop feeding the rendered protein from ruminants (cows, sheep and deer) to other ruminants. The department had considered implementing such policies in 1991 but decided not to because such regulations "could pose major problems for the U.S. livestock, feed and rendering industry," according to "BSE Rendering Policies," an internal 1991 USDA report.

The impetus for this ban was the breaking news in Britain that some people, mostly young, were beginning to die agonizing deaths from a new kind of CJD (nvCJD), the cause of which, as the British government acknowledged, was consumption of mad cow meat. The British Ministry of Health discovered this new form of the disease because it had set up a registry for CJD.

However in the United States, the USDA, in its "BSE Public Relations" plan, advised the department to "avoid the public relations problems such as have occurred in the U.K," such as setting up a registry of CJD cases that "appeared to legitimize concern about a link between BSE and human health."

Variable symptoms

In the last three years, studies have suggested that classical CJD might be caused by eating BSE-infected cattle, according to a recent report by Todd Hartman in the *Rocky Mountain News*.

In Great Britain, scientists injected BSE into mice whose brains were genetically engineered with human genes. While some of the mice developed nvCJD, the kind people get from eating mad cows, other mice came down with classical CJD. In their November 2002 report, the scientists wrote, "This finding has important potential implications as it raises the possibility that some humans infected with [mad cow disease] may develop a clinical diseases indistinguishable from classical CJD." And in 2003, French scientists discovered that scrapie, the sheep TSE, caused brain damage in mice similar to that of classical CJD.

Hartman writes, "The two studies suggest that at least some of the hundreds of Americans who contract classical CJD each year could have been infected by BSE-contaminated meat, and not simply by biological bad luck."

How common CJD in its various forms is in the United States is unclear. Some medical experts believe that the incidence of CJD in the U.S. population is much higher than the commonly assumed 1 per million. A 1989 study at the University of Pittsburgh examined the case histories of 54 demented patients who, upon their death, were autopsied at the University of Pittsburgh. The study discovered that 39 (72 percent) of the patients had Alzheimer's; 15 (27.7 percent) had central nervous system disorders; and three (5.5 percent) had CJD. The researchers concluded that the three cases of CJD turned up in their study "had a much longer course than is usually seen with that condition and failed [when the patient was alive] to show the usual EEG abnormalities." In other words, the CJD cases discovered in Pittsburgh exhibited symptoms that were more compatible with Alzheimer's disease than classical CJD.

A 1989 Yale University study reported similar findings. Postmortem examination of 46 patients diagnosed with Alzheimer's revealed that six (13 percent) actually had CJD.

The Pittsburgh and Yale studies point to the possibility that some of the 4 million people in the United States suffering form Alzheimer's may actually be infected with the agent that causes CJD. And that raises this question: Has an unrecognized from of BSE infected U.S. cattle and entered the human food chain?

Bolstering this concern is a report from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that seven people in New Jersey have died from classical CJD, all of whom ate at the same racetrack in Cherry Hill, New Jersey.

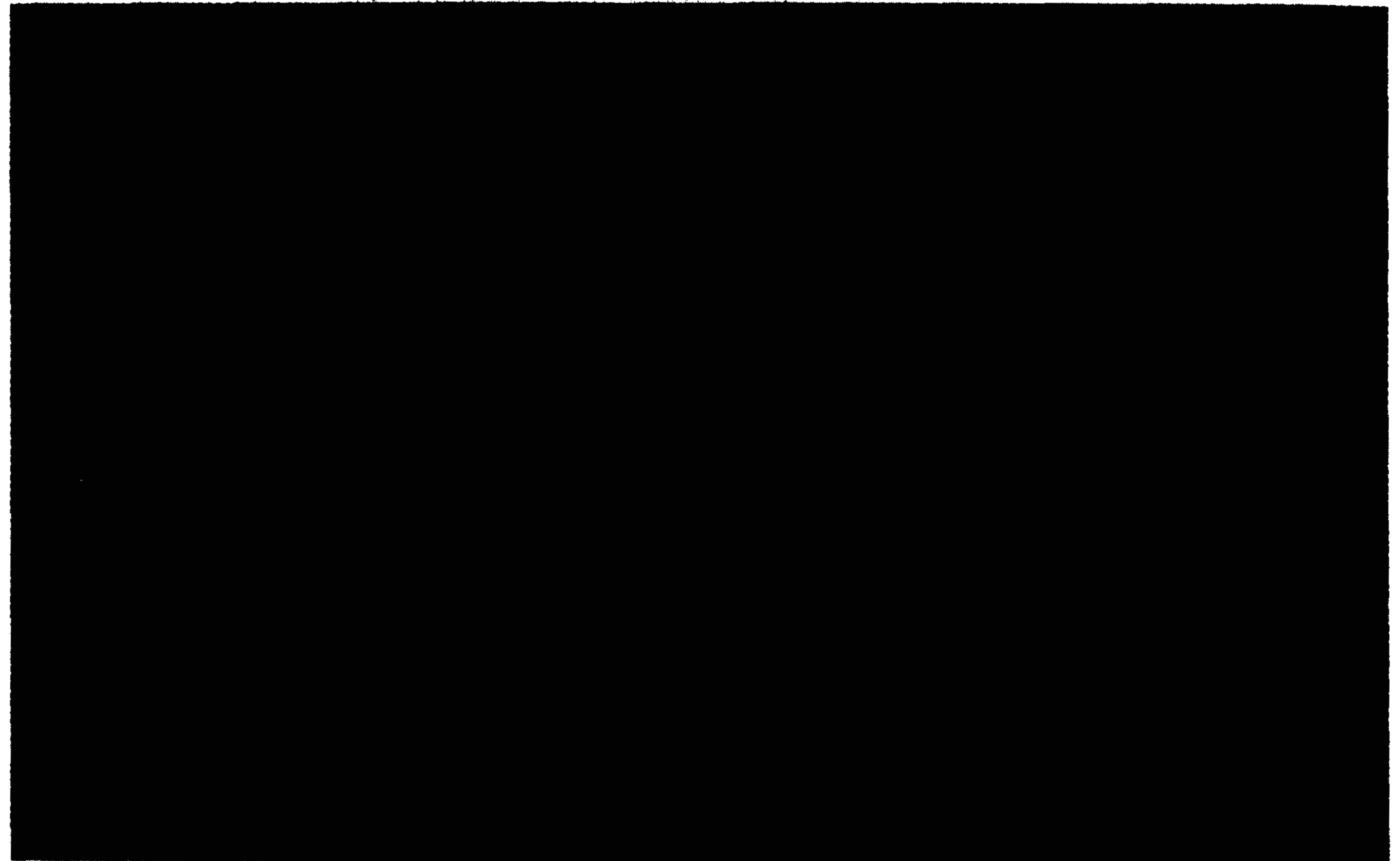
The scope of CJD incidence in humans is further complicated by the fact that a deer form of mad cow disease, known as chronic wasting disease, is endemic in parts of Wyoming, Colorado and Wisconsin. At least two young hunters who ate and dressed deer have come down with CJD. And a third, a young woman who ate venison from a deer shot in Maine, also contracted the disease. Because CJD is overwhelmingly a disease of the old, the young age of the current victims raises the strong possibility that they contracted the disease through eating deer suffering from chronic wasting disease.

In 1999, Paul Brown, an expert on TSE at the National Institutes of Health, told John Stauber, author of *Mad Cow U.S.A.*, that deer hunters must be out of their minds to be consuming deer in areas where chronic wasting disease is prevalent. That health warning, however, has not been given to the general public. "The failure of state and federal agencies to take swift action and warn hunters about potential risks of chronic wasting disease is inexcusable," Stauber said at the time.

Why the silence? One reason could be that state wildlife departments are heavily dependent on income derived from licenses for big game. The Colorado Wildlife Division maintains that chronic wasting disease does not affect humans. Yet at the same time it advises hunters to "wear rubber gloves when field dressing carcasses, minimize handling of brain and spinal column and wash hands afterwards"—and then go home and feast on venison, though not the "brain, spinal cord, eyes, spleen and lymph nodes of harvested animals." ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHOICE • JUSTICE • ACCESS • HEALTH



ABORTION • GLOBAL • FAMILY PLANNING

10:00am: Assembly on Mall

Make history, create the future.

Organizers: Black Women's Health Imperative, Feminist Majority, NARAL Pro-Choice America, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, National Organization for Women (NOW), Planned Parenthood Federation of America,

Cosponsoring Partners: Center for Reproductive Rights, National Abortion Federation, National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, National Partnership for Women and Families, National Women's Law Center

www.MarchforWomen.org
202-349-3838

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can Labor Lead Again?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOM WILLIAMS

Change Labor, Change America

BY ANDREW L. STERN

We can't change America unless we change the American labor movement.

Unions aren't just the best hope for working people to win a living wage, affordable healthcare, and the tools and resources to do a job they can be proud of. Revitalized unions also are crucial to a revitalized progressive movement.

At our best, unions are one of the few institutions with progressive values that have millions of members, multimillion dollar budgets and the ability to do grassroots organizing on a large enough scale to counter the power of today's corporations.

The 2000 presidential election clearly showed the difference unions can make.

- Bush won in nonunion households by 8 points, but lost in union households by 37 points.
- He won nonunion white men by 41 points, but lost union white men by 24 points.
- He won nonunion gun owners by 39 points, but lost union gun owners by 21 points.
- He did 16 points better among nonunion people of color than among union people of color.

So if more workers in Florida, Missouri, Ohio and other states that went narrowly for Bush had been union members, the past three years in this country would have been very different.

But here's the problem: The percentage of workers with union protection is steadily declining—from 32 percent in 1956 to just 13 percent today. And the problem is even worse in the South and Rocky Mountain states. A map of the states with the lowest percentage of union members is almost identical to the map of states Bush won in 2000.

The decline in union membership continues even though people would prefer to be in unions. Independent public opinion polls show that the percentage of workers who say they would like to have a union has climbed from 30 percent in 1984 to 47 percent today—or about 47 million workers.

Why don't they have one? The biggest reason is employer interference. According to studies, 91 percent of employers use managers to threaten and intimidate workers attempting to form a union. What should we do?

First, to strengthen the labor movement and thereby the progressive movement, we need to make employer interference with the freedom to form a union as unacceptable in America as sexual harassment, race discrimination or any other violation of basic human rights.

Second, we must work together on family issues that cut across racial and ethnic lines. One good example is healthcare. For the past year, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and community allies have organized in towns and neighborhoods to firmly root the 2004 election in the issues that matter to working people, not in the personalities of the candidates. In early primary states, for example, SEIU has been working with grassroots communities to deliver a clear message: No presidential candidate gets support without a plan for universal access to healthcare.

As a result of such activity, all the major Democratic candidates proposed specific healthcare policies that included how they would fund expanded access. It will take that level of organizing to win in November and then hold the new president and Congress accountable for real reform.

Third, we in the American unions must make a historic transformation. We have shown that we can win when we pool our resources and unite behind a common strategy to build strength in a particular industry, to focus on helping more workers to join us, to dramatically increase worker participation and to coordinate our efforts with community allies. That kind of focus and unity in SEIU's Justice for Janitors campaigns has helped hundreds of thousands of mostly immigrant workers in dozens of cities win healthcare coverage. And it enabled hospital workers in Southern California to go from 8 percent union membership a few years ago to more than 50 percent today—and win long overdue improvements in pay and staffing.

Yet victories like these remain the exception, not the rule. Too often, the labor movement functions as a loose trade association of 65 disparate unions, not a united workers' movement. That structure and culture, whose roots go back at least 70 years, is not adequate to meet the challenges of today—such as helping workers form unions at huge companies like Wal-Mart, which are dragging down everyone's pay and benefit standards.

Other parts of the progressive movement are adapting and changing, using new technology to spur activism and reach new people. The labor movement, too, must change and unite millions more people—with everyone's help and for everyone's benefit. ■

Andrew L. Stern *is president of the 1.6 million-member SEIU—the largest and fastest growing union in the AFL-CIO, the largest union of healthcare workers and the largest union of immigrant workers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Organizing: The Future of the American Labor Movement

DOUGLAS GRAHAM

BY GERALD MCENTEE

There is no greater goal right now for the American labor movement, and all progressives, than to put George W. Bush out to pasture on his ranch in Crawford, Texas. Indeed, at no other time during my 44 years in labor have I seen members of my union—the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)—nor the House of Labor, more dedicated to getting one person out of office.

And we all know why. Three million jobs lost in three years—the most since the Great Depression: 66 million Americans with inadequate healthcare coverage or no healthcare coverage at all; a median household income that has fallen for three straight years; 3 million Americans who slipped into poverty in 2001; ergonomic rules scrapped; overtime regulations attacked. The list goes on and on.

So, for all of us committed to worker rights and social and economic justice, we must do everything we can to take back America from a president who has spent the last three years dividing our country and taking care of the very rich at the expense of the rest of us.

But those of us within the House of Labor have another responsibility. No matter which candidate wins the 2004 election, and regardless of who controls Congress, to really improve the lives of working men and women, and build lasting power, we must grow our unions by organizing.

That is how we will build real strength in the workplace, at the bargaining table, in the halls of power and on future election days. Growing our unions is how we will build real power for all working families in America. And it is the best way for us to bolster the efforts of the entire progressive community.

The sad fact is that bad employers don't harass their workers, pay them unfairly, provide them with poor benefits or make them work mandatory overtime based on who is running the country. Bad employers are bad 365 days a year, seven days a week—regardless of who is in office.

Defeating George W. Bush is so important because what we don't need is for bad employers to expect and receive the support of the president of the United States. Ten thousand West Coast dockworkers can tell you how it feels when that happens. Two years ago, their employer, the Pacific Maritime Association, instituted a lockout after the International Longshore and Warehouse Union requested that any new jobs created by new technology be protected by a union contract.

Instead of allowing the collective bargaining process to settle the dispute, the Bush administration invoked the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act—an action that hadn't been taken in 25 years and never in a lockout. President Bush's shameful use of Taft-Hartley sent a message to other employers: When the going gets rough at the bargaining table, the federal government can always step in—to help the boss.

When workers want to exercise their fundamental civil right to organize to bargain and better their lives, the rules should be fair. And they should be fairly enforced by the government. Period.

It is clear that we must defeat George W. Bush. But we must also grow our unions. And whomever the Democratic Party selects as its nominee—AFSCME hopes it is Howard Dean—we must insist that he support a comprehensive social justice agenda, job creation, quality and affordable healthcare for all, the preservation of Medicare and Social Security, civil rights and much more.

And the House of Labor must insist that the next president support an aggressive agenda for worker rights, including real penalties for violators of labor laws, creating a law that will make employers recognize their workers' desire to form a union, establishing first contract arbitration and giving the National Labor Relations Board the power to enforce laws that protect workers. The next president should also use his bully pulpit to encourage passage of collective bargaining laws for public employees in all the states and localities where workers don't have this important right.

We will accomplish these goals only by making organizing a top concern throughout the American labor movement and building a stronger, more determined cadre of worker activists. We owe ourselves, our nation and the progressive community nothing less. ■

Gerald McEntee *is president of the 1.4 million-member AFSCME—the nation's largest and fastest growing public service employees union.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Organize, Strategize,

BY DAVID MOBERG

Unions debate best way to revive labor's fortunes

The years of denial are over. For several decades, as union membership declined as a share of the workforce, top union leaders refused to acknowledge the problem. Now, every labor leader, from AFL-CIO President John Sweeney down, agrees that rebuilding labor's numbers will require unions to devote more resources to organizing. But the same leaders also agree that increasing membership alone isn't enough. The central issue is how to organize to increase the power of workers.

"People are frustrated. Giant corporations are winning, workers losing, unions losing," one union president, speaking off the record, lamented. "The question is what we do about it?"

That question has precipitated a vigorous debate that is, in itself, a sign of new union vitality. Proposals on the table include more sophisticated organizing, radical restructuring, broad political initiatives and forming new types of unions. These sometimes divergent positions often reflect the particular organizing experience, institutional history or self interest of their proponents. Although union growth has typically come in surges—linked to changes in laws, politics, the economy and popular movements—leaders realize they can't wait for some social tidal wave to sweep them forward. They must try to generate the wave themselves.

Currently only a handful of unions organize ambitiously in any fashion. Since Sweeny's election in 1995, the percentage of organized workers—union density—has continued to decline, though more slowly than before. With few exceptions, employers are fighting unionization as ruthlessly as ever.

The AFL-CIO has greatly increased its efforts to encourage and support organizing since Sweeney took office. But even those who want it to do more acknowledge that the federation as presently constituted is limited in what it can do. "I think the AFL-CIO should play a larger role, but I think that represents the lack of consensus on the part of unions rather than the failure of the AFL-CIO," said Hotel and Restaurant Employee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUSTIN SULLIVAN / GETTY IMAGES

(HERE) President John Wilhelm. "Leaders of labor need to look in the mirror rather than somewhere else about the challenges we face." Because far too few unions have reformed or significantly raised organizing spending, Sweeney can legitimately argue that "more of the same" would boost organizing.

But "more of the same" would have to include changing the way unions organize. Cornell University researcher Kate Bronfenbrenner has found that unions are more likely to win when they employ comprehensive, strategically targeted campaigns, assign adequate staff, use union member volunteer organizers and apply creative pressure from outside the workplace. Ultimately, the key is building committees of committed workers who act like a union during organizing campaigns and engage in tactics that escalate the pressure on employers as the drives progress. Only a minority of organizing campaigns use such tactics effectively, she says.

Card checks trump elections

Unions are winning slightly more than half of their representation elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. But, in a shift of strategy, they also are now winning most recognition as bargaining agents simply by card check (demonstrating that a majority of workers at a company or worksite have signed membership cards), by striking, and by relying on other pressure tactics, including using political clout to keep employers neutral during organizing drives.

Despite these small signs of progress, most union organizing drives still face intense employer opposition—anti-union consultants, forced attendance at anti-union meetings, threats to close plants, and firings of pro-union workers. A survey last year by Hart Research commissioned by the AFL-CIO shows that most people don't approve of such tactics but also don't realize what workers face. Even tough unions can't win on a large scale without a change in public opinion and the reform of labor laws to keep employers neutral. "We need to take the right to organize and make it a civil right," said AFSCME President Gerald McEntee.

Labor is now gearing up such a civil rights campaign. Last year a group of labor unions launched American Rights at Work, a campaign to recruit labor allies who will support the right to organize. And the AFL-CIO greatly accelerated its Voice@Work campaign, which educates and mobilizes union members to fight employer abuses. In November, U.S. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and U.S. Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) introduced legislation that would allow the National Labor Relations Board to certify a union as bargaining representative after a card check and would more harshly penalize employers who intimidate or fire workers during an organizing drive. The AFL-CIO mobilized tens of thousands of supporters on December 10, International Human Rights Day, to demand the unhindered right to organize, and it will organize a grassroots campaign in this election year for the card check legislation.

"If we weren't willing to have a fight about this central question, which is a human rights question, which is a public policy question, which affects every vision, dream and goal of progressives in America, nothing else can fix [the organizing crisis]," said AFL-CIO Organizing Director Stewart Acuff. "This is the central problem. As long as it takes an extraordinary act of courage for workers to join a union, we'll not be able to realize the dream of progressives."

Reorganize by industry?

The stormiest organizing controversy has erupted over proposals to drastically reduce the number of unions and focus each of the new unions on a single broadly defined industry. This debate came to the fore last summer, as five unions who back industrial realignment—Service Employees (SEIU), HERE, UNITE (formerly apparel and textile), the Laborers and the Carpenters (which has left the AFL-CIO)—formed their New Unity Partnership (NUP) to cooperate on organizing.

Stephen Lerner, architect of SEIU's hugely successful Justice for Janitors campaign, has argued widely that labor needs a new "architecture" because it not only shrunk but evolved in a way that inhibits organizing and weakens workers.

Unions historically represented a particular craft, such as carpentry or sewing clothes, and in the '30s formed around individual mass production industries, such as auto, steel and rubber. As they faced tougher times after World War II, unions merged—often with little industrial logic (such as one group of chemical workers merging with the United Food and Commercial Workers rather than the leading chemical union).

Too many others just grew small and weak. Unions organized less, often focusing on "hot shops" of disgruntled workers or seemingly easy targets like public employees. In some cases, workers affiliated with a locally powerful union, like hospital workers in Michigan who joined the UAW. Thus, too often, unions became an unrelated hodge-podges of workers around a historic core that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had become harder to organize. Many industries were also organized by a plethora of unions that typically do not work closely together. For example, six unions organize in nine major industrial sectors, from health care to construction.

Meanwhile, virtually nobody was organizing in the fastest-growing parts of the service economy, such as anti-union giants like Wal-Mart. Even the biggest unions lack the resources for tackling such behemoths or for organizing whole industries on the scale needed for very fast growth. Local unions also find it harder to organize in their backyards as they have in the past. HERE locals, for example, once faced local hotel and restaurant owners but now face powerful international corporations.

With its Justice for Janitors campaign, SEIU not only grew fast, but won union representation for the vast majority of janitors in several metropolitan markets. It was then able to use that increased density of union membership in local labor markets to win stronger contracts, even in a weak economy, and to wield power to help organize more effectively elsewhere. Unions would organize faster and be more powerful, Lerner argues, if they merged and realigned to focus on perhaps 15 distinct industries, such as durable manufacturing, retail trade or finance. This is the pattern that labor movements have developed in most industrial countries. Although it likely contributes to their strength, consolidation in some countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, has generated controversy without yet producing dramatic gains.

But the proposal for reorganization of unions along industry lines raises hackles from many unions, who argue that workers often identify more by occupation than industry, that geographical power is as important as industrial strength, that sometimes industries are hard to define or that corporations may be more appropriate targets than industries. Some also argue that they are organizing strategically even if in disparate industries. Even SEIU, for example, organizes in health care, building services and the public sector.

Other critics object that such restructuring would be undemocratic. "I absolutely oppose the notion of some guys getting in a room to divide up who organizes whom," says Communications Workers (CWA) Executive Vice President Larry Cohen. He argues that the union movement should focus on the general right to organize (and collectively bargain) and then mobilize union members to help organize other workers, who can then decide what union to align with.

The International Labor Communications Association congratulates "In These Times" editor David Moberg for being the 2003 recipient of the Max Steinbock Award, ILCA's most prestigious journalistic prize, for his story for RWDSU on the struggle of the southern poultry workers to unionize.

There are huge institutional obstacles to any realignment, including the power of individual union leaders, jobs of staff, traditional rivalries, and, to a much lesser extent, the attachments of members to a particular union. The AFL-CIO has had little success controlling competition or mergers, partly because it has limited power. Even unions most committed to building a common strategic focus invade each other's turf. HERE, UNITE and SEIU have swapped locals (with approval by local members) in an attempt to realign industrially, but few others show any interest. Lerner thinks that further decline in the labor movement will force the issue, but an organizing renaissance also could make unions more open to restructuring.

Given the lack of consensus among unions, NUP is an attempt by a group of unions that are politically odd bedfellows to chart a new organizing course that might inspire others. Although they are not all focused on a single industry, they theoretically support the idea of industrial realignment. "At this point all it represents is a group of union leaders trying to figure out the way to organize on a bigger scale and maximize use of our collective resources," says HERE's Wilhelm. SEIU Vice President Tom Woodruff says NUP members agree with three principles, "We have to organize in the private sector. Unions have to devote substantial resources to organizing. And, we have to organize by building power in industries and not in a bunch of different industries."

But many in the labor movement suspect that the group has ambitions beyond just helping each other grow. Leaked NUP notes from an early meeting included discussions about new priorities and restructuring for the AFL-CIO, including cutting or reducing many AFL-CIO functions and having union presidents appoint leaders of state and local labor federations rather than have them elected locally. That document provoked suspicions that NUP leaders may in the future challenge Sweeney and try to centralize the labor movement—or if not, possibly split from the AFL-CIO. But Wilhelm and Woodruff insist the notes were informal brainstorming, not a formal plan.

Increasing worker power

Critics, including writers responding to Lerner in the journal *New Labor Forum*, have lambasted NUP as a top-down, undemocratic effort to concentrate more power in the hands of top union officials. They contend that the Carpenters, for example, have reduced democracy in their reorganization, that the leaked document suggested giving power over state federations and central labor councils to international union officers and that the organizing strategies of NUP unions rely excessively on unjustified compromises with employers to win neutrality. Yet some NUP unions are internally more democratic than most, even though they have strong central leaders, and have pushed through union restructuring plans. While there are problems in using bargaining or political clout to win neutrality, including striking shortsighted deals with otherwise anti-labor politicians, these strategies—which are used by many unions—often reflect the creative exercise of union power.

Although their views vary, NUP leaders typically argue that internal democracy without union strength to fight employers is meaningless. They insist that organization itself is the first step toward the historic labor goal of democratizing work and corporations, or "industrial democracy." "You could leave people in small local unions where everybody can decide what paper clips to buy, but that's not industrial democracy," Woodruff argues. "Unions have to be about industrial democracy. They have to be internally democratic as well. But unions are getting the shit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kicked out of them because they don't have industrial democracy. We are not leaving out internal democracy as we build industrial democracy. One without the other is not adequate. It's both."

"Workers are trampled by corporate power, can't make a living, don't have power to organize and get their heads chopped off, and they need the American labor movement to stand up forthrightly for them," says UNITE President Bruce Raynor. "This time calls for strong leadership. Our problem isn't a lack of democracy. Our problem is a lack of power."

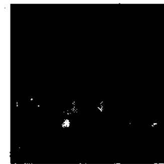
The caveat is that democratic empowerment of members is both a source of power for unions and one attraction for many workers, as organizers typically win over new members by telling them that they are the union and will make the decisions. It also is contradictory to argue for industrial democracy but ignore internal union democracy. Yet "democracy" does not by itself provide a strategy for organizing.

SEIU has applied some of the same principles to its internal organization that it advocates for the labor movement generally. Lerner argues that this internal restructuring of its locals, which now combine workers within a single industry in a metropolitan area into one local rather than scattering them among several mixed locals, has created "dramatically more democratic, active locals" that consequently also have more female and minority leaders. He acknowledges that there could be exceptions to his proposal for radical restructuring along industrial lines, but he says that he has heard no convincing argument for labor as a collection of general worker unions with catchall membership, as it has now evolved. In any case, Lerner argues that the critics of industrial restructuring do not have an alternative other than continuing with the inadequate present. "Traditional organizing doesn't let you do enough fast enough, so that's why we don't do it any more," he said. "How do we get bigger, faster and grow? We should do all sorts of experiments."

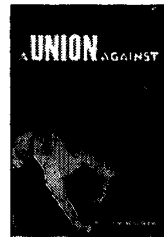
Some experiments include organizing workers into unions that are not based on particular workplaces or collective bargaining agreements. CWA has projects at IBM, at GE and among computer workers. The AFL-CIO is recruiting nonunion residents of working-class neighborhoods in Cleveland, Cincinnati and Seattle for an organization called Working America, which will focus mainly on political action. Other strategists—including academics Joel Rogers and Richard Freeman and SEIU organizer Wade Rathke—have encouraged creation of even broader organizations for workers who do not have a majority for a traditional union in their workplace. Many unionists remain skeptical that such organizations can bring real power to workers. However, unions in the past have at times evolved from loose associations, for example, of teachers or public employees. Cleveland Central Labor Council Executive Secretary John Ryan already credits Working America with playing a key role in electing a pro-labor mayor last fall. As labor experiments with new organization forms, it will have to figure out which models most effectively mobilize members to exercise power.

Labor's openness to such experiments, to debate on organizing strategy and ventures such as the New Unity Partnership are—despite the turmoil—a sign that there is a new sense of urgency about organizing. More and better traditional organizing combined with a fight for the right to organize may be the best immediate prospect, but the labor movement will have to confront serious restructuring, expand its organizational options, and reconcile internal democracy with the need for industrial democracy if it hopes to create its own new tidal wave of expansion. ■

Stories from the Heartland



By These Hands
Portraits from the Factory Floor
Photographs by David Parker
These starkly beautiful photographs document the daily life and labor of blue-collar workers in modern America.
$24.95 paperback



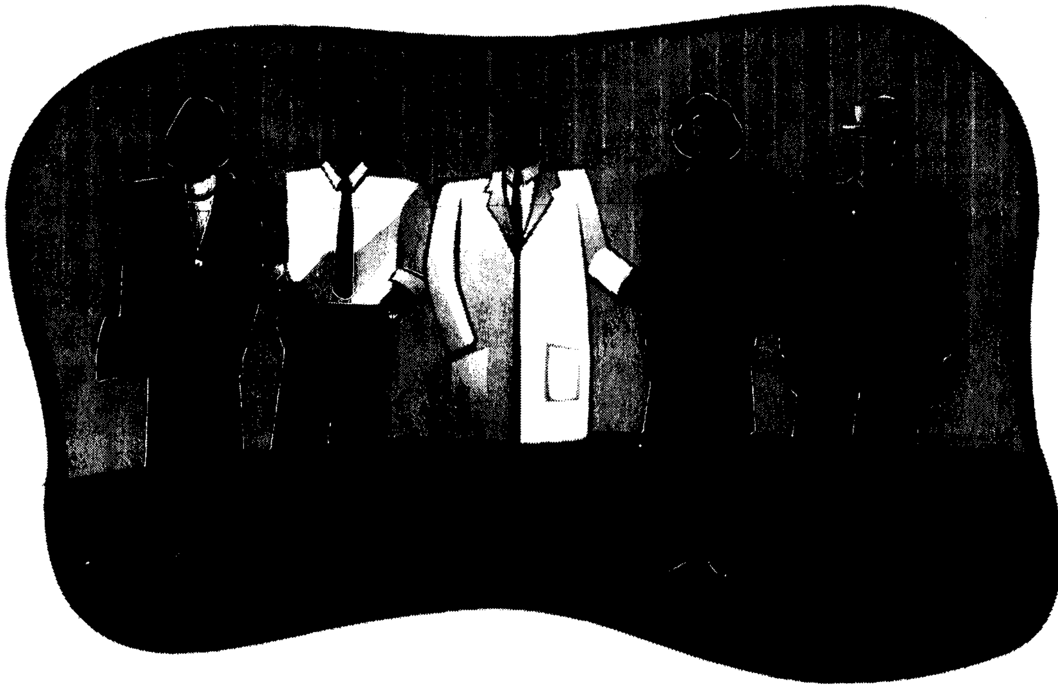
A Union Against Unions
The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance and Its Fight Against Organized Labor, 1903–1947
William Millikan
"This thoughtful study explains the power of the business class and how it sought to manipulate labor. Recommended." — *Choice*
$27.95 paperback

Packinghouse Daughter
A Memoir
Cheri Register
American Book Award Winner
"A lovely, deeply moving memoir. . . . This is must reading." — Studs Terkel
"A beautifully written piece of working-class history." — Howard Zinn
$24.95 hardcover

The Girls Are Coming
Peggie Carlson
In 1974, lured by good wages, a 22-year-old African American college student from suburbia started work as a pipefitter trainee for a utility company, becoming one of the first women to break into this male-dominated world.
$15.95 paperback

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESS
800-621-2736 · www.mnhs.org/mhspress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



BY DORIAN T. WARREN

Laboring for Justice in 2004

This is a critical year for the labor movement as it attempts to revitalize and transform itself into a national progressive political force. The outcome of several major organizing campaigns and unions' impact on the end result of the fall elections will determine the course of economic and social justice for generations to come. Yet with much of the discussion focused on strategies for union growth and political mobilization, it is worthwhile to discuss what has plagued the American labor movement throughout its history: recognizing the multiple identities and injustices of its members and potential members.

The multiple social, political and communal networks in which workers are embedded on the shop floor and outside the workplace are all shaped by race, gender and nationality, and are critical resources that unions can tap. For example, successful HERE locals in Chicago (Local 1) and New Haven, Connecticut (Yale Unions), have used their members' and leaders' social networks—including churches and community organizations—to enhance their struggles and build enduring alliances.

We know that community-labor coalitions are and will be a vital resource in labor's survival and revitalization. For instance, religious institutions play a crucial political role in communities of color by providing moral, social and political support and resources in their members' daily lives, and in many campaigns for justice. It's one thing for a union president to approach a minister to ask for help; it's quite another when a member or members of a union approach their own minister and congregation and ask for help in their fight for justice. By recognizing the multiple identities of their memberships during an organizing campaign, unions can expand their struggles from being a fight between the union and employer to being a fight between an entire community and an employer.

The Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride (IWFR) last fall indicates that the more progressive unions such as HERE, SEIU, UNITE and the United Farm Workers have studied their labor history. The fact is, workers don't check their other identities and social positions at the shop floor door; they are people of color, women, immigrants, gays and workers on the shop floor, at home, at church, at the store, and on all the streets in between. Yet a dominant ideology within the labor movement continues to minimize and subsume workers' other political identities, despite the numerous alternative models of unionism displayed by black, immigrant, female and gay workers throughout labor history.

The IWFR—note it was not simply the "workers freedom ride"—demonstrates that unions are acknowledging the multiple vulnerable positions many workers inhabit, because the bosses surely will, as they always have. Employers such as Wal-Mart continue to use the time-tested strategies of racism, sexism and fear to exploit and divide workers, thwarting unionization campaigns. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. illustrated the interconnections between racial and economic injustices in a 1961 speech to the AFL-CIO, "...the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth."

A strategy that recognizes the many identities of workers can make a tremendous difference to organizing and contract cam-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paigns. Realizing that workers bring a variety of ethnic, racial, gender and sexual backgrounds with them does not have to be divisive within the unifying framework of a union. Unions should not mimic corporate America's dumbed-down "sensitivity trainings" and adopt a superficial celebration of "differences." Instead, there are three lessons we can draw when unions take seriously the maxim "an injury to one is an injury to all".

- First, and most important, recognizing the multiple identities of workers—and the varied and overlapping injustices the face as a result—brings valuable and often underused resources to a union.
- Second, when the tough issues of racism, nativism or sexism are addressed internally and head-on, it can increase strength and solidarity. Doing so allows unions to put these issues on the table before the boss uses them as ways to divide and conquer.
- And third, the most innovative and successful models of unionism, especially during periods of resurgence and rejuvenation, historically involved the active recruitment of previously excluded workers and the infusion of these workers' other solidarities—race, ethnicity, gender, religion and even neighborhood—into the movement.

The labor movement at its best has been connected to an organized left that has had a broader vision of democratic citizenship and social justice. From the abolitionist, socialist, women's, and civil rights movements, to current campaigns for global justice and immigrant rights, the labor movement has been only as strong as the broader left, and the left has only been as strong as a powerful labor movement. Fighting against the inequalities plaguing workers in this country and demanding economic and social justice for all is a strategy that will reconnect labor with and help rebuild an organized left. There lie the seeds for the resurrection of a progressive political vision and the reemergence of a mighty labor movement. ■

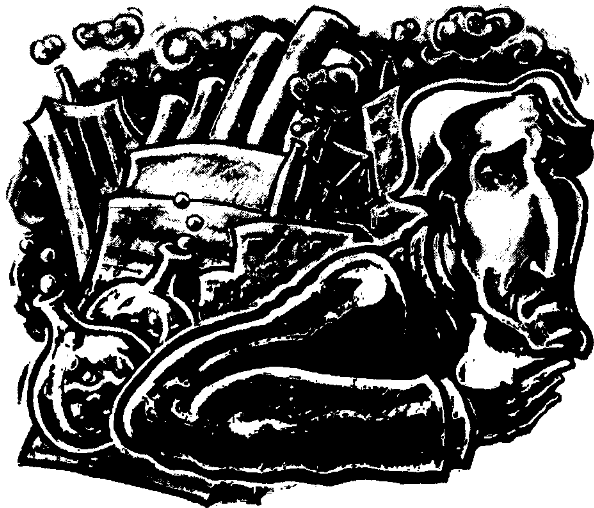
Dorian T. Warren *is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at Yale University and a member of the steering committee of the Chicago Center for Working Class Studies.*

Speaking Truth to Power

CWA salutes In These Times for 27 years of fearless, independent journalism

Communications Workers of America
The Union for the Information Age

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



BY ADAM WERBACH

Bridging the Labor-Environment Gap

A vote for exploration of Alaska's National Wildlife Reserve is a vote for environmental responsibility, Jerry Hood, Local Alaska Teamsters leader, said on July 31, 2001.

When the Teamsters announced support for drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to create jobs, many commentators claimed that the nadir of the relationship between environmentalists and the labor movement was reached. Halting drilling in ANWR is the No. 1 defensive priority of the largest environmental organizations in the country, and creating new jobs is the top priority for many labor unions.

This public rift was exactly what the Bush administration sought.

Republicans understand the importance of finding wedge issues between labor and the environment, given the roughly 16 million union members in the United States and the 11 million or so members of environmental organizations. If these two groups joined together to support an agenda for working families that included ecological protection, the president is well aware he could find himself out of a job.

The right has historically and famously exploited obvious cultural differences between the movements to undermine a unified progressive agenda: Environmental organizations are largely inhabited by upper-class whites with post-graduate education, while labor appeals to more diverse blue-collar interests. And this divisive tactic resonates most effectively during bad economic times—which, not surprisingly, this Republican agenda creates.

Yet, an alliance should be a natural outcropping of these two groups. Not only are their memberships consistently more liberal than the rest of the public on social issues and support a strong role for federal involvement in restraining corporate greed, but recent research by renowned economist Ray Perryman demonstrates that protecting the environment has a positive impact on jobs and job creation.

Mending the break

Although labor and environmental groups have partnered in the past to enact critical legislation—support by the Steelworkers was crucial to passage of the Clean Air Act of 1970, for instance—a portion of the blame for Republicans' success nonetheless falls on the movements themselves.

"Trade unionists get so concerned with protecting jobs that are right there that they don't look at how many jobs get created by cleaning up and preventing polluting activity," says Al Zack, veteran leader of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Bracken Hendricks, executive director of the Apollo Alliance, a labor-environment partnership calling for a $300 billion investment in clean-energy jobs, says environmental leaders, too, have done a lousy job explaining how solid environmental policies have long-term benefits to everyone—including those outside the movement. "I think the environmental movement has made the assumption that people understand their goals and issues and will therefore be willing to sacrifice for them," Hendricks says. "I don't think the environmental community has done a good enough job of making it clear how environmental issues really are issues of social justice, unfair burdens and real costs to real people."

The result, says Joel Rogers, director of the Center on Wisconsin Strategy—an institute that supports initiatives that are good for workers and the environment—is that "workers are treated like road kill and the environment is treated like a sewer."

Recent events, however, demonstrate that such rifts are getting more difficult to create—even during bad economic times.

A majority of labor unions didn't join

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the Teamsters in backing the president's energy initiative that included drilling in ANWR. Leadership against the measure was particularly strong from Leo Gerard, president of the Steelworkers, and Andy Stern, president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU). And environmentalists and unionists have joined together in battling issues of globalization—most spectacularly during the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle where members of both groups were attacked equally by an out-of-control police force. The empathy that moment created came to bear last year during FTAA protests in Miami, in which police efforts to divide the groups again were unsuccessful.

"There are always going to be breaks on issues like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge," Zack says. "The fact that labor didn't follow the Teamsters in lockstep is a tribute to the labor movement."

Toward a Blue-Green Alliance

Among the best-known efforts to build a labor-environmental coalition began when AFL-CIO President John Sweeney took charge in 1995. He understood that labor needed support of environmentalists to pass his working families agenda and quickly convened a high-level dialogue involving heads of the two movements.

The discussion ended up focusing on the Kyoto Accords on global warming, the major issue on the environmental agenda at that time. Sweeney appointed Jane Perkins to front the effort. She was an obvious choice: Perkins was former president of Friends of the Earth and a former business agent for SEIU.

In retrospect, the focus on climate change may have been the wrong initial effort for this group. While many environmental issues have clear benefits for job creation, the transition needed for climate change will undoubtedly lead to the loss of jobs in some sectors, like coal mining. Instead of proposing to move society toward high-wage, nonpolluting jobs that are good for workers and the environment, the discussion frequently fell to how to transition workers out of their areas of employment.

The miners, utility workers and building trades were skeptical throughout the dialogue. Some were not convinced that global warming was the problem being described, and they wondered if there was going to be a backroom deal with the Clinton administration that would harm their interests. More profoundly, they questioned whether they should spend their members' dues on a project that might shut down their industry.

The reaction was understandable. Although a shift from a carbon-based economy will have a net positive effect on employment, the most highly unionized industries are frequently the oldest that require the most change.

The new Apollo Project (www.apolloalliance.org) seeks to bridge the challenges this early effort faced. The Alliance, backed by 17 major labor unions and leading environmental organizations, is endorsing a $300 billion investment in clean-energy infrastructure that would create 3.3 million good union jobs, in which workers would be set to the task of retrofitting America's energy infrastructure—including building super-efficient buildings and expanding the American hybrid car industry.

Both sides win in the exchange.

The Apollo Project would have the effect of lowering carbon dioxide outputs and other pollutants in the United States, the main cause of global warming. And the jobs, characterized by high rates of innovation, training, compensation and worker involvement, would increase profit margins by commanding a premium in the marketplace.

Thanks to events like the Seattle WTO protests and other trade-related actions, the labor and environmental movements are creating deeper personal ties that will allow future collaboration. The challenge now is to find distinct projects that lead society toward high-end jobs and keep the movements immune from wedge issues like drilling in ANWR.

The rift the Bush administration created on July 31, 2001, won't easily heal. There are legislative staff members in both the labor and environmental movements who have not spoken since the vote. But instead of focusing on division, both sides should embrace new initiatives like the Apollo Project that will create good jobs and lead toward a sustainable environment.

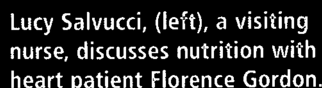
Without each other, the labor and environmental movements will find themselves constantly on the losing end of the global economy. Together, 27 million strong, they can't be stopped. ■

Adam Werbach *is executive director of the Common Assets Defense Fund, a member of the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission and a board member of the Apollo Project. He is former president of the Sierra Club.*

SEIU Local 880 is 25,000 Members Strong thanks to 20 years of organizing and the support of progressive publications like IN THESE TIMES.
Local 880 Salutes IN THESE TIMES for 27 years of activism, solidarity, and investigative reporting.

Kartemquin Films is pleased to announce THE NEW AMERICANS
The groundbreaking documentary miniseries from the makers of Hoop Dreams
MARCH 29–31, 9PM
Presented in a Special Broadcast of PBS's Independent Lens series (check local listings)
The New Americans captures the lives of immigrants and refugees from Nigeria, India, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and the Israeli-occupied West Bank from the journey out of their homeland through their first tumultuous years in America.
Outreach and educational resources available at www.itvs.org/outreach/newamericans
Visit the companion website at www.pbs.org/newamericans
Produced by Kartemquin Films in association with the Independent Television Service (ITVS).
KARTEMQUIN FILMS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Lucy Salvucci, (left), a visiting nurse, discusses nutrition with heart patient Florence Gordon.

ERIC MENCHER / KRT

BY CHRISTOPHER HAYES

Healthcare Workers Win Raises

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS—When the clock struck midnight on New Year's Eve, 20,000 home healthcare workers in Illinois had an extra reason to celebrate. Thanks to a new contract negotiated by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 880 and signed by Gov. Rod Blagojevich, homecare workers saw their hourly wage increase from $7.15 to $7.25. The raise, while small, was the second of a series that will bring the starting hourly wage to $9.35 by 2007.

"We've been fighting for the last 10 years for more money," says SEIU member Diane Cunningham, who's been a homecare worker for two decades. "I like working with elderly people, handicapped people. I've been doing this too long because I love it. I just don't like the money."

Illinois' 37,000 homecare workers may provide vital day-to-day care and assistance for 67,000 state residents, but the majority still make poverty-level wages and receive no health benefits. A study released by Local 880 in April showed that Illinois ranked 44th nationwide in pay rates for homecare workers, with a median hourly wage of $6.60. Nearly half have no medical insurance. And in a survey conducted by SEIU, 49.4 percent said that in the past year they had to choose between buying food and paying utility bills.

Homecare workers might seem unlikely candidates for unionization. There is no shop floor, office or cafeteria where workers can share information and hold union meetings. But homecare workers are exactly the kind of new and rapidly growing workforce that has become SEIU's priority. "It's one of the fastest segments of the labor movement becoming organized," says Local 880 organizer Cindy Boland. "What organizing has done anywhere is it takes an invisible workforce and makes it visible. That's what we're seeing in homecare."

Illinois homecare workers are paid through two programs. The Department of Rehabilitation Services (DORS), supervised by the Department of Human Services, provides homecare to people with disabilities. While workers can be hired and fired by individual clients, they are paid by the state. For 20 years, Illinois'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republican governors refused to recognize the bargaining rights of these workers, maintaining that their employers were their clients, despite the fact that the state was cutting the checks.

That changed this year, when Democrat Blagojevich signed legislation recognizing Local 880 as the bargaining unit for the state's 20,000 DORS employees. "The fact that Blagojevich was elected was huge for us," says Local 880 spokeswoman Marnie Goodfriend. "We've been organizing for 20 years and this is the first time we have a public sector bargaining unit."

The Community Care Program is Illinois' other homecare administrator. Run through the state's Department of Aging, it provides care to low-income seniors. Unlike DORS, this program is managed and administered by private agencies contracted by the state to connect workers with clients. The state pays these agencies $11.06 an hour, and requires that 73 percent go to the worker.

But "to the worker" includes such things as worker's comp, in-service trainings and even hepatitis shots, so the hourly wage often ends up being as low as $5.98. Having secured a new contract with the state for DORS workers, SEIU now is pressing for higher wages for homecare workers caring for the elderly through Community Care.

SEIU argues that investing more heavily in homecare workers in the Community Care program is not just the right thing to do, it makes good fiscal sense. Nursing home care currently costs the state about $28,000 a year per person, while homecare costs an average of about $4,000. Nikki Smith, a spokeswoman for the Department of Aging, says paying higher wages is in the state's best interest. "I mean if you really want to be cold about it, in the long run it saves money, because it keeps people out of institutions," she says.

The number of seniors in Illinois, and around the country, who will require homecare is going to balloon as baby boomers age. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that direct care worker jobs in long-term-care settings will grow by about 800,000 jobs nationwide, or roughly 45 percent, by 2010. "The baby boomer generation is used to independence," says Goodfriend. "They don't want to go into nursing homes."

Charles Johnson, director of the state's Department of Aging, agrees. "I've never met an older person who couldn't wait to get to the nursing home. People want to stay in their homes and I think it's good public policy."

In anticipation of the greater need for homecare, SEIU has significantly increased their homecare organizing efforts nationwide, with locals in eight states, including Pennsylvania, New York and California, where the union currently represents more than 180,000 home care workers. "There's a homecare division in SEIU now," says Boland, "that wasn't there 10 years ago."

"If you're thinking long term," says SEIU's Wisconsin political director Robert Kraig, "these are jobs that can't be exported overseas. The future of the labor movement isn't industrial workers, it's workers like homecare workers: people of color making seven dollars an hour with no health insurance."

Gloria White, a steward with Local 880 who cares for the elderly deacon of her church on the city's west side, says she looks forward to a day when homecare workers make a living wage.

"There's gonna be more homecare workers, and I would like to see them make at least 10, 11, 12, 13 dollars an hour," she says. "People forget that they're gonna get old one day and they're gonna need the help and they're going to want the best." ■

Christopher Hayes *is a writer in Chicago.*

Congratulations, In These Times,
for afflicting the comfortable
and comforting the afflicted.

James D. English
International Secretary-Treasurer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCOTT S. HAMRICK / KRT

BY DAVID MOBERG

Poultry Giants Fight Organizers

PERRY, GEORGIA—For 10 years Dorothy McKenzie has worked in poultry processing factories in the South. She knows why unions are crucial in the industry. Two years ago she was working as many as 12 hours a day hanging 40 chickens a minute on the dissasembly line at a plant owned by Cagle's Inc. Workers could go to the bathroom just once outside their two scheduled breaks, and the repetitive work caused constant pain in their hands and arms. When they complained to management, supervisors told them to drink less water and offered to rotate jobs, as long as they still hung chickens. McKenzie protested that such limited rotation provided no relief, and she and seven coworkers were fired for insubordination.

Normally, that would have been the end of the matter. But several months earlier, McKenzie had been one of the first workers at the plant to talk with Linda Cromer, a veteran organizer from the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), a division of the United Food and Commercial Workers. Cromer helped the women fight back; they won reinstatement to their jobs with back pay.

"We saw the union believed in us," said LeLetta Michelle Ezell, who also was fired. "They stuck by us every day. I thank God for them. They pulled off a miracle for us."

Yet neither Cromer nor McKenzie was able to pull off the miracle they both hoped for—winning recognition for a union at Cagle's. Although few workers in the United States need a union more than McKenzie and her roughly 1,500 coworkers, less than 30 percent of poultry workers are in labor unions—too few to dramatically improve wages or conditions. The failure of RWDSU to win in two recent elections at Cagle's, despite a vigorous and well-conceived campaign, demonstrates the difficulty of organizing even the neediest workers.

The poultry industry has grown rapidly in recent decades and has increasingly consolidated under the control of a few big companies; five now control 55 percent of all production. But competition remains fierce, putting pressure on workers who are the worst paid in food processing. Workers typically make around $8 an hour, a rate that has stagnated for the past decade despite rising productivity. The pace of work is literally crippling: Poultry workers have the third highest rate of muscular and skeletal injuries and illness among all industries. And in 2000, U.S. Department of Labor inspectors found overtime pay violations in every one of the 51 plants they visited.

The companies get away with this abuse in part because most plants are in rural areas of the South, where jobs are scarce and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the workforce often is semi-skilled. Turnover also is high—during the past year around 40 percent of Cagle's workforce left. Although African-American women still make up the majority of workers, since the late '80s the industry has turned to new immigrants and former farm workers. By union estimates, more than half of Cagle's workers in Perry are Latino, largely from rural areas of Mexico and, increasingly, Guatemala.

For more than two years, Cromer and a small group of organizers—mainly workers from poultry plants aided by Spanish-speaking unionists from other RWDSU locals—built committees of activists within the plant and mobilized church and community support in an area not very sympathetic to unions. When it became obvious that linguistic and cultural barriers existed between the Spanish-speaking Mexican and Guatemalan immigrants, Cromer brought in Guatemalan workers as organizers. Despite that, the union lost its first election in October 2002.

Organizers thought they had a good chance last year, but months before the November election there were big layoffs at two major factories nearby, and the largest unionized employer in the area, a tobacco factory, was sold and scheduled to close. In November, Cagle's also announced a tentative agreement to sell the Perry plant. Managers threatened that the poultry jobs would be in jeopardy if workers voted for a union, supervisors pressured workers to vote against the union and promised improvements, and pro-union workers in the plant were harassed. The margin was smaller than a year earlier—607 against and 449 for the union—and Cromer remains optimistic. "We're not going to abandon them," she said. "You don't put that kind of work into a place like that and just walk."

Although RWDSU has no immediate plans for the plant, which is now owned by Perdue, two organizers will continue to work with union supporters.

McKenzie hasn't given up, even though the company succeeded this time by creating fears among workers that they might lose jobs that many would quit in disgust anyway within a year.

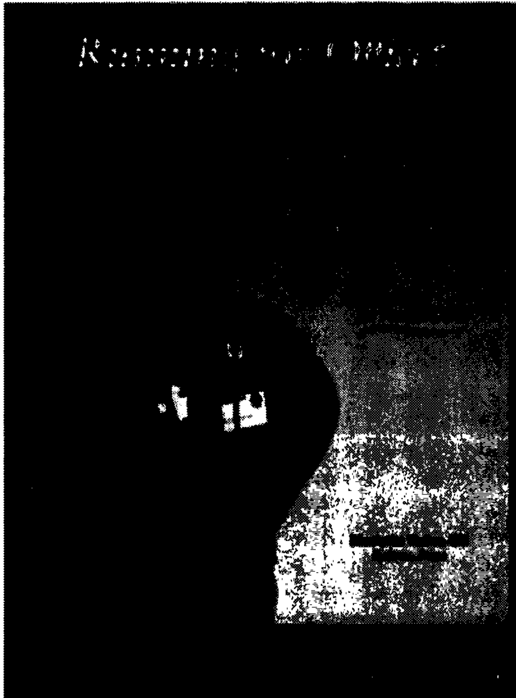
"There were a lot of threats that you're going to lose your job if the union gets in, or the union can't do nothing, or you may not get what you got now," said McKenzie, 44. "My goal is if I can get one poultry plant to unionize, I'll feel good. I know that's what needs to be done. Open your eyes, people; this is not how things are supposed to be. You'll have to come together to get what you want." ■

Greetings!

From the birthplace of

May Day!

Chicago Democratic Socialists of America
1608 N. Milwaukee, Room 403, Chicago, IL 60647
773.384.0327
http://www.chicagodsa.org



These display ads can be seen in airports in New Hampshire, Iowa, and other locations.

All of us at SEIU send our congratulations to **In These Times** for championing the rights of working people and their families for the past 27 years.

We commit to keeping you informed about our work during the coming months to fight for-and win-reliable access to quality, affordable health care that we all can count on.

www.AmericansforHealthCare.com
Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC

Become a health care voter!

1052.880H kp 01.12.04

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY DAVID MOBERG

Magnet Consolidation Threatens Both U.S. Jobs and Security

Valparaiso, Indiana—Late last summer 160 high-tech magnet workers lost their jobs at Magnequench Inc. When the seven remaining workers are laid off it will mark the end of U.S. production of the world's most advanced permanent magnets, tiny but crucial components in computers, automobiles and consumer electronic products—as well as cruise missiles and the Joint Direct Attack Munition bomb.

Over the past few years Magnequench moved virtually all its U.S. production operations—and soon its headquarters and research facilities—to Mexico, Singapore and, most importantly, China. The losses are part of the story of hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs shipped overseas in the last few years. "We got 20 bucks an hour," said United Auto Workers union official Clyde South of the 2001 transfer to China of Magnequench's operation in Anderson, Indiana. "And they got 20 bucks a week. Figure it out."

But this tale offers a peculiar twist: Magnequench represents a farsighted industrial strategy by the Chinese government to dominate the global high-tech magnet market—and the result could seriously compromise national security.

U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Indiana) appealed to the Bush administration last fall to use powers under the 1988 Exon-Florio Amendment to the defense bill to block the transfer of the Valparaiso plant on national security grounds because the operation supplied 80 percent of magnets needed for smart bombs. The plant's move to China was denounced in lengthy magazine exposés from both the right (*Insight*) and left (*Counterpunch*). But the Bush administration did nothing.

The story begins in 1982, when General Motors, as well as Sumitomo Special Metals, developed magnets of iron, boron and a rare earth magnet, neodymium, that were extremely strong and small, well-suited to growing demands for product efficiency and miniaturization. Under the Magnequench name, GM opened a factory in Anderson, Indiana, in 1986. Around the same time, the UGIMAG division of a French company, Pechiney, bought the Valparaiso magnet-producing facility of a venerable company, Indiana General.

In 1995, two Chinese companies with close ties to the Chinese government—San Huan New Material High-Tech Inc. and China National Non-Ferrous Metals—and the Sextant Group—an investment company headed by Archibald Cox, Jr., son of the famous Watergate prosecutor—bought Magnequench for $70 million. Journalist Jeffrey St. Clair reports that one of the Chinese companies earlier was fined for patent infringement and business espionage and that Cox provided the Chinese investors cover.

Continued on page 52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY SILJA J.A. TALVI

Tech Workers Combat Offshoring

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON—"Tech workers thought that they were going to be the winners in building the bridge to the 21st Century, but now they see that they're being pushed off that bridge without life-jackets," says Marcus Courtney, president of the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers.

Since the dot-com bubble burst in March 2000, at least 800,000 high-tech jobs have been lost nationwide. Between February 2001 and April 2002, the Seattle area alone lost 10,000 of these jobs, sending local unemployment rates among data processors and computer programmers shooting to nearly 11 percent.

REUTERS / JAGADEESH

High tech jobs are moving overseas to calling centers like this one in Bangalore, India

The IT sector has blamed those losses on the implosion of the New Economy, and the Bush administration has argued that jobs will return as the economy rebounds. But it's now apparent that offshoring by technology companies threatens any long-term recovery of high-tech U.S. jobs. According to a September 2003 University of Illinois study commissioned by the Ford Foundation, Washington's technology sector is unlikely to regain 2000 employment levels until 2012.

"When we see that Dell has 5,500 customer and tech support workers in India, we realize that they didn't do that in a year," Courtney says. "These companies have been doing this for years, and it's gone unnoticed until now."

A December 2003 Commerce Department report confirmed that increasing numbers of technology jobs are moving from the United States to offshore spots including India, Ireland, the Philippines and China. In July 2003, for instance, IBM acknowledged that it was speeding up its schedule to shift 3 million service jobs to China and India. Microsoft Senior Vice President Brian Valentine admitted in a July 2002 presentation that work could be had in India at "two heads for the price of one." AT&T Wireless and Boeing are among other large-scale operations known to be shifting IT labor pools from Washington State to India and other low-cost countries. Even state agencies, including the departments of corrections and social and health services, are outsourcing to offshore computer programmers.

But WashTech, the nation's first non-company-specific union of IT workers, is battling back. With a 16,000-person strong electronic network of subscribers to their action alerts and newsletters, the union—a Seattle-based affiliate of the Communication Workers of America (CWA)— has launched a Web-based campaign to pressure state and federal governments to enact restrictions on the number of jobs moving overseas.

Leading technology companies have been quick to respond with a campaign of their own. In early January, they urged Congress and the Bush administration to resist imposing proposed federal and state trade restrictions aimed at lessening corporate reliance on offshore operations. Carly Fiorina, chief executive for Hewlett-Packard Co., was quoted by the Associated Press as saying there "is no job that is America's God-given right anymore."

The battle has taken on David and Goliath proportions, because IT employees are among the least organized and least labor-activist minded workers in the nation. WashTech's membership, for instance, has grown substantially since its inception but still remains under 400.

However, WashTech leadership points out that even the small numbers matter because they represent the first time that labor has made inroads into the ranks of white-collar high-tech workers. The ongoing challenge, admits organizer Karole Gorman, is to make IT workers, who have typically had no exposure to American unions, realize that collective organizing has a place in their work world. With outreach from WashTech, these specialists have begun to grasp that they are being exploited—that working non-overtime 16-hour days is not a fair exchange for in-house arcade rooms, free junk food and the "right" to battle each other with Nerf guns throughout the day.

High-tech union organizing has been a particular challenge because the burgeoning IT sector was a cornerstone of the Emerald City's phenomenal **Continued on page 52**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAROL CLEERE/ KRT

Farm workers harvest tomatoes in Florida

BY KARI LYDERSEN

Migrant Pickers Expose Slavery Rings

FLORIDA—Mathieu Beaucicot is an immigrant from Haiti who came to the United States 11 years ago to earn money to send back to his family. He spent years getting up every morning at 4 a.m. to await the old school buses that would take him to the fields in Immokalee, Florida, for long days of picking tomatoes, oranges, and other fruits and vegetables. Beaucicot, 48, worked to the point of exhaustion each day, but after buying small rations of food and paying his rent, he found he rarely had any money to send home.

"In Haiti there was no money and the work was hard but you could have a beer, relax, spend time with your family," Beaucicot says in Spanish. "Here all you do is work. I work when I'm tired, I work when I'm sick and I get no Medicaid, no Social Security, no health insurance. I work so hard for almost no money."

Beaucicot is not alone. The National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) recently reported that migrant farm workers earn an average of $7,500 or less per year, well below the poverty line. Wages are so low partly because the agricultural workforce is largely nonunion.

Farm workers find it hard to organize given they are usually temporarily hired by contractors employed by large growing operations. The contractors are not known among the public, so pressure campaigns are difficult to build, and the growers and corporations that buy the produce distance themselves from labor complaints by pointing out that they don't employ the workers directly.

On top of that, a majority of the workforce is undocumented immigrants reluctant to organize or make waves because they fear being deported.

But Beaucicot is part of a growing movement in south Florida that is having ripple effects across the nation. This movement, spearheaded by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), is slowly gaining better conditions for the most vulnerable agricultural workers through industry-wide horizontal organizing, which takes on fly-by-night contractors, growers and corporations that eventually buy their produce.

In fields throughout the southern United States, people are afraid of the CIW's organizing power. The coalition was formed by about 40 farm workers 10 years ago and has grown to include hundreds of migrant laborers who flood the town each growing season.

Contractors know that if they try to get away with the standard practices of not paying, beating or denying workers water breaks, hundreds of farm laborers from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti and other countries will show up at their homes or places of business in protest. In one of their early protests, coalition members marched on the home of a contractor who had beaten a worker, carrying the worker's bloodied shirt above their heads and chanting the old IWW slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Now things like that don't really happen, because they know if our rights are violated we will march," says Francisca Cortez, a young woman from Oaxaca, Mexico who came here five years ago to work in the fields and is now a staff member at the coalition.

The CIW has gained national attention in the past year for playing a crucial role in the prosecution of five slavery rings affecting more than 1,000 workers in southwest Florida. Immokalee workers went undercover at an operation in Lake Placid, Florida, in order to testify against three contractors who would buy workers from the coyotes who smuggled them across the border, then hold them under armed guard 24 hours a day as they worked for wages of $70 a week or less that were then garnished to pay for the debt they had supposedly incurred with the coyotes.

The FBI began investigating the case largely at the coalition's behest, and in November 2002, three men were sentenced to a total of 34 years in prison and $3 million in assets for their role in the slavery ring. In November, three Immokalee workers, Romeo Ramirez, Julia Gabriel and Lucas Benitez, were awarded the prestigious Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award for their work against slavery.

By raising national awareness, the CIW's work also has helped spark other investigations of slavery. In December, the *Palm Beach Post* announced the U.S. Department of Justice's ongoing investigation into slavery in another small Florida town, Wimauma.

Besides their cooperation with governmental authorities in breaking up slavery rings and their direct actions against contractors, the CIW is succeeding by taking their campaign to the corporations that buy the produce, most notably Taco Bell. (See David Bacon's "¡No Quiero Taco Bell!," May 13, 2002.)

"If you target these growers, no one knows who they are," said Gerardo Reyes, a 26-year-old immigrant from Zacatecas, Mexico, who came here as a farm worker and is now a staff member for the coalition. "But everyone knows who Taco Bell is. We won't stop targeting the contractors and the growers, but we also want to target the corporations that buy the produce and the consumers who buy the products produced by the corporations."

At the Robert F. Kennedy awards ceremony November 20 in Washington, D.C., Benitez called on the general public to take responsibility for the food they consume.

"Behind the shiny, happy images promoted by the fast-food industry, there is another reality," he said. "Behind those images, the reality is that there are farm workers who contribute their sweat and blood so that enormous corporations can profit." ■

Kari Lydersen *is a writer in Chicago.*

Congratulations

on your many achievements over the last 27 years!

Your friends at

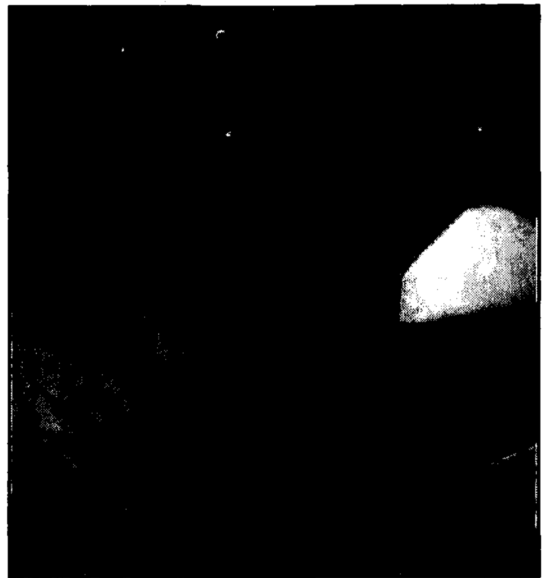
Des Plaines Publishing Company

Quality Offset Web Printing at its Best

(www.dppc.com)

759-C

SEIU Illinois



STRONGER TOGETHER

More than 100,000 working people in Illinois are members of the **Service Employees International Union**. We work in building maintenance and security, small industry and public services. We provide health care in hospitals, nursing homes and private homes.

Through our union, we also work together to provide a better future for our families. We work for better wages, benefits and working conditions. We work for greater justice for all working families. Thank you, *In These Times* readers, for working with us. We truly are stronger together.

SEIU Illinois Council
111 E. Wacker, Suite 2500
Chicago, IL 60601
(312) 240-1600

www.seiu-illinois.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DAVID MCNEW / GETTY IMAGES

BY DAVID BACON

Grocery Workers Go to War Over Healthcare

Los ANGELES—Mark Norton is one of 70,000 workers locked out or forced on strike in Southern California. Hundreds of thousands more may soon face the same difficult predicament.

Across the country, the system for financing healthcare benefits for union workers is breaking down, as managed care drives up the costs of medical insurance. Some employers, like Safeway, which owns the Von's store where Norton works, can pay the increases from rising profits but won't. More than 43 million Americans are without healthcare, and the growing crisis threatens to make 2004 a year of massive strikes and labor wars.

Norton went to work for Von's 18 years ago. He'd become a grocery manager by the time the strike started October 11. That gave him a full-time job with earnings capable of supporting a family in an industry where that's become rare. Nationally, the retail industry pays close to minimum wage for most workers. Union supermarket workers have been able to maintain a better standard of living than most, yet more than three-quarters of the baggers, checkers and stock clerks in L.A. supermarkets have trouble accumulating the hours needed to survive.

Von's demanded that existing employees begin paying for their health insurance. "They said they were just asking for $5 a week, or $15 for family coverage. When we did the numbers, it turns out it could cost as much as $95 a week by the end of the contract," Norton says. The average weekly wage for a Los Angeles supermarket worker is $312.

An even bigger threat was Safeway's proposal to begin hiring new workers at lower wages, with an insurance plan most wouldn't be able to afford. "They want a two-tier system where they can bring in new employees at several dollars less an hour with little to no benefits at all," Norton says. "A lot of us believe they'll weed out the rest of us once they hire these new employees."

Once Norton and his coworkers struck, the two other large grocery chains in Southern California, Albertsons and Ralph's (a division of Kroger Stores), locked out their workers—a long-standing practice now being investigated by California Attorney General Bill Lockyer as a possible violation of anti-trust laws.

The chains say they need concessions in order to compete with the world's largest corporation, Wal-Mart. Wal-Mart pays close to minimum wage and its health plan is so expensive that most employees can't afford coverage. The retailer is one of the most important organizing targets of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and the AFL-CIO, but a union contract there still is a long way off.

The grocery chains claim that Wal-Mart represents an immediate threat to their market share. Yet most Southern California Wal-Marts don't sell groceries, and even if the company carried through on plans to build 40 super centers in the state, it would gain only 1 percent of the grocery market, compared to the 60 percent held by the big three.

Norton and other strikers extended their picket lines to other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

areas of the state, where they say they've found a sympathetic public. Supermarket workers—mostly young and often people of color—talk with store customers all the time. But solidarity has another source: This year workers in other unions, from hotel room cleaners to hospital nurses and dietitians, will face similar demands from employers. "We're expecting a major confrontation with hotel chains over healthcare costs when our contract comes up this summer," says Mike Casey, president of San Francisco's Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. The Service Employees Union will be negotiating with hospital chains in all major West Coast cities this year, and healthcare costs will be the No. 1 issue.

Northern California's 50,000 supermarket workers are watching with the most concern; their contract is up in September. "We certainly expect this fight to be on our doorstep then," says Rich Benson, president of UFCW Local 870. "That's why our local unions fully support the efforts of unions in Southern California. Safeway has contracts from Virginia to Colorado, Washington and Nevada. This is a watershed moment, not just for the UFCW but for the whole labor movement."

California labor took a step toward a longer-term solution to rising costs by pushing legislation this fall to begin taking healthcare out of competition. Just before being recalled, Gov. Gray Davis signed SB-2, a bill requiring large employers to provide employee health coverage. Another bill to establish a single-payer system was introduced but didn't come up for a vote. Unions supported SB-2 and will have their hands full just hanging onto it. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger has promised to place an initiative on the ballot to repeal it.

"I'd like to ask (Safeway CEO) Steve Burd at what point in his life he stopped caring about people and only about money," Norton says angrily. "How can he tell his stockholders that putting 80,000 people on the street is an investment in their future? No one's going to get rich doing our job; we just want to make a living." ■

David Bacon *writes extensively on labor issues for many publications, including* In These Times.

Help Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send your life-saving check to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morning Side Dr., New York, NY 10027. Made out to the National Lawyers Guild Foundation. Today, Please.

Frances Goldin
Thank you, ITT, for your support.

The 90,000 members of Health Care Workers Union, SEIU 250 salute

IN THESE TIMES

for long years of speaking truth to power and for adding your voice to the just causes of workers and unions everywhere.

Now, more than ever, we need honest and forthright journalism as consistently presented by your publication.

Keep up the fight!

Sal Rosselli, *President* — Joan Emslie, *Secretary-Treasurer*

UNION MADE

WE'RE HIRING
We seek experienced organizers for union campaigns in Northern and Southern California.
Send resume to President, Health Care Workers Union SEIU 250, 560 20th St., Oakland CA 94612.

Quality Health Care for All • www.seiu250.org

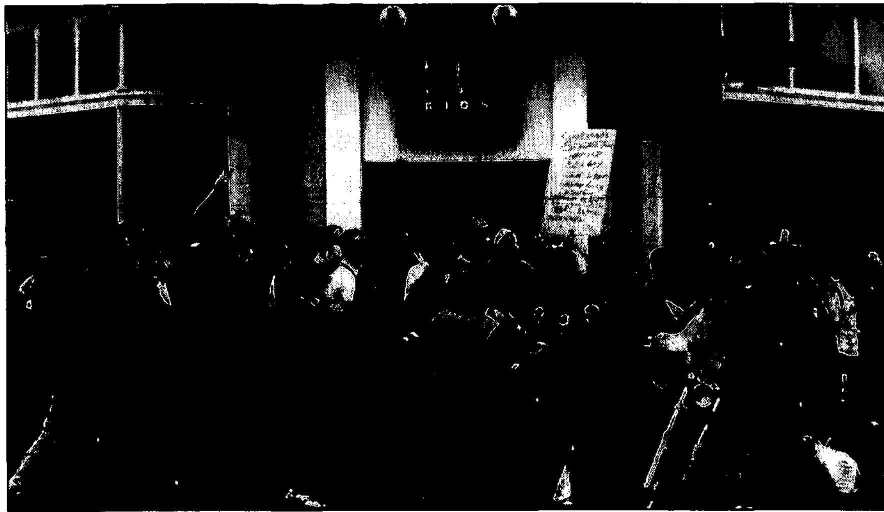
H.E.R.E. Local 1 salutes

IN THESE TIMES

With your help, we'll win justice at the Congress Plaza Hotel!

Please visit: www.CongressHotelStrike.info

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


JOEL RENNICH / UPI

BY MISCHA GAUS

The Maturing Movement Against Sweatshops

Student anti-sweatshop activism has come of age. Exercising substantial sway over corporate giants, it has helped overseas garment workers make unprecedented gains. But with many battles looming, some activists worry their momentum has peaked.

The signing of a collective bargaining agreement last March at the BJ&B hat factory in a Dominican Republic free-trade zone was particularly sweet for student campaigners. The illegal firing of union loyalists and grisly working conditions that came to light seven years ago at the factory launched the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), the force behind campus labor activism. It in turn helped establish the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC), an independent factory-monitoring group whose investigation spurred the resolution at BJ&B.

For the Dominican factory's nearly 1,600 workers—the largest unionized free-trade zone factory in the Americas—the contract brings a wage above the country's paltry minimum, college scholarships and other unparalleled benefits.

The BJ&B victory is exemplary, according to anti-corporate student activists, because without the intervention of the Fair Labor Association, the WRC's more corporate-friendly doppelganger, and pressure from Nike and Reebok, workers at BJ&B would still be fighting harassment and summary firings.

Cooperation is the new watchword among students, monitoring groups and corporations. "We have a preference for cooperation because it leads to action more quickly," says Scott Nova, executive director of the WRC. He notes that the group's quiet intervention in two Indonesian factories recently prompted corporations to comply with health-benefit laws and to open the door to independent unions there.

"We don't cooperate at the expense of independent analysis and candid assessment," Nova says. "Cooperation is a means to an end, which is respecting workers rights."

Students maintain that their dealings with corporations are a relationship of convenience. When brands fail to act, students work as the enforcement arm of the WRC, a role where their reputation precedes them.

"Corporations realized that organizations like USAS can hit them where it hurts most, in their public image," says Megan Murphy, an anti-sweatshop activist and sophomore at Georgetown University.

The WRC has conducted 15 investigations in three years of operation. Most brands have accepted its evenhanded assessments of transgressions, while students and NGO partners on its board of directors keep the group honest. It has been a successful formula.

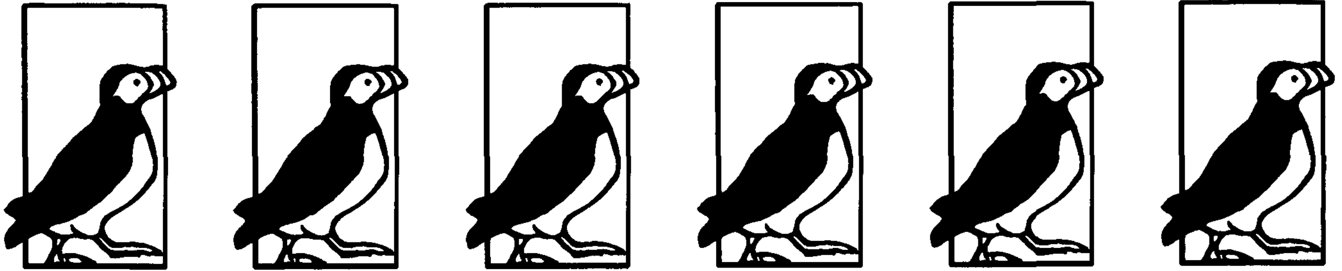
"The WRC isn't out there to kick brands around or destroy their business," says Ben McKean, a USAS national organizer. At the same time, "they know as a business decision it's cheaper to make the changes the WRC is asking for. They know we have the power to kick their ass."

Not every brand has learned that lesson. Collegiate apparel is a small fraction of the global garment industry, and while students wield the most power over brands dependent on college business, they are starting to lean on mass-market companies.

A developing campaign against Land's End is at the heart of this trend. The company embroiders collegiate logos onto its clothes, a specialty practice aimed at alumni. But the company's glacial pace in resolving the rampant blacklisting of unionists at the Primo factory in El Salvador's San Bartolo free-trade zone led Columbia University to cut its contract last November with Land's End.

As pressure builds, the company's attitude is changing. Judi Nitsch, an Indiana University graduate student and member of her school's worker rights committee, says after her committee threatened to cut the contract, **Continued on page 52**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CONGRATULATIONS

TO

In These Times

27 years of commitment
to
Peace, Justice and Knowledge

The Puffin Foundation Ltd.
Teaneck, NJ 07666-4111

"…continuing the dialogue between art and the lives of ordinary people."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anniversary Greetings

With this issue, *In These Times* celebrates its 27th anniversary. This is an accomplishment of a progressive community—a community shaped by readers and staff, writers and artists, large donors and small. And this anniversary issue is the occasion for thanking everyone who has contributed in one fashion or another to *In These Times*' success—in particular, readers who have also decided to become donors. Your contributions, including one large bequest, covered about 60 percent of our costs and allowed *In These Times* to thrive.

In 2003, our subscription base grew by almost 50 percent. And though final figures for newsstand sales are not in yet, it looks like sales of single copies from newsstands have grown almost as fast as our subscription base.

Two or three factors probably account for most of this growth. Certainly, the Bush administration's march to war and empire alarmed many progressives, along with a good number of other people who don't consider themselves to be particularly radical in their politics. Many Americans have found themselves deeply concerned, as well, by the nearly absolute absence of critical perspective in the mainstream media. With such concerns, people were much more responsive to the steps we took to build circulation. And many more people looking for alternative news sources cruised the Web and found *In These Times*' Web site.

But none of this could have happened without the willingness of readers to also be donors and thus provide the resources and the confidence necessary for an aggressive push for new subscribers.

We want to thank all our 2003 donors listed on the pages that follow, along with those donors who asked to remain anonymous. The members of the *In These Times* Publishing Consortium and Board of Directors, two groups who gave especially generously of their resources or time, and in some cases both, also merit a special thank you. The lists of board and consortium members appear at the end of the all-donor list.

Finally, *In These Times* wishes to acknowledge those members of our large community who have passed away. In particular, we honor the memory of Anne Larson, a member of both our board and of the *In These Times* Publishing Consortium, whose financial contributions were very generous, but no larger than her gifts of spirit.

Thank you Anne and thank you all. We look forward to 2004 and to the challenges presented by our ongoing fight for justice and peace.

Sincerely,

Jeff Epton
Publisher

Thank You

Peter Abbott
Edmund Abegg
Grant Abert
Billy Abner
Barbara and Mickey Abrash
Emerson Abts
Lionel Acevedo
Carl Ackerman and Carol Bonsignore
Ronald and Marilou Adams
Stephen Adelson
Daniel Adkins
Carl Adrianopoli
Lawrence Agran
Harold Ahrens
T.A. Akers
James Akins
Gerald Albert
Florence Alden
Karla Alfano
Mohamed Alibhai
Salem Alleyne
Eric Allstrom
Jeffrey and Diane Alson
Wayne Alt
Theresa Alt
Erica Alt
Arthur Alter
Royal Alworth
Effie Ambler
David Amor
James Amory
Evelyn Amyes
Aris and Carolyn Anagnos
Stuart Anderson
Robert Anderson
Roger Anderson
Richard Anderson
John Anderson
Suzanne Antisdel
Louise Antony
Paul Aponte
Marion Appel
Mary Appelman
Phyllis Applegarth
Carl Archambeau
John Archibald
Frieda Arkin
Osear Armstrong
John Arnesen
Jesse Arnold
Freda Aron
Elizabeth Asher
Alexander Astin
Charles Atkins
Susan and Eric Aubery
David Austin
Linda Avinger
Paul Ayers
Lenore Azaroff
Peter Bachrach
Leo Baefsky
Stanley Bagley
Luigi Bai
Paul Baicich
Robert Baillie
Jerry and Jean Bails
Marjorie Baines
Patrick Bair
Dean Baker
John Baker
Roger Baker
Jane Baker
Paul Bakke
Glenn Bakken
Doris Baldyga
W. Bales
Keith Ball
Eugene Balter
Jeff Banfield
David Banks
Matt Barber
Hugh Barbour
Ron Bardell
Jim and Rae Barnett
Ed Baron
Diane and Larry Barr
Ward Barrett
David Barsamian
R.E. Barth
Dwight Bartholomew
Mike Barto
Mike Barton
Morton Baruch
Marc Bastuscheck and Constance Cooper
William Batchelor
Susan Batten
Lewis Beale
Herb Beattie
Anna Beck
Nancy Becker
Chad Becker
Joy Beierle
Steve Beitler
Warren Belasco
Robert Belichick
Kathleen Bell
Edoardo Bellando
Victor Benavente
Lawrence Bendoski
Peter Benner
Grant Bennett
Adrian Bennett
Authur Bennett
Elwin Bennington
Michael Benton
Charlene Bentz
Walter Berg
Martin Berger
David Berger
Kent Bergh
Sidney Berkowitz
David Berkshire
Kay Berkson
Peter Bernardson
Howard and Deborah Bernstein
Fran Bertonaschi
Ronald Bettig
Edward Betzig
Stephen Bickel
Bernice Bild
James Billings
Lowell Bingham
B. C. Bingham
Eugene Birmingham
Steven Birnbaum
David Bither
Gilbert and Betty Black
Timuel Black
Willie Black
Mary Black
Fred Blair
Jane Blake
Joel Blau
David Bleifuss
Charlotte Bleistein
Harvey Blend
John Bloch
Ken Bluford
Jeffrey Blum
Susan Blumenthal
Stuart and Dorothy Blumner
Jennifer Boal and Roland Geoff
Elspeth Bobbs
Robert Boehm
Beverly Boling
Robert Bond
Phillip Bond
Vernon Bone
John Bonsignore
Fenna Bonsignore
Ruth Bonsignore and Andrew Shapiro
Vera and Ross Boone
Tom Borchard
Karen Bossmeyer
Megan Bower
David Bowers
Kaelin Bowers
Elizabeth Brackett and Fred Olson
Michael Bradley
Edward Bradley
Muriel Brainard
Horst Brand
John Brandt
Noel Brann
Alberta Brant
John Braun
John Braxton
Eileen Brenner
Dorian Breuer
Gary Briggs
James Bristol
Henry and Margaret Brodkin
Hank Bromley
Edwin Brookman
Nathaniel Brooks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Joel Brooks
Robert Brose and A. Spring
Oran Brown
Louise Brown
Richard Brown
Robert Brown
Ruth Brown
Phyllis Brown
Susan Brown
Lawrence Brown
Albert and Sally Browne
Emily Browne
Al Bruno
Clellen Bryant
Anthony Buba
M. Bucholz
Richard Buck
Constance Buck
Greg Buck
Rick Buck
Dennis Buckley
Steven Buechler
Robert Bugler
R. Bumby
Maurine Bunce
Frances Burford
Caitlin Burgess
Robert Burns
Cheryl Burr
Ray H. Burton
Jerry Buttrey
Carolyn Byerly
William Byrd
Jeri Cabot and Bill Olejniczak
Denis Cagna
Dennis Caine
Robert Calhoun
John Callaway
Elaine Calos
Jim and Alina Campana
Brian Campbell
Lee Campbell
Doug Campbell
Michael Canez
Donald Cannon
Thomas Canzoneri
L. Caporael
Linnea Capps
W Caraway
Paul Carella
Peggy Carey
Stephen Carle
Patricia and James Carmel
Frederika Carney
Catherine Carpenter
Amy Carr
W. Carr
James Carroll
Ami Carter
Audrey and Edward Carter
Perry Cartwright
L. Casey
Dan Casey
Elliott Castello
Delbert Castle
Paul Caswell
Les Caulford
F. Cavalcanti
Paula Chaiken and Joe Kraus
Nicholas Chaparos
Martha Chapman
Gordon Chapman

Michael Charney
Robert Cheeks
Henry Chesler
Michael Chielens
Ron Chilcote
Thomas Chisena
Elsie Chivington
Eve Cholmar
Noam Chomsky
Glenn Choy
Aimee and Douglas Christensen
Jean Christie
Ruth and Howard Christofersen
Lisa Christopherson
Lisbeth Chvatal
Daniel and Barbara Clark
Barbara Clark
Theo Clark
George Clark
Wayne Clark-Elliott
Mary Cleary
Fern Cleghorn
Anderson Clifford
Steven Clinton
Loren Close
Alvin Cohen
Bruce Cohen
Jonathan Cohen
Phyllis Cohen
Theodore Cohn
Jim Colando
Julie Collesi
Joan Collins
Craig Collins
Gould and Cynthia Colman
Carolee Colter
Ervin Connelly
Charles Connor
John Considine
Ralph Cook
Nancy Cook and John Chapman
Daniel Cook
Jack Cook
Brenda Cooper
Tona Cornette
Louise Cort
John Cort
Jack Cory
Cornelius Cosgrove
Kerry Costello
Jim Cowart
Lezlie Cox
William Cox
Theodore Coxe
Don and Frances Craig
Darrel Crain
Jim Cramer
Stewart Crandall
Daniel Cratcha
Robert Crawford
Regina and Edward Crimmins
Benjamin Crocker
Elsie Cross
Allan Croteau
F Crumpley
Harold Cruse
Amado Cruz
James Cudney
Kate Culver
James Cunningham
Howard Cutler
Patty Cuyler
Czeslaw Czapla

Kevin Czmowski
Adele Daily
Alfred Dale
Janet Dalquist
Michael Dana
Steve Daniels
Denise D'Anne
Gholam Dargahi
Mary Davenport
Maomi Davis
Cinthia Davis
David Dawdy
Richard Dawson
Jeanna Daykin
Lydia De Johnette
Margaret De Marchi
Joe De Maris
C DeAngelis
Eric Decker and Susan Stone
Dennis Deegan
Charles DeKnatel
Donna Delin
Robert Delk
Margaret Demarchi
Quentin Deming
Mary Dempster
Robert Deneen
William Denison
Edward Denyer
Jerry Depew
Edward Derrick
John Deshaies
Dorothy and Lawrence Despain
Karen Devich
Catherine Devine
Susan Dexter
James Diamond
Morris Diamond
Will Dibrell and Beverly Bajema
Larry Dieckmann
Charlotte Dihoff
Loraine Dimock
Gregory Dion
Nancy Dodson
Robert Doell
James Doig
Bill Domhoff
Amy Domini
John Donaghy
Bertram Donn
Michael Donovan
Richard Doonan
Alvin Dorfman
Ed Dostal
Gene and Rose Doty
George Douglas
Joseph Dove
J. Dowtin
Mark Drake
Larry Drake
Martin Dreyfuss
Jeannie Dritz
Ernest Drown
Maxine and John Drury
Henry D'Souza
Richard Du Boff
Bonnie Duboff-Miller
Melvyn Dubofsky
Carol Duncan
J. David Dunham
Charles Dunn
David Dunning
Robert DuPlessis
Dan Duranso
Charles Durante

Frank Durgin
William Durr
John Durr
David Eakins
Ralph Eakins
Edwin Earley
Steve Early
William Echols
Jack Edelman
David Edelstein
Michael Egan
Peter Ehrenstrom
Erica Eicheay
B Eichhorn
Ernst and Sissy Eichwald
Morris Einhorn
David Eisen
Margaret Elizares
Bob Ellis
E. Ellis
Glenn and Lola Embrey
Olga Emmel
Ellis Engelsberg
Cathy England
Bill Enloe
Irene Ennis
Jerry Epstein
Robert Erenburg
Stephen Erhardt
Douglas Erickson
Rene Espinosa
Daniel Ethier
Robert and Elsie Evans
Merrill Evans
Frances Everton
Stockwell Everts
Mary Fabry
Henry Fagin
Lucy Fairbank
Mike Farin
L. Farley
James Farnam and Mary Stovall
Patricia Farrell
Dick Farris
Rick Farwell
Lisa Feck and Chris Hammel
Jerome Feinstein
Rose Feldon
David Felix
Warren Felt and Dolly Arond
Steven Fenichel
Ingrid Ferguson
Michael Ferro
Jane Fessenden
Anatole and Caroline Fetisoff
Michael Feula
Ernest Field
Joseph Figliulo
Myron Filene
Fred Fine
Keith Finlayson
Charlotte Finley
Stephen Fiore
Anson Firth
Paul Fiscella
Kevin Fiscella
Robert Fischer
Cynthia Fischer
Dennis Fischman
Steve Fisher
Leonard Fisher
R. Brent Fisher
Herbert Fisher
Viola Fisher

Jennifer Fisher
Alston Fitts
John Fitzgerald
Dick and Mickey Flacks
William Flierl
Jan Flora
James Flynn
Anne Focke
Ina Fogarty
Nancy Folbre
Sandra Folzer
Dorothea Forrest
William Forthman
Diana Fowler
Helene Fox
Ellen Frank
George Frankfurter
George Fredrickson
Todd Freeberg
Selwyn Freed
Janet Freedman
Samuel Freeman
Judi Friedman
Mike Friedrich
Ken Frisof
David Fryberger
Sandor Fuchs
Paul Funch
James Gaboury
Eugene Gabrych
Betty Gaedke
Ilene and Richard Entlich
Lynn Gale
Gloria Gallingane
Eric Gallion
David Gamble
Doug Gamble and Nina Gregg
Rohan Ganguli
Robert Garavel
Judith Gardiner
Georgene Gardner
Anne Garfield and Joseph Murphy
Alan Garfinkel
B. Gargan
Jonathan Garlock and Marilyn Anderson
Wendell Garton
David Gassman
Hill Gates
George Gaynes
Beverley Geer
Carolyn Geiger
Lidia Geiser Taber
Mary Geissman
Christine George
John Georgian
Janet Geovanis and Joshua Schwartz
George Gerbner
John Gessell
Robert Giffin
Robert Gilbert
John Gilbert
William Gilbert
Angus Gilchrist
Richard Gillette
Alfred Giusto
John Glasel
Judith Gleitsman
Henry Gluck
Brian Goecke
Edward Gogol
Fred Golan
David Gold
Sharon Goldblatt and Nicolas Bloom

Norbert Goldfield
Frances Goldin
Bert Golding
Lester Goldner
Leslie and Philip Goldstien
Juan Gonzalez
Frances Goodman
Eban Goodstein
Marvin Goodstein
May Goodstein
Daniel Goodwin
Walter Gordon
William Gordon
Marc and Carol Gordon
Haim Gordon
Jean Gore
William Gorman
H. Candace Gorman
Neal Gosman
Paul Gottehrer
Marie Gottschalk
Marilyn Gottschalk
Alexander and Julie Grab
Patricia Grace
Ken Graddick
Connie and Ken Graham
Myles Grant
Jane Grant
Thomas Grave
Carl Graves
Roland Gray
Joan Green
Jesse and Nancy Green
Ivan Green
Sue Green
Joe Greenberg
Jake Greene
Julie Greene and James Maffie
Carole Greening
K. Greenler and P. Majors
Penny Greenswald
Marion Greenwood
Michael Gregorich
John Gregory
Greg Gregory
Jeff Gresko
Charles Grey
Ruth and Richard J. Gribin
Robert Griffin
Alejandro Grignetti
Gary and Mary Grigsby
Hula Grobman
Harriet Gross
Larry Gross and Christine Skwiot
Tim Groves
Donald Groves
David Gubi
Randall Gudvangen
Joseph Guiney
Meyer Gunther
Sandra Guy
Hans Haacke
Michael Habernig
Rita Hadfield
Francis Hagan
Kathryn Hahn and Reid Branson
Mark Haiman
H. Hall
Vivian Hall
Connie Hall

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Thanks to **In These Times**

Ruthanna Hall
Morris and Rosamond Halle
Conn Hallinan
C. Halpin
Yadviga Halsey
Sara Hamel
Joan Hamel
Curtis Hamilton
Ellen Hammond
John Hammond
Frances Hanckel
Stephen Hand
Collier Hands
Greg Hanifl
Bruce Hann
Gloria Hannas
Lloyd Hansen
Fredericka Hansen
Paul Hanson
Darrell Hanson
A. M. Hanson
Joel and Alice Hanson
William Hardy
James Harkin
Margaret and Bart Harloe
Ian Harris and Sara Spence
Robert Harris
Catherine Harris
Marian Harris
Leo Harris
Mary Harrison
Ronald Hartenberger
Erica Harth
Rose Hartmann
Stephanie Hartung
Kathryn Harvey
Jack Hasbrook
George Hasen
Laird Hastay
Will Hastings
Richard Hathaway
Lewis Haupt
P.H. Haynes
A K Haynes
Trudie Hays
James Hays
Big Bill Haywood
Joseph Haywood
Robert Hearst
Win Heimer
Rodney Helle
Barbara Hellenga
Dorothy Heller
Peter Heller
Daniel Hellinger
Randal Hendee
Rosalind Hendrickson
Richard Henighan
Nancy Henley
Dale Henrichs
Glennys Henry
Josh Henry
Bob Henschen
Will Herman
David Hermanns
Walt and Rei-Shi Herrs
Howard Herskovitz
Svend Hestoft
Richard Heuser
Charles Hewitt
Jean Heyer
Josiah and Merlyn Heyman
Henry and Carol Hicks
Elizabeth Higginbotham
Timothy Highland
Hedy Hilburn
Arthur and Carolyn Hilgart
Miriam Hill
Robert Hinger
Robert Hinrix
Martin Hird
George Hirshfield
Mary Hodgson
John Hodgson
John Hoermann
Rhoda Hoffman
Patrick Hogan
Ginny Holbert
Robert Holden-Venzon
Anne Holder
G Holladay
Barbara Holman
Steve Holman
Edward Holmgren
Ralph Holmgren
Janith Holt
Stephen Holt
Lorraine and Victor Honig
Ted Hope
Hyman Hops
Howard Horowitz and Ausse Waterston
Alice Howard
Marge Howard-Jones
Polly Howells and Eric Werthman
Douglas Howland
Jim Howland
Donald Hoyt
Peter Hoyt
Joel Huberman
R. Hubley
Priscilla Hulvey
Lindsay Humpal
Thomas Hutchinson
Harry Hyman
Anthony Iaco
Tom and Kathy Iberle
Dan Ihara
D.B. Ingram
Donald Irish
David Irvine
David Irvine
Paul Iversen
Harry Jackson
Jonathan and Robin Jacoby
Mark Jacquinot
David Jaffe
J. Jahn
K. James
Sam Jamron
Mits Jamura
Phyllis Jansma
Mildred Jeffrey
Lloyd and Helen Jellum
Matthew Jendian
Sandra Jewell
Richard Jodoin
Margit Johansson
E. Roy John
John John
Sheila Johns
Jerry Johnson
Charles Johnson
Donald Johnson
Helen Johnson
Hans Johnson
Robert Johnson
Evelyn Johnson
Mary Johnson
John Johnson
Diana Johnson-Dubash
Matthew Jones
Rosemary Jones
Jim and Mary Jones
Cynthia Jones
Henry Jones
Mary Jones
Paul Jones
Barry Joseph
Tim Joseph
Eileen Julien
Jeffrey Kackle
Rich Kacmar
Lorain Kadish
Andrew Kafel
Paul Kahn
John Kail
Nancy Kaiser
Herschel Kaminsky
Dolores Kamm
David Kandel and Betsy Kreiger
Thomas Kane
John Kane
Don and Mary Karamitsos
Martin and Carolyn Karcher
Maulana and Tiamoyo Karenga
John Karwoski
Casey Kasem
P. Katz
Sig Katz
Juliane Katz
James Kawakami
Marvin Kay
Gregory Kay
Marie Kaye
Theodore Kazanoff
Martha Kearns
Kathy Keck
Aliza Keddem
Eric Keeley
Christopher Keenan and Susan Wortman-Keenan
J. Kefalas
Novella Keith
Robert Keller
Rory Keller
James Kelley
Ellen Kelley
Robert Kelly
Lawrence Kelly
Mary Kelly
David Kelly
Kieran Kemner
William Kemper
Robert Kennedy
Fred Kessler
Keval Kaur Khalsa
Mha Atma Khalsa
Alice Kidder
Stephen Kiedrowski
Harry and Arlene Kiely
David Kimelman
Judy Kind
Tim Kingston
Del Jay Kinney
Samuel Kinser
Jack Kirby
Sally and Roger Kirk
George Kirschner
John Klecka
Larry and Ellen Klein
John Klein and Maria Pastoor
Daniel Klein
Donald Klein
Rosemary Kleinert
James Klekowski
Chris Kleppe
Rich Klimmer
Larry Klock
James Knight
Peg Knoepfle
David Knuttunen
John Koch
Daniel Kohl
James Kollros
Jean Konerza
Niilo Koponen
Jay Korinek
Julien and Nancy Koschmann
Anne Koskinen
Rodney Kosloski
Edward Kosmac
Stephen Kosokoff
Petr and Charlotta Kotik
F. Kottke
Kurt Kovacs
Dorsie Kovacs
Peter and Roberta Kovner
Patricia Kowal
Felix Kramer
Robert and Lois Krapf
Larry Krause
Karen Krause
John Kretzmann
Nancy Kricorian and James Schamus
Philip Krieg
Stanley Krippner
Don Krull
Ben Kublin
Epp Kuhn
David Kulick
Mariane Kulick
Richard Kurzberg
Adele Kushner
John Kyper
Michael La Velle
Lois Lackey
Diane Laffin
James Lafky
Joseph Lague
Jackie Lalley
Patricia K. Lamdin
Barbara Lampert
John Lamperti
Louise Lamphere
Howard Landsman
David Landy
Stephanie Lane
Robert Lang
E. Langston
Jim Lapinski
Rudolph Lapp
Robert Larsen and Barbara Rubin
Mary Larson
Dana Larson
Mark Larson
Anne Larson
Charles and Magali Larson
Lillian Laskin
Lesley Lathrop
Robert Latousek
Roy Laurie
Albert Law
Louise Lawler
Michael Lawrence
John Lawry
Donald Lazere and Janet Atwill
Karem Lears and Fumans Corner
Eugene and Ellen Leary
Thomas Leary
Sam Lederman
Mariruth Ledyard
John Lee
Donald Lee
Lisa Lee
Leon Lefson
Martin Lefstein
Lloyd Lehmann
Irene Leiby
Richard Leigh
Andrew Leighton
Jesse Lemisch
Elizabeth Lemlich
Linda Lensu
Herbert Leopold
Helaine Lerner
Patrick Lesher
Eric Lessinger
Kathie Lester
Walter and Elizabeth Leutz
Alan Levin
Herbert Levine
Jack Levine
Ruth and James Levitan
Karen L. Lew
Kathleen Lewin
Al Lewis
George Lewis
Janet Lewis
David Lewit
Philip Lichtenberg
Daniel Lichtenwald
Jack Liddle
Leo Liederman
Lori Liederman
Ronald Lind
Marie Linder
Larry Lindstrom
Chris Linell and Paula Eder
Paul Lion
Peggy Lipschutz
Frank Lipscomb
Paulette Lipsitz
Laurie Litman
Larry Little
Peter Livingston
Chris Lloyd
Robin Lloyd
M. & J. Lobenstein
Alan Locklear and Marie Valleroy
Lawrence Loewinger
Imo Lofthus
D. Loizides
Robert and Myra Long
R. Long
Jennifer Lorenz
Matthew Loschen
Dan Lotesto
Bernice Lott
Willard Lotter
George Love
Nancy Lovejoy
Kenneth Loveless
Cathy Lowder
L. W. Lowell
Louise Lown
Beverly Lowy
Roger Luckmann
Alan Luria
J. Zel Lurie
Mark Lusch
Vincent Luti
Mark Lutwak and Y. York
Sandra Lyon
Terre Lyons
H. Maaser
Susanna Mac and Mark Sandberg
Kate Machell
Ken MacKay
Liz MacKelvie
Joseph Mackenzie
Judson MacLaury
Stewart MacMillan
Alan MacRobert
Haki Madhubuti
Donald Maestaz
Michael Mage
A. B. Magil
Omid Mahdavi
Alexander Mahendran
Harry Major
Marianne Makman
Marvin Malek
George Mandler
R. Mankau
Manning-Roberts
Jane Mansbridge and Christopher Jencks
Jane Manz
Peter and Frances Marcuse
Robin and Julian Markels
Martin Markowitz
Abby Marlatt
Leonard Marsak
Kendall Martin
Martha Martin
Delph Martin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sustainers and Contributors

William Martin
Mary Marx
Clara Maslow
Wesley Mason
Sara Mason
David Mathiason
Becky Mathis
David Matteson
Mara Matteson
Allan Matthews
Gary Matthews
Marc Mauer
Rick Maurer
Dorothy Mauser
Eric Mayer
Tom and Sara Mayer
Anne and Marc Mayerson
James Mays
Louis Mazer
Cliff and Arline McCarthy
James McCarthy
P. McClung
John McClure
John McCormick
Chris McCracken
Robert McCurdy
Peter McDonald
Patricia McDonald
R. R. McDonald
Philip McGoohan
Linda McGrew
Barry McGuire
Thomas McIntire
Neil McIntosh
David McIntosh
Mary McKell
Eugenia McKenzie
Vernon McKenzie
Kevin and Maureen McKeough
Eileen McKeough
Mason McKibben
Hilda McLaughlin
Charles McMaster
William McNaughton
Jim McNeill
William McNeill
Meadows
Janet Meany
Stephen Meany
Deborah Meier
Gloria Meier
Steve Meiers
Karl Meller
Dale Mello
John Melson
Ramona Memmer
Bennie Mendelson
Gertrude and Wolfgang Mergner
Frank Merrill
Bruce Merrill
Richard Merritt
Phyllis Messengale
David Metzler
Cecile and Axel Meyer
Wayne Meyer
Raymond Meyer
Joshua Meyrowitz
Furuta Michael
Shirley Middleton

Lawrence Mietzefeld
Arthur Milholland and Lucille Mostello
George Milkowski
Robert Millar
G. Miller
Frances Miller
Mark Miller
Daniel Miller
Robert Miller
S. Miller
Ruth Miller
F.R. Miller
Dan Miller
J.L. Mills
R.A. Miner
Marc Minick
William Minkowski
William Minneman
Mark Mintz
Diane Mitsch Bush
Edwin Mlekush
David Molloy
Bill Monning and Dana Kent
Edith Monsees
Edwin Montalvo
John Monteiro
Lewis Montemaggi
Kevin Moody
E. A. Moon
John Moore
William Moore and Mary Wagner
Virginia Moore
Richard Moore
John Morales
Mary Morgan
Sidney Morison
Stefano Moroni
J. Morran
Eugene Morris
Franklin Morris
Bert Morris
Frankie Morris
Lawrence Morse
Richard Mortensen
Susan Morton
Herbert and Selma Moskowitz
William Mosley
John Mrowiec and Karen Granda
William Muenster
Valerie Mullen
Gary Muller
Jim Mullins
Judith Munger
Gabriela Munoz
Bennett Muraskin
Zara Muren
Donna Murphy
Michele Murphy
Emmett Murray
Patrick Murray and Susan Greene
Ross Murray
Gerald Murray
Douglas Murray
Susan Murray
Robert Murtha
Barbara Myers
Terry Myers

David Myers
Tokumasa Nakamoto
Herb Nalibow
Carol Nash
Elisabeth Nations
Duane Natvig
Frances Nauth
J. and K. Navia
Vivienne Nearing
Bob Nelson
Lila Nelson
Alan Netland
Elizabeth Neuse
Ruth Newberry
David Newby
Jill Newhouse
Julius Newman
Carol Newman
Reece Newman
James Newton
David Nicklin
Bill Nicloy
Philip and Linda Nicolai
Chris Nielsen
Margo Nikitas
Teri Nitta
Robert Nixon
Charles Noble
Edward Nol
Margie Noren
Nicholas Norris
Steve Norton
Russel and Flo Ann Norvell
John Nowlan
Mike Nusbaumer
John O' Sullivan
Peter O'Day
Rene Oehler
Kurt Oetiker
Richard Ohrbach
Bill Oldfather
John O'Leary
Anthony Olivari
Richard Olsen
McKinley Olson
Camille Olson
Martin Oppenheimer
Charles Orser
Miguel Ortiz
John Orzel
Kathleen Oser
Charles Osgood
Ray Ossont
David Ost
Jan Osten
Richard Ouren
Ruthann Ovenshire
Kent Overturf
William Paden
Mary Padgett
Sherry Padgett
Theodore Page
Nell Painter
Grace Paley
Neil and Evelyn Palmer
Nancy Palter
Ralph Pantuso
Louis and Edna Pardo
Pam Parker
Joel Parks

R. Parry
Billy Paschall
Philip Paskowitz
John Pauly
Douglas Payne
Burt Pearlstone
Monte Pearson
Graham Peck
Richard Pena
Mitchell Penberg
John Penrod
Sylvia Pepper
Diane Percival
Lewis Perin
Lucille Perlman
Robert Perrucci
Thomas and Anne Perry
Stephanie Perz
Joe Peschek
Virginia Petersen
Richard Peterson
Marvin Peterson
Gary Peterson
Mary Petroski
Stephen Pfohl
Donald Pfost
Daniel Phillips
Maxine Phillips
Andrew Phillips
Helen Pickering
Amelia Pickering
Mark Pietroski
Edward Pillar
Thomas Piller
Sarah Pillsbury
Martin Pimsler
Eugene Piola
Alison Pirie
Dan Piser
Harold Pizer
Frederick Plapp
Jean Pogge
Frances Pohl
Sandra Polishuk
John Pollack
Martin Pollard
Alexander and Harriet Pollatsek
Miriam Pollet
Robert Pollin
John Pools
Richard Pope
Thomas Porter
Tom Potts
Barry Powell
Dyanne Powell
John Pozar
James Prendergast
Bob Prentice
Spencer Presler
Doris Presley
Dale Preston
Bonnie Preston
Robert and Diane Pritchard
Donald Pritchard
David Prosten
Gail Purkey
Patricia Pynchon
Mary Quattrini
Walter Quinn
Gordon Quinn

Martha Quinn
Laura Quinn and James Hathaway
Richard Rabin
Alan Rabinowitz
Gail Radford
Erena Rae and Gus Friedrich
Carol Rainey
Evan Rallis
Bill Ralph
Gary Ramsey
Anna Rand
David Rathke
Laura Raymond and Daniel Moore
Judy Reardon
Martin Reder
Michael Redmond
Ted and Dianne Reed
Jesse Reichek
Peter Reilly
Leslie Reindl
Fred Reinman
Isadore Reivich
Sid Resnick
Ingrid Reti
Don Reynolds
Robert Rhodes
John Rice
Louanne Rice
Tom Richard
Edward Richards
Rob Richie
Mitchel Rickett
Dwight Rieman
Saul Rigberg
Ramona Ripston
Gordon and Barbara Risk
Verna Ritchie
Suzanne Ritter
Richard Roast
Norman Robbins
Nicolette Roberge
Tracey Roberts
John Robinson
Eleanor Rock
Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin
Allan and Sandra Rodgers
Jim Roeder
Frank and Margaret Roemhild
Andrew Rogers
Cliff Roginic
Jill Rohde and Ron Rohde
James Romer
Larry Romsted
Kevin Ronnie and Karen Campbell
Frank Roosevelt
Louis Rose
Ellen Rose
Lawrence Rose
Douglas, Amy, and Susan Rosen
Fred A. Rosen
Stanley Rosen
Bettina and Peter Rosenbaldt

Paul Rosenblum
Perry Rosenstein
Pat Rosenthal
Gerald Ross
Mary Rossborough
Martha Roth
Jake Rothney
Gregory Routt and Kristie Kujawski
Eileen and Ted Rowland
Rachel Royce and Matthew Farrelly
Robert and Wendy Lou Rubinyi
Marcia Rucker
Donald Rude
Ron Ruggerio
Glenn Ruihley
William Russ
Joanna Russ
Pat Rutledge
Richard Sachs
Howard Sacks
Carolyn Sadler
Jan Saecker
Todd Sagin
Charlotte Sagoff
John Sahr
David Salant
Robert Salisbury
Tushar Samant
Philip Samuel
Dale Sandberg
Joan Sanders
Bruce Sanderson
Ulises Sanroma
Steven Sarafolean
d'cady sarahchild
Abe Sarnoff
David Sattazahn
Beto Sattell
Harold and Kathy Saunders
Steve Saus
Florence Scala
Yvette Scalzitti
Brian and Gloria Scanlon
Marvin Schachter
Elmer Schaetzle
Irene Schaffer
Gordon Schiff and Mardge Cohen
Judith Schlichting
Lester Schlosberg
Eliza Schmidkunz
Lee Schmidt
Fred Schminke
Helen Schmitt
John Schneider
Frank Schneider
Phil Schneider
Thomas Schnell
Elke Schoffers
Allan Scholom
Alton Schoonmaker
Thomas Schoonover
Jonathan and Gail Schorsch
Carol Schramke
Carson Lane
Bruce Schuh

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thank You

Beth Schulman and David Kamens
Kathleen Schultz
Richard Schultz
Marston Schultz
Ward Schultz
Michael Schumacher
Randy Schutt
Matthew Schwartz and Karen Levesque
Joseph Schwartz
David Schwartz
David Schweickart
Victor Sciamarelli
Patricia Scott
T. Scruggs
Stephen Seaborg
Ron Seamon
Martin Seany
David Sears
Pete and Toshi Seeger
Christine Seeholzer
Marvin Seemann
Peter Seidman and Bonnie Benard
Richard Sentner
Frank Serafin
Richard Sering
Burt Shachter
John Shafer
Morton Shane
Burton Shapiro
Sohan Sharma
Leslie Sharpe
Greg Shaughnessy
James Shaw
Gabnela Shaw
Peter Shaw
Thomas Sheibley
Keith Shephard and Sandra Keith
Richard Shepherd
Francis Sheppard
Kathy Sheridan
Bruce Sherman
Carl Shier
Gwen Shofner
Herbert Shore
Richard and Eleanor Shorter
Gary Shorter
David Shoup
Lawrence Shubow
Joseph and Barbara Shulman
Bette Sikes
Marc Silberman
Leon Simis
Alan Simon
Paul and Maggie Simon
Allen Simontacchi
N. Diane Simpson
Amelia Simpson
Beth Singer
Ann Sink
Robert Sitko
David Skiba
Court Skinner
Jane Skinner
Bob Skomro
Jared Sloan
Richard Sloan
John Slowe
Michael Smalz
Stephen Smarook
Alois Smetana
Phyllis Smiley
Beverly Smirni
Ellen Smith
Betty and Alden Smith
Lucy Smith
Edward Smith
Brad Smith
David Smith
Ralph Smith
Barbara Smith
Roger Smith
Marshall Smith
William Smith
Alan Snitow
Steven Snyder and Jacquelyn Ellenz
Warner Soelling
Fred Solowey
Bernard Somers
Scott Somerville
Lois and Richard Sontag
Jeffrey Sorensen
Karl Sorg
Tom Soter
Wesley Sowers
Hobart Spalding
E. Spangenberg
Margaret Spear
Barry Spector
James Speed
Thom Speidel
John Speier
John Spence
Nancy Spero and Leon Golub
Fred Sperounis
Gerard Spiegel
S. Spiegel
Frederick Spielberg
Randall Spinks
William Springer
John Sproat
Arthur Staats
Sarah Standefer
Pat Starkovich
Jim Stauffer
Laurence Stearns
Lewis and Kitty Steel
Robert Stein
Bessie Steinberg
P.M. Steinhagen
George Steinitz
Eric Steinmetz
Steven and Jeanne Stellman
James Stempel
Wilbur Stenson
Mae Stephen
Peter Stern
Louise Stern
James Stevens
Victor Stevens
Jimmy Stevens
William Stevens
Dimitris Stevis
Bill Steward
William Stewart
Tom Stewart
Lloyd Stires
Ronald Stoch
William and Jane Stone
Richard Stone
Ellen Stone-Belic
Jon Streeter
Harold Streeter
Susan and John Streitz
Bertram Strieb
Mark and Ellen Stromdahl
Ruth Struik
Jack Stuart
Scott Stuckman
Nicholas Sturgeon
Steve Stycos
Jane Subjally
Erica Sucher
Anne Sugar
Tom Suhrbur
M. Barbara Sullivan
James Sullivan
Scott Summers
Barrett Sundberg
Ruth Surgal
Ross Sutherland
Ann Sutherland Harris
Terry and Judith Sutherly
Kathleen Swanson
David Swartz
Druanne Sweetser
Steve Swingle and Patricia Benjamin
Ann Sykes
Gary Tabasinske
David Taber
Merlin Taber
Kathleen Taft
Ronald and Carol Takaki
Julia Takarada
Mits Tamura
Laurie Tanenbaum
Sue Tarjan
Gilbert Tauck
Burnadine and John Taylor
Clark Taylor
Edwin Taylor
Maria Taylor
Audrey Tazelaar
William Tebrake
Kate Tepper
Jay and Helen Tepperman
Studs Terkel
Don Tessmann
Seymour Thau
Bruce Thayer
Scott Theleman
Michael Therriault
Arthur Thomas
Bruce Thomas
Bruce Thompson
Jack Thompson
Nancy Thompson
Eric Thompson
Marjorie Thompson
Annette Thornhill
Marcella Thorson
Robert and Marion Thorstensen
David Tierney
Ken Tilsen
Blaise Tobia
Floyd Tolleson
Jenny Tomkins
Ned Toomey
Aurora Torres
Raymond Torrey
Joe Toyoshima
Colin Trask
Robert Travaline
Jillian Traynor
Richard and Nancy Treat
Richard Trevor
Bethene Trexel
George Trubow
Stephen Truslow
Nicholas Tsangaris
Eileen Turchinetz
Bubba Turcot
Gerald and Kathleen Turkel
Daniel Turner
Jack Tusek
Jane Tuttle
Patricia Tyler
Michael Ugarte
Letitia Upton
Michael Urban
John Van Brunt
Mary Van Evera
Douglas Van Horn
John Van Houten
Freda Van Houten
Glen Van Lehn
Mike Van Sickle
Mary Vance
Jim Vandegriff
Richard Vanden Heuvel
Connie Vandenberg
Jeff Vanderbilt
Charles Varano
Veva Vares
R. Varney
Richard Vasquez
Linda Veiga
Lloyd Velicer and Sharon Mulak
Rob Verner
Kathy Vesely
Jenice View
Robert Vogel
Ron Voorhees
Lolly Voss
Spyros Vutetakis
Virgilia Wade
Robert Wages and Phyllis Ohlemacher
Barbara Walden
Townsend Walker
Bill Walker
Todd Walker
James and Julia Wallace
Carolyn Wallace
Ronald Wallace
Brian Wallace
William Wandell
L. B. Waner
Rufus Wanning
Gloria Wapnick
John Ward
Marc Ward
Ann Ware
Worden Waring
George Waring
Noah Warman
Cheryl Washington
M. Waskelo
Germaine Wasserman
Dale Waterstreet
Howard Watkins
Walter Weathers
Emily Weaver
Richard Weaver
Joanne Weber
Joanie Webster
Jeffrey Wegerson
Aguan Wei
Robert Weidner
Betsy Weiner
David Weingrod
Robert Weinstock
Jacob Weisberg
Joel Weisberg
Joe Weisman
Peter Weiss
Robert Weissbourd
Susan Weltman
Dolores Welty
Joan Wendling
Jeanette Wenzl
David Werst
Joseph Wertyschyn
Dale Wertz
Dorothy West
Al West
John Wetherby
Ewart Wetherill
Haskell Wexler
Deborah Wexler and Michael Mann
Wendy Weygandt
Lucille Wheaton
Benjamin Wheeler
Ilaann White
Walter White
Brian Whitmer
Stanley Wiaduck
Martin Widmayer
Don Wijetunga
John Wilborn
Les Wilbur
Hilda Wilcox
Arthur and Barbara Wilke
George Williams
Chuck Williams
Liz Williamson
Tony Williamson
Jack Willis
Roger Wilson
Donald Wilson
Michael Wilson
James Wilson
Robert Wilson
Harry Wilson
Norman Wilson
David Winkler
Linda and Charles Winston
Norman Wishner
Tom Wodetzki
Jay Woldenberg
Kevin Wolf
Eric Wolfe
Kurt Wolff
Joe Wolfgang
Neil Wollman
Milton Wolpin
Peter Wong
R. Wong
Charles Woodbury
Sharon Woodhouse
Harold Woodman
Charles Woods
Peter Wright
Robin Wylie
Eva Yachnes
Warren Yates
Susan Yessne
John Yoachim
Lena Youm
Geoffrey Young
Marjorie Young
Quentin and Ruth Young
Carl Young
Nicky and Jude Yuen
Ira Yurdin
Robert Yutzy
Mikhail and Gabriel Zakin
Elisabeth Zall
Harold Zarember
Jorge Zayas
Dean Ziegel
Robert Zimmerer
Howard Zinn
Charles Zug
Edward Zugates
Frank Zupancic
Andrew Zweifler

In These Times Publishing Consortium

Grant Abert
Theresa Alt
Stuart Anderson
R. Brent Fisher
Collier Hands
Polly Howells and Eric Werthman
Anne Larson
Lisa Lee
Chris Lloyd
Robin Lloyd
Edith Helen Monsees
Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin
David Rathke
Perry Rosenstein
Lewis Steel
Dan Terkel
Studs Terkel
James Weinstein

And a special thank you to our board of directors

Joel Bleifuss
Rose Economou
Janet Geovanis
R. Brent Fisher
Anne Larson
Robert W. McChesney
David Moberg
David Rathke
Beth Schulman
James Weinstein

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Questioning Labor History

By David Moberg

A century ago labor issues were at the heart of American politics.

How could American workers, increasingly employed by large corporations, escape "wage slavery" and be assured of an "American standard of living," determined by morality and democratic politics and not just by the employer-dominated labor market? How could the rights of citizens be protected as the power of capital grew and workers toiled under undemocratic conditions for large private corporations?

State of the Union: A Century of American Labor
By Nelson Lichtenstein
Princeton University
352 pages, $18.95

Left Out: Reds and America's Industrial Unions
By Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlin
Cambridge University Press
392 pages, $27.00

The New Rank and File
Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd, editors
ILR Press: Cornell Press
288 pages, $17.95

Labor Pains: Inside America's New Union Movement
By Suzan Erem
Monthly Review Press
256 pages, $17.95

The Next Upsurge: Labor and the New Social Movements
By Dan Clawson
ILR Press: Cornell Press
256 pages, $18.95

Historian Nelson Lichtenstein's *State of the Union* superbly surveys and analyzes how these dilemmas were temporarily resolved in an unsatisfactory way in the middle of the 20th Century. Labor struggles didn't disappear entirely, but largely disappeared from public debate—and have once again become as relevant as during the Progressive Era, but with only a diminished labor movement weakly raising the issues.

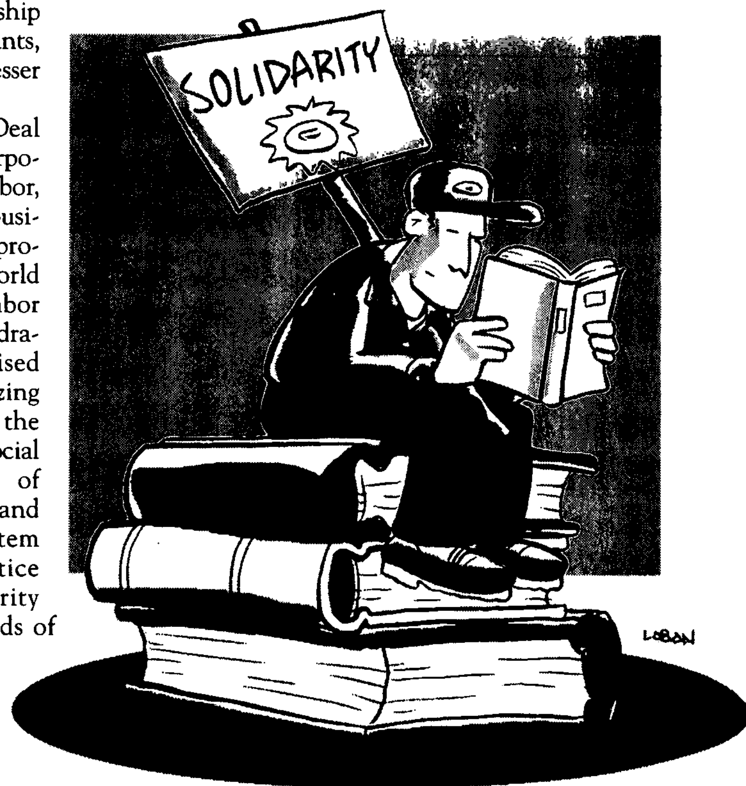
Lichtenstein argues that progressive politics in America suffered as concerns surrounding work were corralled into an increasingly ignored ghetto of labor union activism. Now issues of workplace democracy are likely to return to the national agenda only with a larger, stronger and transformed union movement.

After the labor movement declined in the '20s, a victim of employer attacks and welfare capitalism schemes, it rebounded in the '30s with the new Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), leftist organizers and spontaneous popular unrest.

The labor revival was aided by the New Deal and sympathetic politicians. By raising wages and by providing a social wage (including Social Security), unions and the New Deal would increase consumer demand and help solve the cause of the Depression. The New Deal version of "industrial democracy," Lichtenstein argues, was a kind of constitutionalism largely embodied in the National Labor Relations Act. The industrial union movement also increased political democracy, playing a critical role in the expansion of citizenship rights for immigrants, blacks and, to a lesser extent, women.

With the New Deal support (and a "corporatist" regime of labor, government and business to maintain production during World War II), the labor movement grew dramatically. It raised and began equalizing wages (including the largely privatized social welfare program of "fringe benefits") and established a system of industrial justice focused on seniority rights and methods of processing individual grievances.

The old craft-oriented American Federation of Labor unions adopted many of the CIO innovations of industrial justice and fringe benefits, but as sociologists Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlin emphasize in their recent history of the CIO, *Left Out: Reds and America's Industrial Unions*, significant differences among the unions remained. Although many critics suggest that communist union leaders were no better than less radical unions in advancing workers' interests, Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin muster considerable evidence that the communist-led unions were more democratic, protected workers' power on the job by preserving the right to strike or developing a steward system, and were as good or better in delivering bread-and-butter gains and fighting for women and black workers. Although "red" union leaders often resisted the political machinations of Communist Party officials, they fell victim to attack from the government, employers and opponents in the labor movement—and the movement suffered.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Many unionists and historians see in the post-World War II years an emergence of a labor-management accord that accepted unions as social institutions. Lichtenstein persuasively argues that this new regime was not born of victory but of a dictate imposed by defeat—of unions particularly and the left generally. After World War II, corporations returned to union hostility, aided by white Southern Democrats who had supported much of the New Deal but saw the new labor movement as a threat to their racially segregated order. The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, passed by Congress over President Truman's veto, undermined labor solidarity and militancy and gave employers the right to openly oppose workers' decisions to organize.

By the late '50s, Lichtenstein argues, labor support fell further as the nation's political focus shifted from work to consumption and leisure, the courts elevated management rights over unionist tenets and corruption was exposed in key unions. In the '60s the labor movement under George Meany lost historic ties with liberals and intellectuals as it was viewed as out of touch with the civil rights and antiwar movements.

Race increasingly replaced labor as the central concern of liberal politics—which focused on remedies by the state and emphasized individual rights. Lichtenstein argues that this new rights consciousness undermined unions. But if American unions had been stronger and their leaders more progressive, they could have used the new focus on rights to strengthen unions, for example, winning a greater role for workers in enforcing occupational safety or protecting employees from plant closings and capital flight.

Lichtenstein blames politics more than changing markets for the collapse of the labor movement in the '70s and '80s, citing attacks on construction and municipal unions as precursors of the more widely recognized decimation of industrial unions. Likewise, he sees unions as aiding their own demise by bargaining concession contracts and accepting quality of work life programs that gave management the upper hand and workers only the illusion of participation in solving problems on the job. But he underestimates the significance of globalization. Indeed, the broader fight, including work by unions against globalization policies, has come closer than any phenomenon to putting the "labor question" back into the center of American and global politics.

During the period of the postwar labor accord, union officials viewed their responsibilities under collective bargaining partly as restraining worker initiative and direct action. Staughton and Alice Lynd's *The New Rank and File* chronicles the experiences of workers—and some union leaders, like former Steelworker local president Ed Mann—who extol greater direct worker control of unions and workplace action. Their book is unexpectedly complemented by Suzan Erem's engaging memoir of her work on the staff of Chicago Service Employees Local 73, where leaders tried to organize more worker involvement in the union. Erem's account reveals much of the good and bad in unions made up of overworked and fallible people—both staff and members.

Labor should lead the Democratic Party to focus on the 'labor question' in a new, broad and inclusive fashion.

The Lynds' intriguing, multinational collection of interviews emphasizes the possibilities for workers (and community allies) to organize themselves, yet they acknowledge the role leadership can play in mobilizing workers and making unions more democratic. Mann was a local union leader, for example, but believed in direct action. "I believe we've got too much contract," he said, invoking the Industrial Workers of the World attitude toward workplace disputes. "We'll settle these things as they arise." In Erem's account, the reformed local union encourages greater membership power and participation (not all of which is progressive, unfortunately). Although at times union staff suppressed or supplanted workers' actions, Erem also found direct action to be a powerful way to enforce the contract.

So what has labor learned? In an excellent volume of reporting and analysis, sociologist Dan Clawson argues that labor will grow in numbers and strength not incrementally, but through one of its periodic "upsurges." He suggests this moment may be at hand. Clawson sees hope in new efforts to organize women and to fuse labor organizing with the movements of working-class communities, immigrants and minorities. He also praises organizers' efforts to challenge neoliberalism (which he cites as the real issue, not globalization), and to fight for a living wage and for corporate codes of conduct.

Clawson reports with perceptive detail about many of the recent and ongoing campaigns—from the Stamford, Connecticut labor and community organizing project to immigrant worker organizing strikes—that he believes might give impetus to an upsurge. He believes labor alliances with other movements will expand the meaning and ambition of the labor movement.

It is striking how little attention, however, he gives to labor's political efforts, which by some measures have been its greatest organizational success in recent years, even if few policy victories have followed. Politics and government have played critical roles in past upsurges. Besides urging unions to be more militant, Lichtenstein urges unions to act more "as an independent, and sometimes as a disloyal, component of the Democratic Party coalition."

However, given the weak options for "disloyalty," labor would be better off working with other progressive movements—including environmentalists, largely ignored in Clawson and Lichtenstein's prescriptions—to lead the Democratic Party to focus on the "labor question" in a new, broad and inclusive fashion.

Democracy must extend beyond changes in the workplace to include greater social control over investment and the kinds of goods and services American companies produce—and even the kind of society Americans want. Increasingly, Americans do not view themselves as citizens or workers, but as consumers. This makes the task in some ways harder than a century ago. But Americans still value democracy, and as these writers make clear, union effectiveness and credibility relies on them being the best examples possible of democracy in action. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lula Rising

By Kevin Y. Kim

Two thousand miles north of that bustling hub of Brazilian business, São Paulo, lies a dusty hamlet of 26,000 peasants. Nestled in the country's drought-prone northeast, an area said to contain Latin America's largest concentration of rural poverty, Caetés is a town where nearly everyone is—or claims to be—related to Brazil's new president, widely hailed as globalization's greatest hope in decades. Here, where less than a fifth of the population has clean tap water, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva was born amid yucca farmers and mothers struggling to send their children to bed with enough rice in their bellies to sleep peacefully.

Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil
By Sue Branford and Bernardo Kucinski
The New Press
144 pages, $22.95

Published on the one-year anniversary of Brazil's first working-class president's tenure, *Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil* isn't blind to the unchanged poverty in Caetés and thousands of villages like it. While refraining from castigating Lula for betraying his early radicalism, the authors, veteran BBC and *Guardian* correspondents Sue Branford and Bernardo Kucinski, qualify the oft-recited claim that Lula could help construct "a real alternative to neo-liberalism" with the question on every progressive's mind: Can the Workers' Party (PT) government still achieve this, or has its reinvention as a moderate party to win the presidency compromised its difficult destiny?

The answer *Lula* posits is that it's too early to tell. It's not a good sign that after one year Lula's happiest constituents are the international financiers whose dogmatic policies have mired Latin America's economies since the 1980s. In 2003, Brazilian interest rates shot up, budgets got slashed, and inflation was forced down in what's become a familiar IMF recipe for prompt foreign debt repayment and sluggish economic growth at home. Little wonder, then, that some PT rank-and-file began wondering aloud whether Lula had sold his soul to big capital.

But has he? Branford and Kucinski report Lula tossed and turned many sleepless nights before enacting the austerity program the IMF and foreign creditors demanded. His predecessor handed Lula a colossal public debt reminiscent of Latin America's irresponsible governments of yore, who drew the IMF to the region in the first place. In the lead up to Lula's October 2002 election, collapsing investor confidence and a rapidly spiraling *real* presaged a speculative attack on Brazil's currency, threatening to cripple the PT government before it began.

MAURICIO LIMA/AFP/GETTY

Lula speaking at the opening ceremony of a sugar-exporting terminal.

Pragmatism ruled the start of Lula's administration. The official rationale held that "initial austerity policies could always be changed later into expansionist ones." Lula, whom Kucinski interviewed for the book, speaks of the decision in parable, a style endearing him to the millions of Brazilian poor:

> We moved into a house that was in shambles. We have to put in a new roof and a new floor. We have to redecorate and then we have to adapt the house to our needs. This all takes time.

The time for grandstanding is over, Lula states. Instead, he tells Kucinksi,"it is the time for doing." What emerges from *Lula*'s collage of biographical profiles, economic statistics and political analyses is the portrait of a leader who has given up left-wing rabble-rousing for consensus-building and gradual but steady reform.

While the PT's radical minority feels its first pangs of disillusionment, so far Brazil's people appear to be with Lula for the long haul. Polls show him still enjoying record levels of public support, with an approval rating hovering around 70 percent. Positive market indicators have bolstered his recent promises to convert 2003, "the year of tolerance," into a "spectacle of growth" in 2004. And while constrained by foreign capital at home, Lula's audacious initiatives abroad—especially his tough stands at last year's Cancun and Miami trade talks—reveal his still-fiery commitment to making free trade fair and lifting social concerns to the top of the globalization agenda.

Time will tell whether Lula becomes master of the Clintonian fudge or the stalwart leader the developing world deserves. What his critics overlook is the way the PT's transparent, accountable style of governance itself challenges Washington-led globalization. Where *Lula* ends—an account by Hilary Wainwright of stirring successes in Porto Alegre's participatory self-government — globalization's many actors might begin a long overdue search for alternative political models.

Liberal capitalism's longevity "is rooted in a proclaimed respect for democracy," Wainwright writes. "The problem is that democracy rarely puts capitalism to the test." It's high time the locals start teaching the internationals a thing or two about poverty, democracy and macroeconomic policies that make sense. ■

Kevin Y. Kim *is a writer in New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Graphics of the In
SOLIDAR

Organized labor in the United States has consistently produced more political graphics than any other domestic movement for social change—and done so with unprecedented continuity. With its evolving populations and social conditions, the labor movement has been producing powerful images for more than 150 years.

Solidarity Forever! provides a small sampling of an extraordinary graphic tradition. Some causes are well known; others might have been forgotten were it not for the survival of a graphic. These posters remind viewers of a too often hidden history, rally against exploitation and warn that dangerous conditions in the workplace still occur.

Posters give witness to a history of labor struggles, prevent issues from being lost to future generations and show the vital role of art in mobilizing social change. The use of the poster as a primary tool in organizing support for workers' rights remains strong. And although many of the posters are historical, the issues are not. The eight-hour day is no longer sacrosanct, more and more children are entering the workforce, pesticides threaten farm workers and consumers, and sweatshops are appearing throughout the United States.

Through this and other traveling exhibitions, the Center for the Study of Political Graphics (CSPG) is reclaiming the power of art to inform, inspire and incite to action. ■

Carol A. Wells *is executive director of the CSPG (www.politicalgraphics.org).*

SOLIDARITY FOREVER! runs through February 27 at the offices of *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago. The exhibit is open noon-5 p.m. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The exhibit will have extended hours February 6-8, 5-7 Friday, 10-6 Saturday and 12-5 Sunday. The show is cosponsored by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Illinois State Council, SEIU Local 880 and AFSCME Council 31.

Agitate Educate Organize
Artist unknown
Laser copy, 1998
Venice, California

Not only does this graph
inject a playful note of
romance into labor, it
borrows from the high-a
world of artist Roy
Lichtenstein, who in tu
borrowed from comics to
redirect message and
commentary at the heig
of the Pop Art era.

But I W
California State Employe
Association; Service Employe
International Union, Local 10
Offset, n
Califor

Support the Striking Miners in Stearns, Kentucky
San Francisco Poster Brigade
Offset, ca. 1978
San Francisco, California

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...national Labor Movement
...TY FOREVER!

One Union, One Industry, One Contract
Service Employees International Union Local 399
Offset, 1995
Los Angeles, California

ONE

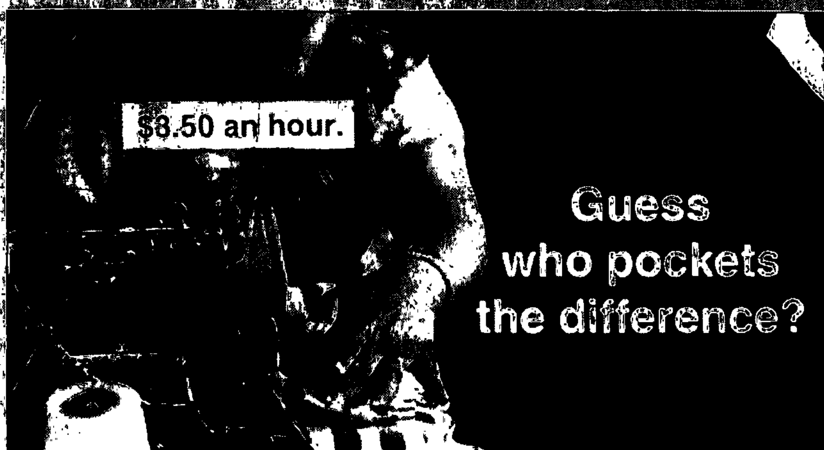
I don't want to strike.

But I will.

"Solidarity Forever – Graphics of the International Labor Movement" was curated from the collection of the CSPG, Los Angeles, California.

The exhibition has been made possible in part by grants from the City of Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department, [illegible] Foundation, International Longshore and Warehouse Union, the Puffin Foundation and individual donors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Guess Who Pockets the Difference?
Common Threads Artist Group
Offset, 1995
Los Angeles, California

JOE HILL

GÄVLE, SVERIGE
7 OKTOBER 1879
SALT LAKE CITY, US
19 NOVEMBER 1915
UNION ORGANIZER
LABOR AGITATOR. POET.
CARTOONIST. COMPOSER
MUSICIAN. ITINERANT WORKER
ARBETARSÅNGAREN

MURDERED BY THE JUDICIARY IN COLLUSION WITH THE MINE OWNERS WHO WISHED TO SILENCE HIS SONGS BUT THE SONGS ARE STILL BEING SUNG!

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
3435 N. SHEFFIELD AVENUE Suite 202
CHICAGO ILLINOIS 60657 USA

IF WE WORKERS TAKE A NOTION
WE CAN STOP ALL SPEEDING TRAINS
EVERY SHIP UPON THE OCEAN
WE CAN TIE WITH MIGHTY CHAINS
EVERY WHEEL IN THE CREATION
EVERY MINE AND EVERY MILL
FLEETS AND ARMIES
OF ALL NATIONS
WILL AT OUR COMMAND
STAND
STILL

SÖRJ EJ, ORGANISERA

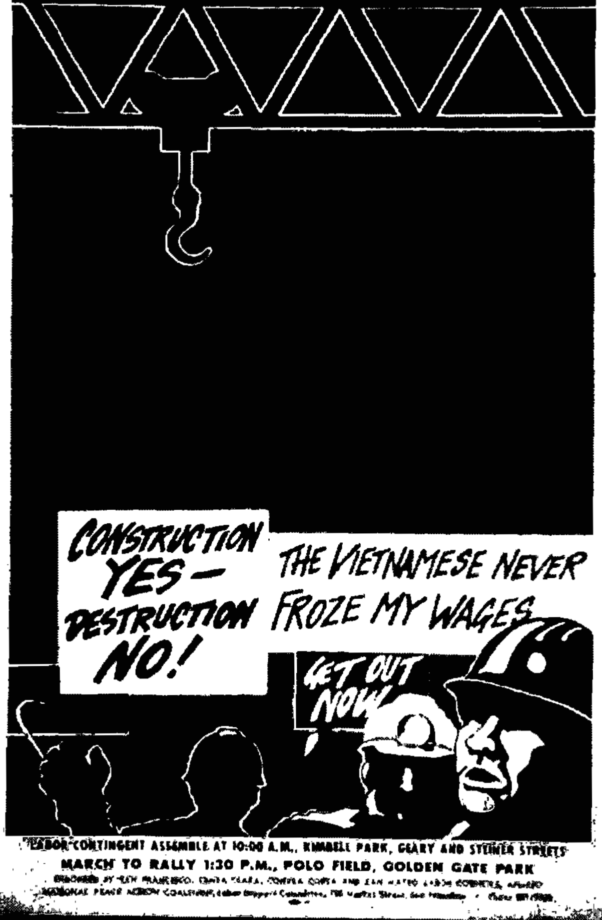
Joe Hill
Carlos Cortez
Silkscreen, 1979
Chicago, Illinois

Joe Hill was a Swedish seaman who arrived in the United States around 1901, and joined the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in 1910. He organized in California and Mexico, becoming best known for his protest songs, especially "The Preacher and the Slave," which introduced the phrase "pie in the sky." His works were collected in *The Little Red Song Book*. He was arrested for double murder in Salt Lake City and convicted on dubious evidence. He was executed by a firing squad on November 19, 1915, despite a protest campaign that enlisted the support of the American Federation of Labor, the Swedish government and President Woodrow Wilson. His last words to a fellow laborite were, "Don't waste any time in mourning. Organize."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Strike–Mississippi Freedom Labor Union
Artist unknown
Lithograph, ca. 1965
Mississippi

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union attempted to organize African American sharecroppers in Mississippi. The MFLU was organized by the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, the Freedom Democratic Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and many others from the civil rights movement. During 1965-1966, sharecroppers organized a strike on some plantations. As a result of the strike they were evicted, losing both their homes and their jobs, and were forced to set up a tent city. It was a valiant effort to organize sharecroppers, but the union did not survive the evictions and a growing trend toward mechanization in agriculture. This poster was one of a pair by the same artist; the companion graphic features a woman sharecropper.



March for Peace April 24
National Peace Action Coalition
Offset, 1971
San Francisco, California

During the Vietnam War, struggles between hawks and doves extended to U.S. labor. This poster attempts to convince workers to join the growing antiwar movement.

La Fatigue Tue!
[Fatigue Kills!
Cut working hours]
International Transport Workers' Federation
Offset, ca. 1998, England

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor Paeans

By Jody Kolodzey

Musician John McCutcheon will sometimes challenge rally organizers to name two speeches from the civil rights movement.

"Everyone can name one, but it's amazing how almost no one can name two. And then I say, 'OK, let's start naming all the songs from the civil rights movement that we remember.' "

JODY KOLODZEY

John McCutcheon

And their names are legion.

"I think that, in general, progressive movements have lost their sense of culture as an organizing tool," he says. "All you have to do is witness, even an antiwar rally these days, where everything is built around speakers. Musicians and other kinds of cultural workers are almost viewed as punctuation between the real work that's being done—by speakers.

"I don't think this is done maliciously; I don't even think it's done knowingly. But anybody who's ever done any work like that, be they a poet or a theater group, a musician, whatever, has certainly recognized that it's absolutely the case."

McCutcheon presides over the 400-member Local 1000 of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) AFL-CIO. Most AFM members play for big orchestras and enjoy regular paychecks, but Local 1000 is the traveling musicians' union, whose members work primarily in folk and other acoustic genres, in coffeehouses and other small venues where passing the hat is all too common. Local 1000 set a wage scale for clubs, house concerts, festivals and so forth; it also has a pension plan, a rarity for this kind of a union.

Minimum scale for a solo performer is $60 for an opening act. Add another 10 percent or so for the pension fund contribution. Most promoters are already paying scale, and some 500 single-engagement contracts are signed for individual artists each year, although only two organizations have negotiated long-term agreements with the union.

Local 1000 began in a lunch conversation "about 17 or 18 years ago" between McCutcheon and fellow activist-musicians Charlie King, John O'Connor and Len Wallace. "We were sharing war stories about playing on picket lines and so on, and someone happened to make the comment, 'Wouldn't it be great to feel about our own union the way that many of the meatpackers or the flight attendants or the coal miners that we've played for feel about theirs,' and a sort of collective light bulb went off." It took until 1994 to get the Local charter approved by the AFM.

Today, Local 1000's membership roster reads like a who's who of the political folk world, from stalwarts such as Joe Glazer, U. Utah Phillips and Pete Seeger to relative newcomers such as Ani DiFranco, Pat Humphries, Joe Jencks and Laura Love.

In some ways, McCutcheon says, Local 1000 is "the most telling thing that's happening in labor music today. I mean, everybody that's involved in labor music, number one, is a member, and at least as important is the difference it has made in people who never knew or thought about labor unions at all, and all of a sudden are passionate about the AFM.

"I think that it's fleshed them out. And they listen to music in a very different way, and they realize that there's a lot of music out there that is in fact labor music without being 'Solidarity Forever.' When they hear a Bruce Springsteen song and he just happens to mention in passing, 'I met her down at the union hall,' their ears perk up and they say, 'Oh, I know what that's like.'"

McCutcheon may be best known for his song "Christmas in the Trenches" about an unofficial one-night truce between German and English soldiers during World War I. His 24 recordings include 1997's Grammy-nominated *Bigger Than Yourself* (Rounder Records), for which the George Meany Center for Labor Education produced a study guide to teach children about unions. Still, it isn't easy to pigeonhole him or his music.

"I don't really think of myself as an antiwar singer or a labor singer, I just happen right now to be the president of this Local, and it's something I feel passionate about. There's only a brief period of time that you have enough influence that people will listen to you, and right now's that time for me. Right now I'm talking a lot of union nuts and bolts, but there's a long way to go and I doubt I'll be shutting up about that anytime soon." ■

Jody Kolodzey last wrote for In These Times *on singer Patti Smith.*

Got an opinion? Got a cause?

Then you need...

THOUGHT ON BOARD Window Talker™

The first dry-erase message board that sticks to a window facing OUTWARD. Better than a bumpersticker! Allows *for true* creativity & freedom of speech.

9" x 9" size for car windows $18

14" x 18" van/store window size $26

(Prices include shipping)

THOUGHT ON BOARD

P.O. Box 23099

Glade Park, CO 81523

(970) 241-3305

www.thoughtonboard.com

"Be Bad. Talk Back."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Tales of One Monster

By Todd Lillethun

Are serial killers beyond redemption? Two new films consider the case of Aileen Wuornos, a woman executed by Florida in 2002 for killing seven men with a .22-caliber pistol. Although the films differ in their portrayal of Wuornos, both attempt to see beyond the media's sensationalism and make an emotional argument against the death penalty.

> **Monster**
> Written and directed by Patty Jenkins
>
> **Aileen: Life and Death of a Serial Killer**
> Directed by Nick Broomfield

In *Monster*, writer-director Patty Jenkins frames Wuornos within a love story. After an opening monologue in which she describes her wish to find Prince Charming, Aileen (Charlize Theron) meets Selby Wall (Christina Ricci) in a seedy gay bar. They make an unlikely couple: Selby is a young, clean-cut Midwestern Catholic who has been sent to live with her aunt after her father discovered her homosexuality; Aileen is a rough homeless woman who has been prostituting for the past 10 years on the interstate. Selby's vulnerability and Aileen's desperation make a quick, potent match, and they set off together to live as a couple in rural Florida.

Jenkins follows Aileen's psychological descent closely: her desire to support and provide for Selby, her perilous escape from a sadistic client, her attempt and failure at legal employment and her humiliating return to prostitution all culminate in the ruthless murders she inflicts.

Though Aileen appears beset by destructive impulses, Selby's adoration forces us to consider her as someone worthy and capable of love. The presence or lack of love informs much of Aileen's identity; throughout we glimpse her tragic childhood of abuse and abandonment, and her tumultuous adolescence of living on the streets. With Selby, her anger and bitterness breaks, and she is tender and hopeful. In the blissful early scenes of awkward courtship, especially when Aileen and Selby kiss in the skating rink with a Journey song swelling in the background, it is difficult to imagine Aileen as someone who could commit atrocities worthy of execution.

So the ultimate horror of her murders poses these questions: Could her love for Selby have prevented them? Or, did it push her over the edge?

Made on a modest budget by a first time writer-director, *Monster* is outstanding by any standard. Despite compressing timelines and condensing key players, it stays true to its source material, is fair to its subjects and provides an open spectrum within which to consider Aileen and her actions.

Theron gives a ferocious, detailed performance that articulates Aileen's complexities. More than the sum of her swagger, drawl and thousand nervous gestures, she embodies her character so seamlessly that the film's artifice seems to disappear. Ricci also does a fine job in creating Aileen's vulnerable, ingenuous counterpart that sets their co-dependent dynamic in motion.

Was Aileen the monster the media made her out to be?

Nick Broomfield's documentary picks up where *Monster* ends. *Aileen: Life and Death of a Serial Killer* is even more sympathetic than *Monster*, as Broomfield frames Wuornos as a woman who has lost her mind.

Broomfield's 1992 documentary, *Aileen Wuornos: The Selling of a Serial Killer*, depicted how her lawyer, adopted mother, ex-girlfriend and arresting officers conspired to profit off Wuornos' story through secret book and movie deals. When Broomfield meets Wuornos a decade later, none of the charges have been prosecuted and she is delirious with rage. She tells him that she wants to come clean with her crimes and die as soon as possible.

Recounting her difficult childhood in Troy, Michigan, Wuornos says she cannot remember a single happy moment. She muses that if things had been different she might have turned out better. Her friends, relatives and ex-lovers agree with her: They recount sad stories from her past and then return to Michigan to visit her childhood home, the woods she lived in and places she caroused.

However, Wuornos becomes increasingly paranoid, and in her final interview describes how the police knew about the first murder and allowed her to continue killing so they could make money off her story. When Broomfield questions the validity of her conspiracy theories, she ends the interview yelling, "You're an inhumane bunch of bastards and bitches." All this, and yet she passed two psychological examinations the day before.

Broomfield sometimes undermines his sober tone by indulging in garish, unflattering close-ups of Wuornos during her tirades—with her crooked teeth and wide circling eyes, she looks like a drowning rat gasping for air.

Still, Broomfield's closeness with Wuornos is felt throughout the film. His tabloid journalist demeanor is muted by the tragedy of his mission—to reconstruct the life of a woman against the backdrop of her impending death. He lets Wuornos speak and come clean, though she does not come to terms with her crimes before her time runs out. Instead of redemption, the long wait on death row has sown madness in its place.■

Todd Lillethun *is a writer and filmmaker in Chicago.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Magnet Consolidation Continued from 30

Union leaders suspected that GM sold Magnequench to the Chinese to gain access to its markets, as other U.S. companies had done. Fearing for job security under the new owners, union leaders negotiated an agreement to keep the plant open for 10 years.

Over the next few years the company bought out other magnet producers, including Idaho-based GA Powders whose product was developed by federal government researchers and UGIMAG's Valparaiso plant. The company invested in its U.S. facilities but also began building factories overseas.

Magnequench's operations initially were quite profitable, but the market slumped in 2000, and the company announced it would close the Anderson plant. The company rebuffed employee efforts to buy the plant, and the union decided to negotiate a severance payment rather than risk a strike and lawsuit over violation of the agreement not to shut down. Early last year Magnequench told its Valparaiso workers that the plant would close.

"They said that because of the world market they'd have to move to China to make a profit," said United Steelworkers official Teri Luna. "Workers in Valparaiso could work for nothing, and they'd still have to close the plant."

China is a major producer of neodymium, and the U.S. magnet factories sold much of their production to the electronics factories of East Asia. *Elements*, a rare earth trade journal, reported that the Chinese government, "through subsidies and other means," tried to overcome its lack of technology and develop its magnet industry into "a global giant."

Industry expert John Croat told the magazine: "They are under-pricing everyone. At this point they are selling magnets almost at cost. It is driving everyone else out of the business." Chinese companies also were infringing patents, and the Chinese government forced other magnet companies "to set up shop in China," *Elements* reported.

Profits from the Anderson plant financed Magnequench's acquisitions and new facilities in China. The Indiana factory workers trained engineers and workers to produce magnets in the new factories and covered their mistakes as they ramped up production. Believing that government shouldn't tinker with the market, U.S. officials surrendered a growth industry and good jobs, while making the United States dependent on China for critical military and commercial technology.

The immediate victims of this inaction are the Indiana workers. After surviving three previous shutdowns, including two factories that moved to Mexico, former Magnequnech worker Brenda Nardozzi can't pay for her 20-year-old son to go to college now that she's out of work. "There's nothing out there that pays what I was making," she said. She found part-time employment at a social service agency—calling laid-off Magnequench workers to report on searches for new jobs. ■

Tech Workers

Continued from 31

economic growth throughout the '90s, providing a welcome buffer to the slow but steady decline of staple industries: manufacturing, aerospace and the region's once abundant natural resources. But even then, the prevalent and unregulated use of non-benefit-earning contract workers at companies like Microsoft—a phenomenon known as "permatemping"—led to the 1998 creation of WashTech. The union rallied Microsoft's permatemps to secure jobs and benefits, organized Amazon.com workers to receive better severance packages when their jobs were outsourced to another state, and supported the creation of Alliance@IBM, another CWA-affiliated union of employees, contractors and temps at the multinational high-tech corporation.

WashTech now is spreading nationwide, attracting members like New York-based Judy Tarasek, recently elected the union's membership chair who will coordinate outreach to tech workers in New York City and other IT hubs across the nation. Tarasek, who has worked in the IT sector for 23 years, lost her last consulting position when it was outsourced after being told that she was "making too much money."

"Quite frankly, everyone is on pins and needles," she says. "They know that they might be the next to be laid off. And they are right to be afraid." ■

Silja J.A. Talvi *is a Seattle-based journalist.*

Sweatshops

Continued from 36

Land's End admitted their third-party inquiry misrepresented the situation and promised remediation. A Land's End spokeswoman says the company is preparing a corrective plan, and declined further comment, pending an investigation.

In addition to targeting more diverse brands, anti-sweatshop campaigners are pushing campus worker rights committees to force corporate disclosure of factory wages.

Organizers expect a difficult battle, but their success in securing the release of factory locations three years ago emboldens them. Transparency in wages, they say, is the first step to raising the pay floor. "In some cases, getting companies to pay minimum wage would be progress—that's how bad the industry is," McKean says.

With the United States negotiating bilateral trade deals that weaken worker protections and with the Multi-Fiber Agreement—a World Trade Organization textile-quota system—expiring this year, industry observers predict garment production will flee to China and other countries with feeble civil societies and anti-union laws.

To combat these moves, says Nova, "we are going to make this debate about more than respect for rights in the workplace. If we are to see sustainable improvements in worker rights, buyers need to stick by and support those factories when they make improvements." ■

Mischa Gaus *is a writer in Chicago.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

briefly met during Nina's fittings—and Lucy, still open-mouthed at Nina's audacity in publicly acknowledging her, waved back.

"Thank you for ... for coming," Lucy managed to stammer.

"I'll see you very soon," Nina said over her shoulder as she went to rejoin her mother.

At just that moment, Albert mounted the podium. He paused for a moment to survey the sea of satins and shawls, felt top hats and Prince Albert long coats, the members of the audience spread out before his eyes like a sea of long-necked albatrosses.

"Ladies and gentlemen," he began, his voice benign and melodious, "it very seldom happens that I have a chance to speak before a meeting composed of so many gentlemen with nice white shirts and ladies wearing elegant and costly toilets. I am the notorious Parsons, the fellow with long horns, as you know him from the daily press. Well, I am from Texas, where longhorns—cattle, that is—are indeed common, so perhaps the image is not entirely inappropriate."

That produced a few titters, and some unease. The ladies tended to think Parsons' smile uncommonly sweet; the men found his emphasis on longhorns vaguely threatening, somehow conjuring up the image of heads on pikes.

"I'm in the habit," Albert continued, "of speaking before meetings composed of people who by their labor supply you with all these nice things you wear while they themselves are forced to dress in coarse and common garments; of such people who build your fine palaces, with all those comfortable fixtures, while they themselves dwell in hovels or on the street. Are not these charitable people—these sans-culottes—very generous to you?"

The only response was some low hissing. The ladies made a quick reevaluation: the sweet smile belonged to a villain—just as they'd been warned.

"We've often heard," Albert said, "that in this country 55 million people live in ease and plenty. Yet in its last issue, *Bradstreet*'s states that 2 million heads of families are in enforced idleness and without any means of support—and *Bradstreet*'s is certainly not a lying communistic sheet." There was a renewed, louder wave of hissing.

Motioning for quiet, his voice less mellow, Albert moved directly—he knew this audience wouldn't listen for long—to his charge: "Here in this city of Chicago alone, there are 35 thousand men, women and children living in a condition of starvation, driven to—"

He was again interrupted, this time by loud booing from several different sections of the audience. Albert's voice rose insistently above the din: "You may choose to deny that so many in your midst are starving to death, but that will not make the fact less true."

"Give us proof!" a man shouted from the back rows. "Prove that what you say is fact!"

"Proof? Do you lack eyes and ears, sir? Or do you employ them only when guaranteed sylvan sights and sounds? Proof, my dear sir, is easily come by. Take yourself to a police station on a bitter winter night and you will see what passes for charity in Chicago—cold, bare flagstones for sleep, a 5 a.m. slice of bread for breakfast, or none at all. Or if you fear visiting a police station lest you be detained for real crimes, have a look in the city's damp tunnels at night, where you'll see men—yes, and many women, too, and they are not prostitutes, as you may prefer to believe—trotting up and down all night to keep from freezing to death. If none of that persuades you as proof, then you might try..."

Dozens of men in the audience were now on their feet, stamping and shouting insults at the platform. The chairman of the event hastened to the podium, banged the gavel, and called for order. As the frenzy began slowly to subside, the chairman gestured frantically toward the wings, and two frightened young ladies, with their musical accompanist, timidly appeared on the stage. But before they could begin to sing, Albert, taking advantage of the lull, managed to yell out a few final words: "You are driving the people to revolution. I do not advocate force, I merely predict it. Violence will come not because we want it, but because you make it inevitable!"

As the audience broke into an uproar, Lucy, Spies and the other comrades rushed Albert through the back exit behind the stage. Once on the street they quickly dispersed—but not before Lucy caught a glimpse of Nina and her mother standing silently on the sidewalk, alone. ■

Martin Duberman *is Distinguished Professor of History at The City University of New York and the author of some 20 books. The preceding was excerpted from his most recent work, the historical novel* Haymarket *(Seven Stories Press, 2003).*

Classifieds

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!
Conclusive proof Romans (Flavius Josephus) created fictional Jesus, Gospels. AMAZING but Absolutely incontrovertible! Send $10 to Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-C, Kent WA 98064. SASE for details.

AUTHOR'S QUERY

FAY ABRAHAMS STENDER 1932-1980. Anecdotes/personal remembrances sought re California lawyer and activist, defended Huey Newton, George Jackson; Director of Berkeley Prison Law Project. Contact Lpearlma@msn.com or call (510) 268-8159.

BOOKS

STOP BUSH IN 2004: How Every Citizen Can Help. The comprehensive handbook to defeat Bush in 2004. Join the Citizens Campaign to take back the government. www.StopBushin2004.com. Take Action Now!

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

ENJOY INDEPENDENCE AND CREDIBILITY promoting proven superior 100% guaranteed water filtration products. Standardized third-party certification gives you clear marketing advantage. Experienced assistance. FREE information. (800) 706-0708.

VOLUNTEERS

OUR NEIGHBORS NEED your help! As a Vital Bridges volunteer, you can: deliver meals or food boxes to a client's home in the city and suburbs, stock shelves and pack food at one of our six pantries, or help out in any of our offices. Together we can help people impacted by HIV and AIDS build healthier lives. Visit www.vitalbridges.org for more information.

WEB SITES

WHAT'S HAPPENING? Log on to www.sagacious-smartass.com.

WWW.GUERNICAGALLERY.COM socially and politically relevant art. View the work of 18 artists. We welcome additional artists.

PERSONALS

Concerned Singles
links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, gender equity, racism, and the environment. Nationwide. All ages. Straight/Gay. Since 1984.
FREE SAMPLE: Box 444-IT, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 445-6309; OR http://www.concernedsingles.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Haymarket

By Martin Duberman

Chicago's august West Side Philosophical Society, aware of the agitation throughout the land, decided that the time had come to schedule an open debate at Princeton Hall on "Socialism." Albert Parsons was invited to present the case.

"That's like the Pope opening the Vatican to the Pharisees," Lizzie said when she heard the news.

"Don't go," Lucy said, "You'll be Exhibit A at the freak show."

"I have to go," Albert said. "It's a unique opportunity to speak my mind to people who are convinced I don't have one. Don't worry: I have no illusions that anything I could say will find favor, or even comprehension, among the stuffed shirts."

"Good," Lucy said, "because you won't change a single person's mind."

On the night of the debate, a sizeable contingent of IWPA comrades, including Lucy, Lizzie, William, Spies, Fielden, and Neebe, grouped tautly together at the front of the imposing and packed auditorium. The seats immediately surrounding them remained unfilled; though it was a standing-room only crowd, none of the fashionable attendees would dream of sitting in proximity to such notorious rabble-rousers.

Reacting to a tap on her shoulder, Lucy turned around to find herself staring into the smiling face of Nina Van Zandt.

"I just wanted to say a quick hello," Nina offered. "I'm so looking forward to hearing your husband speak. So is my mother." Nina pointed to a woman seated in the middle of the audience, dressed in a full-length gown with shirr pleats across her right shoulder and velvet trimming on her left—the latest word in Continental elegance. Mrs. Van Zandt waved cordially—she and Lucy had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED