

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY  
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

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## System Slips: Change Gears

By William W. Winpisinger

**D**SOC VICE-CHAIR WILLIAM Winpisinger received the Norman Thomas-Eugene Debs award given by the New York City DSOC on June 6th. The article below is adapted from his acceptance speech. Winpisinger is president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Engineers (IAM).

As a mark of respect for those two great Americans whose lives we memorialize here this evening, I will forgo my usual role of delivering the long bill of indictment against the President of the United States. Neither Debs nor Thomas would have wasted his breath belaboring the obvious.

We all know the President's failures and weaknesses. He is a man who moves in the rarified atmosphere of corporate America, among the managerial and stockowning classes.

He is addicted to the rhetoric of individualism and *laissez-faire* economics, at a time when the nation yearns for bold cooperative action and decisive government intervention.

Those of us who do not live in that rarified atmosphere know that unfettered private enterprise and the free marketplace have never provided economic and social justice.

The most recent example is the current energyflation that brings large profits to corporations and gouges the consumers.



**“Seize every opportunity to mobilize. Rail, rally and refute.”**

More than any other issue, this corporate energy anarchy provides DSOC with an opportunity to identify with, communicate with, and organize those citizens who until now have been comfortable and satisfied, unorganized and unwary. Trapped in gasoline lines, the nuclear power web, and spiraling price rises, they are experiencing the crunch

of the corporate state and, perhaps for the first time in their lives, questioning the assumptions on which it is founded.

The coming planned economic recession will further sensitize them to the need for fundamental change.

The questions we must be prepared to answer are: 1) What is our program? 2) What sorts of institutional change

are needed to achieve our goals? and 3) What political strategy can best bring it all about?

### Four Basic Rights

First, our program must be based on four basic rights:

- The right to a fair share of the nation's wealth and income;

# LETTERS

To the Editor:

As a DSOC member active in health matters, I was happy to see the articles by Pat Lacefield and Robb Burlage in the June issue. I now work in one of the Health Systems Agencies (HSAs) that Burlage referred to. I would like to re-emphasize his point about the "extremely positive" potential for community and health worker organizing in the 200 plus HSAs around the U.S. Currently, over 35,000 persons, according to HEW, are active in HSA boards, committees, task forces, etc. HSAs do long and short range planning which can cover almost every imaginable aspect of health. Hospitals, nursing homes and other providers must come before HSA committees and boards to show need when they want to expand, build or add expensive equipment. This represents a real expansion of democratic control over what was previously a much more private affair at the public's expense! HSAs are far from perfect and other avenues of health organizing are certainly very important. However, DSOCers should seriously consider their local HSA as a potential place for their activism.

Bob Groves  
Wooster, Ohio

To the Editor:

While there is considerable merit to what Alex Spinrad says in his article on SALT II in the May issue of DEMOCRATIC LEFT, I must protest his declaration that the most important development of

the next decade will be "the decline of American power and the concomitant rise of Soviet expansionism." In fact, the Soviet Union has been notoriously inept in gaining long term advantage in foreign affairs. In Africa, for instance, during the '60s, there was much head shaking about Soviet influence in Egypt; in the early '70s Somalia and Eritrea were considered potential Soviet satellites; none have particularly friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. now. In Southern Africa, Soviet influence is a result of Western vacillation on the question of ending white domination of black societies. Indeed, the only area where the Soviets have even held their own is where they can make direct and timely interventions (viz. Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968).

As Alex says, "All power is the illusion of power." To make the Soviet Union appear more successful than it truly is in international politics, is to create a domestic political illusion in which progressive politics cannot succeed.

John H. Brown  
Akron, Ohio

To the Editor:

Ron Radosh and I must read different editions of *The New Republic*. If that magazine has not moved right, as he contends, then I have moved left, and, considering my age, I don't think that's possible, much less likely.

I have grown disenchanted with

TNR not because of, but in spite of, the editorials defending Israel.

True enough, TNR has now and then run pieces by one or another supporter of the democratic left—but not even Irving Howe or Michael Harrington once or twice a year, nor Henry Fairlie, more or less regularly, can compensate for the weekly obsequious pandering to the White House by TNR's John Osborne, to whom all recent presidents—Nixon, Ford, Carter—have looked alike and good. What is more, TNR's editorials on domestic affairs come out somewhat to the right of the *New York Times*, and are often also frivolous, snide, smug!

Even their political writer, Ken Bode, who for a long time seemed immune to the infection, recently gave currency to the worst kind of distortions and libelous anti-labor charges circulating against New York City's civil service workers.

*The New Republic's* editors are free, of course, to take the magazine along any route they may in their collective wisdom choose to follow, but I am not yet prepared to make the journey to the right with them nor to help them make their trip easy and comfortable.

Brendan Sexton  
New York, N.Y.

Letters to the editor must be signed. We reserve the right to edit for clarity and brevity. Please limit letters to less than 300 words.

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Formerly the  
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- The right to a job;
- The right to organize and participate in private and public investment decisions;
- The right to peace.

The right to a fair share of the national income and wealth is crucial. Since 1967, prices across the board have more than doubled and tax increases have outstripped wage increases. Thus, real after-tax income for individuals is at the same level it was at in 1967. Household real after-tax income may have risen, but that's because more wives and other family members are working to make ends meet.

Nearly 15 percent of the American people live below the government's artificially low poverty line. Another 15 percent live on less than \$11,000 a year.

At the top of the pyramid, just 1 percent of the people own and control 33 percent of the nation's wealth. At the bottom, 60 percent of the people own only 8 percent of the wealth, and that consists primarily of consumer durables, such as cars and refrigerators.

These inequities in income and wealth distribution constitute a social stratification that seriously impairs the functioning of democracy. Wealth means economic power and power means politics. Given our auction block system of campaign fundraising, it is small wonder that so many politicians are beholden to so few wealthy people and to corporate interests.

The right to organize into trade unions for collective bargaining has been weakened over the years, but it must remain an absolute one. Beyond that, though, workers and communities must have a voice in corporate investment decisions that have an impact upon them.

The runaway employer must be held accountable to those who have served him faithfully and dependably. The mobility of capital and flight of technology can no longer be permitted unrestrained license.

The American industrial landscape is pockmarked with depressed areas as corporate employers flee trade unions and collective bargaining, wage and hour standards, occupational safety and health standards, and environmental protection standards.

Inevitably, bottom line justification for this irresponsible corporate conduct is profit maximization. A fair profit is



New Unity/cpf

one thing—maximum profits are quite another!

At minimum, a fair share of income and wealth would be the Bureau of Labor Statistics medium budget standard. That means \$18,000 a year for a four person family; a home mortgage with 15 years left to pay; one used car and a new refrigerator every 17 years.

The right to full employment opportunity for every American of working age seems so fundamental that we needn't equivocate on the issue.

Yet, our government has used high unemployment unsuccessfully to combat inflation, so that now we have accelerating double digit inflation and the wasted lives of nearly 10 million people marking time in the ranks of an army of unemployed.

The third basic right would guarantee to every American worker the right to organize and participate in private and public investment decisions affecting life and livelihood.

In 1980, total military outlays will sap 57 cents of every federal tax dollar. Three-quarters of the interest paid on the national debt is war-related.

Zero-based budgeting and fiscal austerity are mercilessly applied to employment, health, education, welfare and social security programs. But the Defense Department is given a guaranteed annual increase of 3 percent plus the inflation rate.

Aside from the fiscal and strategic follies of the defense budget, the emphasis on war preparation is economic mad-

ness. More jobs are created per \$1 billion spent in the civilian sector than are created by \$1 billion spent in the defense sector. Contrary to popular conception, the Pentagon is an empty pork barrel when it comes to jobs. Military production is highly capital intensive and automated.

As technology displaces human labor, defense workers are shunted to the end of the unemployment line. When defense contracts are canceled, weapons become obsolete, or procurement is shifted overseas, contractors never lose. They receive indemnity payments in lieu of profits. Only the workers lose.

### Need for Planning

What sorts of structural change are needed to accomplish our goals?

Simply put, we need socialized central planning similar to that which we put in place when the nation mobilized for World War II. We had a War Production Board then to determine and allocate resources. We need a similar agency for socially useful peacetime production.

We had mandatory price and profit controls. We didn't need wage controls because the trade unions knew they couldn't demand more than the treasury held. In return for wage restraint, workers were guaranteed incremental real wage gains. The economy was inflation proof.

We need similar mandatory controls on all forms of income today, with a

guarantee that workers' real incomes will be permitted to rise incrementally each year.

Back then we had a finely-tuned, centrally directed, efficient, and relatively fair economy.

Our troubles began when we returned to the free market system and let corporate America take over the planning in its closed boardrooms. We've been in trouble ever since.

This nation needs centralized economic planning and controls which cannot possibly be executed without encroaching on vested interests, corporate prerogatives and traditional property rights.

Until we bite that bullet, we shall continue floundering in the mythical free market malaise.

We must not deceive ourselves or the American people.

Socialized economic planning, in order to be successful, cannot conceal a desire to save the system as it is. If we're going to substitute the power of the people for the power of corporate America, then those parts of the market system that are not working in the public interest—that are impairing and imperiling our four basic rights—will have to be altered, changed or discarded.

As Franklin D. Roosevelt said "The country needs, and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation."

FDR preserved the system. Now it's out of whack and malfunctioning again. This time the evil is global in nature and structure. To make the economy serve the people, more must be done than fine tuning the market system.

What is the best political strategy to bring about this ambitious program?

At the grassroots level, we can follow that time-honored trade union principle: agitate, educate, and organize.

Seize every opportunity to mobilize. Point out every flaw and injustice. Expose every cover-up and corruption. Rail, rally, and refute.

Above all, form coalitions. Build bridges to co-workers, friends, neighbors, other organizations.

Coalesce on the issues. Bring national issues down to the state and local levels. Plug in state and local issues to the national scene.

When our positions are taken, our program formulated, then carry the fight to the politicians at all levels.

Hold their feet to the fire. And if they can't stand the heat, tell them to get out of the kitchen.

It's that kind of attitude and that kind of behavior that will get us into the power struggle and make people take us seriously.

Try it. You'll like it.

Eugene Debs did. And so did Norman Thomas. And we're better off because they did. ■

two points, but saw its caucus reduced from eight to six.

The defeat for the Liberal party, though, is even more shattering when one notes that it received nearly half its four million votes, and more than half its caucus, in one province—Quebec. In Canada's four western provinces there are now only three Liberal MPs. The establishment of a two-party, NDP-Conservative political battle in the fastest growing region of the country is nearly final.



The election saw the first real effort by the Canadian trade union movement as a whole to throw its muscle into a federal election. Much of the credit for the three-point gain in popular vote goes to the work of the Canadian Labour Congress and its affiliates. The union threw hundreds of staff people and volunteers and nearly a million dollars into the effort.

NDP leader Ed Broadbent's campaign concentrated on Canadian control of the resource-based economy, using the theme "Bring Canada home again."

It was an unashamedly media-oriented campaign, which resulted in more favorable, and more extensive, television and print media coverage than the party has ever received. Increased support from the trade union movement and revenues from the recent public financing law made this possible.

The party came within one thousand votes of winning an additional twenty-five seats, so there were many bitter disappointments on election night. Nonetheless, in the context of the conservative mood of many western democracies, and the disastrous plummet in support for Liberal leader Pierre Trudeau in English Canada, the party is pleased with its victories. Planning for a re-match, which could come within the year, given the minority parliament, has now begun. ■

*Robin Sears is the federal secretary of the New Democratic Party of Canada.*

# Labor Aid Crucial To Canadian Left

By Robin V. Sears

**I**N A YEAR OF UNHAPPY SETBACKS for many fraternal parties around the world, the New Democratic Party (NDP) stemmed the tide of right wing conservatism in the Canadian federal election in May.

Winning ten new seats in the federal Parliament to boost its caucus to 26, the NDP prevented Joe Clark's winning Conservative party from receiving a majority in Parliament. The NDP's vote increased in nine of ten

provinces, receiving the support of more than two million voters out of eleven.

In Western Canada, the party elected more than half its caucus, defeating two cabinet ministers and recapturing many of the seats lost in the defeat in 1974. Ontario was its greatest disappointment. The Conservatives swept the country's largest province, removing the Liberals from supremacy and winning the government. The NDP captured 21 percent of the vote, an increase of

# Energy Crisis Highlights Corporate Stranglehold

By Michael Harrington

**T**HE CURRENT ENERGY CRISIS and the current recession, the White House says, are related to one another as cause and effect. If the Shah of Iran had not been overthrown and OPEC not raised its prices, there would be no rising unemployment and declining growth.

It is crucial that, on this Labor Day 1979, the trade union movement clearly understand that the White House is wrong. The energy crisis and the recession are indeed related to one another, but not as cause and effect. Rather, they are manifestations of deep structural problems in the American economy and society.

For that reason, the nation is now at a critical turning point similar to the period between 1929 and 1933. The labor movement faces difficulties—and is presented with opportunities—like those of the Great Depression. If it realizes that the crisis is structural and responds accordingly, working people can make significant, even dramatic, gains. If not, there could be an erosion of past victories, an unraveling of some of the accomplishments of the democratic left over the past half century.

## Systemic Sins

What is the structural character of the energy crisis and stagflation?

OPEC's policies or the Shah's fall can have a disastrous impact upon us only because our energy economy has been designed according to corporate priorities. For example, multi-billion dollar tax deductions for oil corporations provided a positive incentive to make the nation dependent on Middle Eastern oil. Oil import quotas protected domestic producers, forced consumers to pay bil-

lions in higher prices, and "drained America first."

The callous destruction of mass transit, most notably the rail system, was accomplished by almost \$100 billion in federal funds for an interstate highway system that is in danger of becoming the Penn Central of the Eighties.

One stunning example shows how crazy—and corporate—the priorities of our energy system have been. Robert Caro, in his book *Power Broker*, writes that the \$1.2 billion that Robert Moses invested in putting a second deck on the George Washington Bridge in New York in 1955 would have paid for the modernization of the entire subway system and the Long Island Railroad.

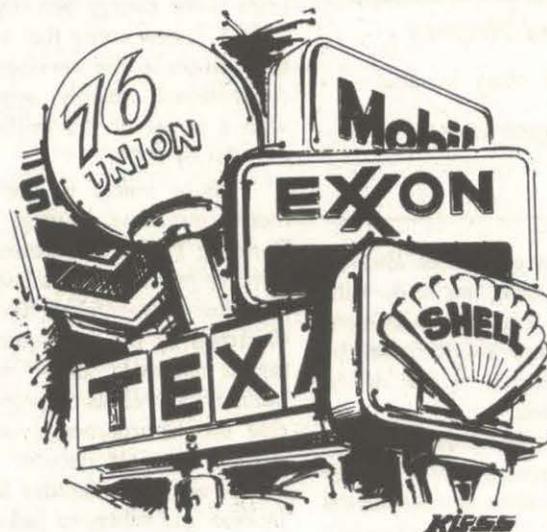
Given this wasteful publicly funded transportation and energy infrastructure, it is ridiculous to talk of the overconsumption of the average American or of a "love affair" with the private car. The wastefulness is a sin of the system, not of individuals; the "love affair" is not a mythic mystery but a rational response

to the ruining of mass transit and the subsidizing of the gas guzzler.

While it is true that recent events have had a devastating impact on a system engineered to make the worst of them, they are not the basic cause of the energy crisis—or of stagflation. In the latter case, too, there are internal, structural sources of our woes.

Giant corporations now have such power over the market that they *never* lower prices, not even in a recession. That is the prime cause of inflation. Those same corporations want periodic downturns, which bring on recessions, in order to "wring out" the inflation they themselves cause.

It is this quantum leap in corporate power that is the central issue of our time. The New Deal assumed that the corporate infrastructure was basically sound; that all government had to do was to generate enough effective demand to let the private economy do its efficient and constructive work. As our related crises demonstrate, that is no longer true.



Makes you think you got a choice, don't it?

## Fall Energy Offensive

The new realities call for new approaches. The preceding analysis ties into an important action—the STOP (Stop Oil Profiteering) demonstrations planned for October 17 by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance. [See article on p. 7]

The demands of that labor-led demonstration challenge the sovereign right of oil multinationals to decide on refining schedules, establish prices, and de-

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“Gulf Oil and Aramco understand that they would get billions in guaranteed profits.”

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velop alternative energy sources. Each of those points, let us note, has to do with democratizing the corporate decision-making process. They counterpose the priorities of the people to the divine right of the boardroom.

One of the October 17th proposals—to establish a taxpayer-owned energy development corporation on the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority—is a step toward redefining the boundaries of private and public economic power in the United States.

Because the demands directly confront corporate decision-making power, the broad nature of the coalition supporting them is extremely important.

Leaders from the building trades are involved as well as the Auto Workers, Machinists, and State, County and Municipal Workers. J. C. Turner of the Operating Engineers played an active role in developing the plan. This means that one of the most hopeful signs of the times—the emergence of coalitions containing groups (the building trades, environmentalists, community organizers) that in the past fought, rather than cooperated—is proceeding apace.

## Limits to Coalition

But there are also limits to the coalition, differences within it that have to be faced. The most obvious disagreement is over the issue of nuclear power. Each side in that dispute will urge its point of view on that question outside of the coalition, and each side will stress its common agreement within the coalition.

That strikes me as an essential in these difficult times; that the democratic left stress unifying themes and discuss differences in as friendly a way as possible.

That is relatively easy to do with regard to a single demonstration. It is not so simple when some fundamental options are at stake. The Carter energy proposal and the democratic left's response to it is such an issue.

## Carter Scheme a Scam

A centerpiece of the Carter program is the Energy Security Corporation (ESC), a new entity that would allocate \$88 billion to the development of non-conventional, mainly synthetic, fuels, with a target of 2.5 million barrels of oil a day by 1990.

Major voices in the labor movement, including George Meany, the Building Trades Department and others, have responded enthusiastically to the idea. Environmentalists have been deeply disturbed by the consequences of creating an extremely “dirty,” water-guzzling industry, as well as by proposals to override the environmental standards won during the past decade. And another group, one that includes Senator Henry Jackson and others to Jackson's left, has questioned the economics of the plan.

Although I am against the ESC idea, I see possibilities of dialogue with, even of building bridges toward, those in the labor movement who favor it. We both want to solve the energy crisis through planning that leads to full employment. This is a powerful basis of agreement. We differ on the content of the plan.

## Gift to Big Business

The ESC, as *Business Week* points out, is “a virtual copy of the \$100 billion Energy Independence Authority proposed during the Ford Administration.” The Republican National Committee energy task force, the magazine reports, did not attack Carter's scheme because it had been working on a policy “very much like Carter's.” Now, the mere fact that the party of big business is for an idea does not, in and of itself, discredit it, but it should give the democratic left pause.

While the ideologues at the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page and some conservative Republican members of Congress are opposed to such government intervention, the executives at Gulf Oil and Aramco understand that they would get billions in guaranteed profits.

They are right. As one Treasury official put it, if the ESC should be forced to develop a project on its own rather than through financing the private sector, “it would divest itself of any operations as soon as that is commercially feasible.” In other words, the government would take all the risks, pay all of the development costs but not, as Doug Fraser has noted in the case of the subsidy for Chrysler, receive any equity control in return.

Moreover, the synfuels proposal could well fail. The development of solar technology is sometimes derided as utopian, but the Carter plan is much, much more uncertain. Its direct costs are unknown, except that they are certain to be huge; its output is unknown in the sense that no one knows if any of these



The Four Profiteers

processes will be economically feasible. There is, however, abundant evidence that the environment would be degraded, even in the case of failure.

Why, then, are trade unionists who are enthusiastic about the October 17th anti-corporate demonstration also sympathetic to the pro-corporate ESC? The answer is obvious. The administration projections now say that unemployment on election day, 1980, will be 8.2 percent with prices still soaring. A federally induced depression is already underway in the construction industry. Under these circumstances, there are unionists who reach out to any program which creates jobs. I think they are wrong in their choice, or acceptance, of means; I think they are absolutely right on their goal.

I do not want to minimize real differences in order to create a fraudulent unity. Disagreements over the ESC, or with regard to nuclear power, are significant and have to do with the fundamental direction of policy. Yet, those differences do exist within a common framework and, if that is understood, perhaps they can be discussed with more light and less heat. The entire democratic left is for a democratically planned, progressively funded resolution of the energy crisis that will lead to full employment. We all see the need to challenge corporate power in the process. What we share places us in common opposition to the reactionaries and imposes upon us the task of persuading millions of Americans, who should understand these things but do not, of some basic truths.

Above all, we should remember a sad truth on this Labor Day, 1979. Four years ago, as the worst recession since the Great Depression was bottoming out, we committed ourselves to a political struggle for full employment with stable prices. Four years later we are entering a new crisis of inflation and joblessness that could be worse than the earlier one. Merely tinkering with the economy, shuttling back and forth between a weak commitment to Humphrey-Hawkins and the appointment of principled conservatives to the Federal Reserve Board, doesn't work. That is a prescription for continuing disaster. Labor and all the progressive forces desperately need to unify so that we can deal with structural problems that put fundamental options on the agenda in a way that hasn't been true since the Thirties. ■

# Bigoil DISCREDIT CARD

**THE OIL COMPANIES' CREDIT HAS RUN OUT WITH ME!**

**Dear Member of Congress:** I'm tired of oil company rip-offs, windfall profits and higher prices. I support: (1) **Continued price controls** on oil; (2) **An end to the lies and phony shortages**; (3) **An end to the oil company monopoly!**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

**STOP THE OIL PROFITEERS!**



Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614

By Jane Midgley

**T**HE CITIZEN/LABOR ENERGY Coalition (CLEC), in conjunction with the Progressive Alliance, plans nationwide actions against the oil companies. "There are millions of people around the country who want to share their frustration and anger," a CLEC spokesperson told **DEMOCRATIC LEFT**.

The campaign will give them an opportunity. The theme of the actions, which will demand fair energy prices and increased supply, will be "Stop the Oil Profiteers."

On the national United Day of Protest October 17, consumers can fill out "Big Oil Discredit" cards to send to Congress. Demonstrations will be held in cities throughout the country.

CLEC's long-term program includes a call for the creation of an American energy corporation. Such a corporation could serve as a yardstick to determine the fairness of energy prices, ensure efficient and safe use of fuel resources without giving away public lands, encourage the development of renewable resources such as solar energy, and stimulate competition within the oil industry. At present, 50 to 70 percent of oil and gas reserves are found on federal lands.

For more information, contact CLEC, 600 W. Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614, (312) 929-9125. CLEC has affiliates throughout the country. A listing appeared in the April issue of **DEMOCRATIC LEFT**. ■

*Jane Midgley is active in the D.C.-Maryland Local.*

## D.C. FUNDRAISER

The DSOC D.C.-Maryland Local will hold a fundraiser at the National Press Club on Oct. 16 to honor Larry Rogin for his years of service to the labor movement. For more information, call DSOC at 202-296-7693, or write to the office at 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Rm. 713, Washington, D.C. 20036.

## SOCIALIST FORUM

*Socialist Forum*, the discussion bulletin of DSOC, focused its first issue on energy. The next one will examine strategies for 1980 and beyond. Find out what DSOCers are thinking and planning. Subscribe now. \$8 for four issues, starting with Vol. 1, No. 1. Single copies, \$2. Send to DSOC, Rm. 617, 853 Broadway, NYC 10003.

## HARRINGTON ON WEST COAST

Mike Harrington will be in California from Wednesday, September 26 to Tuesday evening, October 2 for a number of speaking engagements. He will be in the San Francisco Bay Area from Wednesday to Saturday afternoon and in the Los Angeles area from Saturday evening to Tuesday evening. For information about the San Francisco area itinerary, call Bob Sheppard at 415-648-3888 or David Roth at 415-387-7971. For times and places in L.A. and Santa Barbara, call Harold Meyerson, 213-390-3795 or Leo Whittaker, 213-242-5482. Watch your Bay Area and L.A. newsletters for more details.

# Organizing the South: Ambiguous Victories



Courtesy ACTWU/Labor Unity

By Robert Howard

**I**N 1974, TWO EVENTS SEEMED TO herald a new era of union organizing in the South: the successful strike for union recognition of the Brookside miners in Harlan County, Kentucky and the victory of the Textile Workers Union of America in a representation election at the J. P. Stevens mills in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

Five years later, the legacy of these victories is ambiguous. The Stevens campaign continues but with few visible signs of progress. The workers at Roanoke Rapids are still without a contract; no new representation elections have been held at other Stevens mills. The success of the United Mineworkers at Brookside has been followed by its defeat in the three-year old Stearns strike. According to some southern political activists, there is really no southern organizing campaign at all. "Labor unions haven't made a major commitment to organizing the South," says Judith Kincaid of the North Carolina Labor Law Center. "There are a few exceptions but

I don't see any flood of organizers here."

## Sporadic Conflicts

What one does find in the South today are numerous points of sporadic, isolated conflict. One observer of the southern labor scene puts it well: "What you've got down here are brush fires." It remains to be seen if they will spread. Unions are only beginning to respond to the challenge the South represents. This process is bound to be long and drawn out. It may end up changing the unions as much as it changes the South.

The first lesson in any primer on southern labor organizing is the overwhelming power of employers to break unionization drives. "The real campaign down here is business anti-unionism," says Jim Sessions of Southerners for Economic Justice. The traditional techniques—anti-union law firms, police repression, violence—are well known; they are used throughout the region. Recently, the mayor of Milledgeville, Georgia ordered local police to spy on Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers

(ACTWU) organizers. License plate numbers of area residents who met with unionists were run through a national "crime detection" computer. The names of the car owners were then passed on to five plant managers in the area, including the manager of the local J. P. Stevens mill. ACTWU brought suit against the corporations and individuals involved. Recently, one defendant, a subsidiary of the Grumman Corporation, admitted to spying and agreed to join the suit.

Such time-honored tactics have been reinforced by the slicker methods of "management consultants." In Durham, North Carolina, the Duke University Medical Center defeated an AFSCME organizing campaign with the help of Modern Management Methods from Chicago. The cost to the hospital for retaining "3M" has been estimated at \$2500 per day.

Such virulent anti-unionism is changing the face of labor organizing. The "Norma Rae" stereotype of the organizer who breezes into town, signs up workers, forces an NLRB election, and then—win or lose—moves on to the next town is no longer true in the South, if it ever was. Even if a union succeeds in winning a representation election (labor wins less than 50 percent nationwide; in 1978, 38 major unions won 493 of 1,058 elections in the South), the organizing fight has only begun. "The overwhelming issue is getting a contract," says Dick Wilson of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization in D.C. Usually management engages in "surface bargaining"—negotiating in bad faith in order to obstruct the unionization process. Surface bargaining and other obstructionist tactics are illegal, but as J. P. Stevens and countless other cases demonstrate, this doesn't stop anti-union firms. Expensive court cases only exacerbate the delays.

In spite of these difficulties, two approaches to organizing southern workers have begun to emerge during the last five years. The first is aimed primarily at the traditional low-skill, low-wage industries of the South such as textiles and furniture (the two main targets of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department). The workforce in such industries is often semi-rural with substantial numbers of blacks and women. Employers are the most intransigent, most apt to use the cruder methods of repression to in-

timidate their employees.

According to many southern labor activists, the workers of this "secondary labor market" often are the most militant. In Laurel, Mississippi, 200 poultry workers have been on strike since February 27th to force the Sanderson Farms company to honor its contract with the International Chemical Workers (ICW). Ninety percent of these workers are black; most are women. Conditions in the plant verge on the ante-bellum. Women are subject to sexual harassment; one of the plant supervisors is a long-time Ku Klux Klan activist. Sanderson Farms has hired a New Orleans anti-union law firm and used local police to break the strike, so far without success. "The militancy of these people has surprised even the hard core unionists in the group," says Bob Kasen, an ICW organizer.

Teamsters Local 391 in Winston-Salem, North Carolina has also had significant success organizing small and medium-sized plants where blacks and women predominate. "Workers in this part of the country aren't anti-union," says Chris Scott, Local 391's research director. "They're just afraid that unions aren't going to deliver." According to Jim Sessions, the Teamsters are "organizing anything that moves." In the past year and a half, organizer Vicki Sapporta has won elections at over twenty plants in and around Lexington, North Carolina, an area with no previous history of unionism. In Winston-Salem, even the police have joined the Teamsters, along with five other categories of municipal employees. While the union has yet to sign contracts at most of these plants, two major agreements have recently been negotiated.

### *Using Civil Rights Model*

To varying degrees, all these struggles embrace a model of labor organizing which borrows much from community organizing. The idea is to speak not simply to the workers in a particular plant but to an entire community. The civil rights movement is an important source for this approach; many of the new generation of labor organizers in the South came up through the movement. Labor has been most successful in areas such as west Tennessee where civil rights activity was most prevalent in the 1960s. The Teamsters' willing-

ness to organize many different kinds of workers also lends itself to the community focus. Workers in one plant pass the word on the union to relatives and friends in others. The task of the organizer is to make joining a union part of a community's set of expectations.

In the future, Bob Kasen hopes to make the links between the labor movement and community groups even more explicit. He has approached foundations to fund a unique organizing project. "We're working toward an alliance in Mississippi which could serve as a model. We want organizers to develop a commitment to changing the power structure in these communities because that is what the local people want."

Not all unionists are so enthusiastic about the grassroots, community organizing approach. It's all well and good to organize low-wage workers, the argument goes, but labor's real strength in the South, as in the North, will come from the high-wage workers of the primary labor market—those in the auto, rubber, and electrical manufacturing plants sprouting up across the region.

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*“The promise of the South for American labor could be the promise of a new working class unity.”*

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Management techniques are apt to be different in the primary sector. Anti-unionism relies less on repression and more on a sophisticated kind of brainwashing. At its Greenville, South Carolina plants, Michelin runs prospective employees through a psychological screening process to weed out potential troublemakers. General Motors practices "job enrichment" techniques to convince employees that unionization is unnecessary. Wages and benefits in GM's southern plants are almost equal to those in the unionized shops of the North.

The strategy of the major industrial unions is to organize southern workers through collective bargaining—what Dick Wilson terms "gains at the top." The UAW has taken the lead by negotiating a neutrality pact with General Motors in which the corporation has agreed not to actively oppose the

union's organizing efforts. In spite of problems with enforcing the neutrality of local GM officials, the UAW's recent victory at a major assembly plant in Oklahoma City is evidence that the strategy is working. Other unions including the United Rubber Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers have tried to negotiate neutrality agreements with varying results.

A powerful union like the UAW has the resources to make the "gains at the top" approach work. The UAW will try to use its bargaining clout in the present negotiations with GM to win automatic representation in those southern plants which are clearly extensions of unionized plants in the North. At the same time, the union is experimenting with other techniques to bring its resources to bear on organizing drives. Northern workers at GM subsidiary Saginaw Steering Gear have passed strike votes in support of organizing drives at SSG plants in Athens, Georgia and Decatur, Alabama. The union has also produced a series of radio spots to sell unionism in southern communities.

Of course, grassroots community organizing and "gains at the top" need not be mutually exclusive. What a full-fledged organizing campaign in the South might look like would be a merger of these two strategies, a conscious cross-fertilization. Large unions like the UAW can provide resources that small unions like the ICW lack. And the grassroots organizing of some unions can create the local level social and political networks without which labor will never become a vital presence in the South. The key word for southern labor organizers in the years to come must be "coordination."

But the imperative of coordination goes far beyond the immediate goal of organizing southern workers. It speaks to the future of the labor movement as a whole. Divisions between skilled and unskilled, male and female, white and black, primary and secondary sector workers have long vitiated labor's effectiveness. The promise of the South for American labor could be the promise of a new working class unity in this country—if the unions have the political will to grasp it. ■

*Robert Howard is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.*

# Office Workers Unite

By Janet Ridgeway and Anne Hill

**E**IGHTY PERCENT OF ALL women in the paid labor force hold sales, clerical, unskilled, and semi-skilled service and manual jobs. These jobs bring them low pay, few promotional opportunities, poor working conditions, and even less respect. The overlay of race and sex discrimination makes the vulnerability of this usually "marginal" pool of women workers great.

Office workers are considered difficult to organize. Now a new organization has formed that bridges the gap between unorganized women office workers and unionized workers.

Six years ago, the first citywide organization of women office workers, 9 to 5, developed in Boston.

Today it has 11 sister groups across the country that banded together almost two years ago to form Working Women, National Association of Office Workers (WW). The Association is building a movement to confront the most powerful employers, such as banks and insurance companies, where women office workers make up the majority of the workforce. It is succeeding in attracting a membership base of women who are not "joiners" of the women's movement, the labor movement or, often, any other social movement.

WW affiliates are: Seattle Working Women, Women Organized for Employment (San Francisco); Los Angeles Working Women, Cleveland Women Working, Dayton Women Working, Cincinnati Women Working, 12 to 1 (Amherst, Mass.), 9to5 (Boston), Hartford Office Workers, Rhode Island Working Women (Providence), Women Office Workers (NYC), and Women Employed in Baltimore.

While banks and insurance companies are among the most profitable of American businesses, they pay their office workers the lowest wages. Some New York City banks advertise clerical positions with pay of \$115 a week. The na-

tional average salary for women clerical workers is \$8,143. A member of Cleveland Women Working, employed at one of the city's largest banks, makes so little that she is eligible for food stamps!

In a number of cities where Working Women affiliates investigated banks' employment practices, the banks responded by upgrading their entire pay scale, by granting promotions to active women, and by instituting job posting.



Employee Press/cpf

"I don't like it, Atwater, there's a strange quiet under the clackety-clackety-clack-clack."

Cleveland Women Working filed charges alleging race and sex discrimination in four of Cleveland's largest banks. The Department of Labor is investigating the charges and its findings are expected to include substantial back pay settlements.

Another of Working Women's national programs is its monitoring campaign of the equal employment opportunity laws. Although laws prohibiting race and sex discrimination have existed since the mid-60s, they have not been enforced. The campaign is designed to increase the number of systemic investigations and class action suits on behalf of clerical workers.

The strength of the working women's movement was highlighted at the first Summer School for Working Women held at Kent State University in July. A

hundred women from affiliated organizations, from unions and from individual workplaces gathered to share resources, sharpen skills and prepare to enter the 1980s with a strategy to turn around "the unfair bargain big business has struck with us," according to Karen Nussbaum, director of Working Women. In a fiery speech to the conference she stressed the need to choose sides, to place the blame where it belongs—on businesses who put profit before people, placing economic hardships on the backs of the 13 million clerical workers who keep U.S. companies running.

The School showed that "black and white office workers can work toward a common goal" said Patricia Cooper, a secretary at the University of Maryland Hospital and a member of Women Employed (WE) in Baltimore. Cooper filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1977, claiming that she was denied a promotion because of racial discrimination. She came in contact with WE when another member handed her a questionnaire on the street asking about her job situation. She returned it and was soon contacted by the organization to participate in an event. Now she is active in the almost-year old group.

"It's a movement we've needed for years," said Barbara Green, an office worker for more than 25 years and a member of Cleveland Women Working. "We'll have thousands of members in a few years."

Victories of each local Working Women group have broken the apathy often cited as a barrier to organizing office workers.

- In San Francisco temporary office agencies are negotiating improved benefits with Women Organized for Employment. More than 8,000 office workers attended the organization's National Secretaries Day rally where Jane Fonda spoke.

- In New York City the Department of Labor has responded to pressure

from Women Office Workers and will investigate at least six more New York City banks for affirmative action violations this year.

● In Boston the First National Bank, one of the major "standard setters" for the city's notoriously low clerical pay scale, is the prime target for 9to5's "Pay Campaign." So far, the First has given into an important secondary goal—job posting.

What relationship the new model

of organizing that Working Women of- fers will have to traditional unionizing remains to be seen. But the future is clear—a workforce equal in size to four-fifths of the entire AFL-CIO is on the move. ■

*Janet Ridgway is on the staff of 9to5. Anne Hill is a national organizer for Working Women. Working Women's address is 1258 Euclid Ave., Suite 206, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.*

prices in the four necessity sectors, *There Are Alternatives*, was released at the teach-in. It suggests the immediate steps of: hospital cost containment; continued controls on the cost of crude oil; lower interest rates on moderate and low income housing through the Federal Reserve and the Federal Home Loan Board; and anti-inflationary rebates on food prices later in the year.

United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser criticized the administration's policy of slowing economic growth as an anti-inflationary measure. Two other times in this decade similar approaches to inflation have produced serious recessions, and the administration admits we are headed for another one.

"Trying to wring inflation from the economy is wrong, cruel, won't work and can't be used in a democratic society," Fraser said.

The COIN analysis quotes Council on Wage and Price Stability Director Barry Bosworth as estimating that about one million additional unemployed and a loss of \$100 billion in output would lower the inflation rate by only one percentage point.

Mark Green, director of Congress Watch, attacked another supposed cure for inflation—weaker environmental and health and safety regulation. Calling regulation a "scapegoat" for inflation, he urged continuing government regulation to control corporate abuse.

Other teach-ins have been held in Maine and Florida. Others are scheduled for New York, Cleveland, San Francisco, Detroit, Denver, and Atlanta. For details, or to organize one in your area, contact COIN at 2000 P Street, N.W., Suite 415, Washington, D.C. 20036. ■

# Teach-in Return Attacks Inflation

By Jane Midgley

**A**CCUSING PRESIDENT CARTER of continuing the "Nixon-Ford energy ripoff," William Wimpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and vice-chair of DSO, kicked off discussion of the present energy situation at the first of a series of teach-ins on inflation.

Organized by Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities (COIN), the June 27 Washington, D.C. teach-in brought together groups that want to curb inflation.

Figures compiled by COIN show that energy prices have continually led the inflationary spiral, jumping 96.2 percent from 1973 through 1978 compared to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) of 59.4 percent. In the first four months of 1979, energy prices rose at a 31.2 percent annual rate, more than twice as fast as the rest of the CPI. They are expected to rise even more sharply in the next few months as the effects of oil decontrol begin to be felt. COIN calculates that the additional costs to consumers of oil decontrol between now and 1985 will be an astounding \$86 billion.

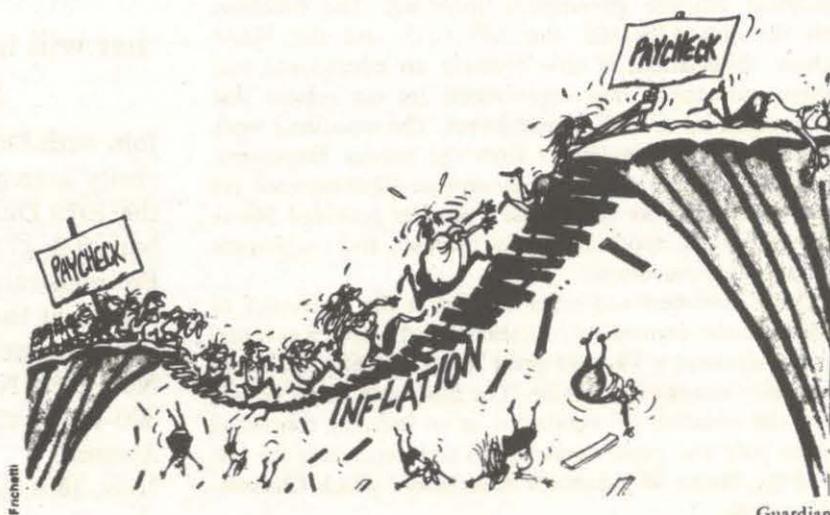
A fall offensive to combat energy inflation was announced by Heather Booth, head of the Citizen/Labor Energy

Coalition (see story on page 7).

COIN Executive Director Roger Hickey noted that COIN is a "self-interest coalition," since inflation threatens everyone's livelihood. More than 70 groups belong to COIN.

In the last several months it has highlighted the fact that most Americans spend nearly 70 percent of their income on the necessities of life—food, energy, housing, and health care. In the first four months of this year, the annual rate of inflation in these four sectors taken together was 17.2 percent, while that for the rest of the economy was a 7.1 percent.

COIN's short and long-term program for bringing down and stabilizing



Guardian/cpf

# SOCIALIST NOTES

By Nancy Kleniewski

**T**HE NASSAU-SUFFOLK LOCALS OF DSOC AND THE Long Island Lodges of the Machinists launched the Long Island Progressive Coalition on June 5 at a rally where 600 people heard Mike Harrington and William Winpisinger talk about building a "People's Platform for the 80s." DSOCer Harry Fleischman, convenor of the Coalition, reports that more than 50 organizations, with a constituency of 25,000 members, have joined. The Coalition, the first such multi-issue one in the country, has task forces working on employment, the environment, health, minority rights and women's rights.

Citing another Long Island activity, DSOCer Susan Herschkowitz writes that the locals have organized a Community Coalition for Economic Development to monitor the Long Island Action Committee, a group of business interests and government officials working on economic growth issues. One Coalition goal is to present feasible, community-based alternatives for economic development to this group, thus increasing community control in this area.

■ ■ ■

The Champaign-Urbana chapter of DSOC is working to form a local Progressive Agenda coalition to "mobilize local support for those campaigns which concern us all."

Local chapters of the New American Movement, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the National Organization for Women have expressed an interest in it. The group plans an October kickoff conference.

■ ■ ■

Maine DSOC member Russ Christensen recently reported to DEMOCRATIC LEFT on socialist work in Maine. Three of the most prominent activities are a statewide coalition for tax reform, the making of a film about the Maine Woodsmen's Association and campaigns against "right-to-work" legislation.

The tax reform coalition began in May 1978 when DSOC members were instrumental in putting together a group that helped defeat the governor's attempt to pass a constitutional amendment limiting government spending. The coalition, which includes AFSCME, the AFL-CIO, and the Maine Teachers' Association, is now forming an educational corporation and membership organization for tax reform that will be staffed by two CETA employees. The coalition's work in Maine led to an invitation from the Service Employees' International Union to join its nationwide labor-oriented tax reform coalition. This tax reform work has provided Maine DSOC with many opportunities for outreach and recruitment within the labor movement.

DSOC members and other activists at the University of Maine have also formed an educational and research corporation that obtained a \$40,000 grant to make a film about the woodsmen's struggles in Maine. The film, now being edited, depicts the situation of woodsmen in an industry controlled by seven pulp and paper corporations and documents the history of the Maine Woodsmen's Association, which Christensen organized.

One of the hottest recent issues for Maine DSOC has been the struggle to defeat a number of "right to work" bills in the state legislature. At this spring's hearings, DSOC member Stan Podziak testified against the bills. DSOC member and state legislator Harlan Baker sat on the Joint Labor Committee. Other members leafleted and rallied the opposition at the hearings. DSOC people also helped organize public reaction to the bills, including phone calls, letters, and visits to legislators, resulting in the easy defeat of the bills. Baker, by the way, was rated by the Maine Women's lobby as one of the 25 best legislators on women's issues.

■ ■ ■

## RESOURCES

*The Weather Report* is a monthly "newsletter of alternative ideas." A recent issue ran articles on education, housing, and the antinuclear movement, plus resource lists. Price is \$5 per year, and a free trial subscription is available by writing *The Weather Report*, c/o D.C. Gazette, 1739 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

■ ■ ■

The Sacramento Valley DSOC is selling fist and rose buttons to celebrate DSOC's full membership in the Socialist International. Individual buttons: \$1, quantity prices available. Order from 3041 K St., Sacramento, CA 95816.

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## The 80s Decade of Decision

"Corporate priorities or people's priorities"

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\*Nov. 18 is set aside for DSOC and trade union caucuses.

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# Labor Day Finds Unionists Fed Up—In and Out of D.C.

By Ruth Jordan

**I**S JIMMY CARTER RIGHT? IS WASHINGTON, D.C. an island of malcontents? Is it true that out there in the rest of the nation millions of Americans are content with their lot, pleased with the economy and happy with his leadership?

DEMOCRATIC LEFT took the President's advice and avoided the Washington view of American labor on the eve of the Eighties. Instead, we interviewed labor leaders in the states—AFL-CIO regulars and those to the left. We found a consistent view: a feeling of disappointment in Carter's leadership, despair over the growing cost of gasoline, and fear of unemployment in the Eighties.

But in every instance there was a powerful belief that the labor movement still had the principles and ideals that could attract American workers and bring about social change in the country.

Vic Bussie has headed the Louisiana State AFL-CIO for many years. He is a Democratic party regular.

"I'm terribly disappointed in Carter and with the solutions he's proposing. . . . In Louisiana we think the oil companies are making a 'killing.' They're reporting unheard-of profits and complaining that gasoline should go up to \$2 a gallon so they can search for oil. But we know many of the fields in Louisiana aren't even being worked (just east and west of Baton Rouge). . . ."

Bussie placed the blame on the fact that the oil companies are "multinationals" no longer interested in America and "only interested in profits."

"It doesn't matter if they're based in the United States. They're only interested in making as much profit as they can," he said. "They exploit U.S. resources without an obligation to protect the jobs of American workers."

Bussie sees unemployment beginning to show itself in Louisiana in a

decline in retail sales and predicts construction and homebuilding will show it next.

He believes the economic downturn will not hurt organization. "I think it will awaken workers to their self-interest. Now they can see that unionized workers are bargaining for a little more than seven percent. . . . Non-union workers are lucky if they get the seven."

Bussie's disappointment in government economic policy makes him cautious when considering his 1980 options.

Mt. Journal/cpf



**“They think about inflation every time they buy gas.”**

"It will depend on the nominee this time—we might support a Democrat or a Republican or stay neutral."

If you talk to David Roe, State Federation president in Minnesota, the reaction is not all that different. Roe concedes that a diversified economy in his part of the country means that unemployment will take longer to reach his members but adds, "If there's high unemployment we're going to get it too."

Roe says that labor in Minnesota is still smarting from the losses of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in the last national and state elections. The

split in the party was devastating. "We lost the governor, the U.S. Senator, federal bench appointments . . . liberal state judges."

He wants to build a strong liberal coalition in the state but is now leery of people who, he says, can't accept the discipline of a coalition.

## Need for Coalitions

"We all have a point of view and we ought to go forward around a program we can all support. If there's one or two issues that we can't agree on let's pursue those separately but keep our forces united."

Roe's loyalty to the administration is really loyalty to Vice-President Walter Mondale, formerly a Minnesota senator. "The alternatives to Carter aren't very pleasant for us to consider. But whatever we do we ought to have a unity of purpose. . . ."

Roe also anticipates significant changes in the AFL-CIO once George Meany turns over the reins to his successor. "Whoever becomes president will reflect the philosophy of a number of big unions," he thinks, "not mold them to his way of thinking."

Dan Rowen, Iowa State Federation vice-president, is an outspoken supporter of Senator Edward M. Kennedy as the next Democratic party nominee.

Rowen, who comes out of the Graphic Arts International Union, says inflation is driving his members wild. "They think about it every time they buy gas."

He thinks the Carter administration should have come down harder on the oil companies, citing figures that show that out of the recent 26 cent price hike for gasoline, "OPEC countries get six cents and the oil companies get 20 cents."

"I voted for Carter but he's not giving us any kind of leadership."

Rowen believes Kennedy can provide liberal leadership for the nation but is frank to say that rank-and-file members don't like Kennedy's "cat and mouse" tactics. "They'd like him to respond. They think a guy ought to want to be President, not just respond to a ground swell."

Rowen thinks the labor movement needs a different image for the Eighties. "It's not age that matters," he says. It's the stance of the labor movement that turns younger workers off. "The labor movement has to look more aggressive, modernize its approach to media and public relations by letting the membership know what the labor movement is about and what it stands for. I still think we have the ideas and organization to bring about a change for the better."

Charlie Williams is a twenty-five-year veteran of the Machinists. He's now a Grand Lodge representative and leg-

islative and COPE coordinator for the Midwest.

"The only reason people have been asleep up till now," he thinks, "is that they can't tell the difference between the Republican and Democratic party nominees." Williams thinks the Kennedy movement will stir rank-and-file members to action.

"We've seen it before, the labor movement can awaken the members when there's an issue worth fighting for. We did it over labor law reform and we did it in Missouri when the people were threatened with 'right-to-work.' "

Like his Iowa counterpart, Williams agrees that the members would like Kennedy to come "out front and express himself forthrightly."

"The public desperately wants leadership, our members want leadership in the labor movement. That's why Winpisinger has done so well. He awakened

the membership to the issues." Williams blasted the idea that Winpisinger had "moved ahead of the members."

"I represent a quarter of a million people in nine states and I'm telling you Winpisinger's not in trouble. The membership was waiting for people who would speak out."

Williams welcomes coalitions between labor and left organizations because he thinks it will help liberals and socialists "know what labor's all about."

His one concern is that many of these activists "don't understand group philosophy over individual rights."

"It takes the group to get something done. We have to band together and stick. A single issue can't divide us."

*Ruth Jordan is a labor journalist. She is coordinating the 1979 DEMOCRATIC AGENDA Conference.*

## BOOK REVIEW

By William Kornblum

*Democratic Rights for Union Members: A Guide to Internal Union Democracy* by Herman Benson. Published by the Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Avenue South, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, \$5, 256 pp. pb.

**H**ERMAN BENSON'S "DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR Union Members" is an essential reference work for all active unionists and anyone committed to the democratic ideals of the American labor movement. Here for the first time we have a comprehensive handbook, enlivened with case studies of important campaigns for union democracy, that outlines workers' rights under the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (LMRDA or "Landrum-Griffin"). The reader is also clearly informed how to go about protecting those rights through action inside the union and, when necessary, through appeal to the U.S. Department of Labor and the courts.

Despite its dry-sounding title, this book makes exciting reading. And so it should. Its author has devoted most of his adult life to the struggle for democracy in the labor movement. Benson is the founder and director of the Association for Union Democracy (AUD), for more than fifteen years one of the only reliable sources of information and advice for trade unionists who seek to assert or protect their democratic rights. His tiny Union Square Office is continually swamped with requests for legal advice, moral support, and simple encouragement from trade unionists who find themselves up against incumbent administrations who they fear are bending the union's constitution in order to remain in office. The Association has come to the aid of longshoremen, painters,

steelworkers, musicians, and many others. And in some cases, such as Frank Schonfeld's 1965 challenge in the Painters Union or Ed Sadlowski's more recent campaign in the United Steelworkers last international election, the AUD has greatly assisted in pushing a reluctant Department of Labor toward more effective and equitable enforcement of LMRDA. Thus the reader should begin this book with Part II, a lively and fact-filled account of the history of union democracy in the American labor movement from the days of the McClelland purges in the 1950s, to the present struggles in the United Mine Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the Teamsters.

The first part of the book deals with the more technical aspects of asserting democratic rights under LMRDA and before the Department of Labor and the courts. Here too, Benson's long experience as a labor activist and writer makes it possible for him to present the essential facts and interpretations of complex law in a highly readable form. And the book is clearly pro-union throughout. As Clyde Summers states in one of the prefaces (the other is written by Victor Reuther), "It is the premise of this book, however, that when all reasonable appeals within the union fail to correct undemocratic actions, union members are not only entitled to assert their rights, but are obligated to do so. To sue the union to protect democratic rights is not an act of disloyalty, but an insistence that the union be true to its own principles. The real disloyalty is to stand silently, allowing the rights to be lost by default, and permitting the union to become, in the words of the Ethical Practices Code, a union 'in name only.' "

*William Kornblum is an associate professor of sociology at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York.*

# Fighting for Home Workers

By Maxine Phillips

**W**HEN ANNA GARCIA (NOT her real name) slipped while moving a heavy object and bruised her chest, the couple in whose home she worked insisted that she see a doctor. Anna hesitated because she did not have health insurance. The Walkers made an appointment and drove her to the doctor's. Later, when the bill arrived, Anna called the Walkers to tell them she was sending it to them. "We're not responsible for that bill," said Sue Walker, who ended the conversation by telling Anna that she and her husband had decided that they didn't need a cleaning woman any longer.

Throughout America, domestic workers remain one of the most underpaid, exploited groups of unorganized workers. Paid minimum wages, often cheated of Social Security benefits, they have no job security, no paid vacation, no health benefits and little respect from their employers.

Because they work in scattered, isolated homes, domestic workers are difficult to organize. But more and more groups are making the effort.

Anna Garcia is now a member of the United Domestic Workers of America (UDW). Backed by her newly formed union, she has filed a claim against her former employers.

"Domestic workers are almost like indentured servants," says Greg Akili, DSOC Executive Committee member and secretary-treasurer of UDW. "We want to change that relationship."

More than 150 people gathered in San Diego, California on April 29 for the founding and first constitutional convention of UDW. The organization hopes to win significant battles in San Diego before branching out to the rest of California and to other states.

Similar organizing is being done in New Orleans, New York and other cities.

Initial support for UDW came from the Nia Cultural Organization, a San Diego-based community activist organization. (Nia is a Swahili word that means purpose.)

"We started as US, a black nationalist organization," recalls Akili.

"From 1965 to 1972, we organized throughout the country for the cultural



**“Domestic workers are almost like indentured servants. We want to change that.”**

and political development and self-determination of black people. In 1970, we changed our name to Nia. Starting in 1972, we began to go through many changes. By 1978, we had moved from being a strict black nationalist organization to a more progressive, multi-racial, activist movement, still based in the black community but also working with other communities and people.

"We built a strong community base, but we knew it wasn't enough."

He and Nia Chairman Ken Msemaji were influenced by Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, who have been their key supporters in the effort to organize domestic workers.

"Cesar told us to look at the problems of domestic workers. We were appalled by what we found," Akili remembers.

Because San Diego is so near the Mexican border, many domestic workers come over during the day and return home at night. The supply of cheap labor makes domestic workers fearful of demanding any improvements.

Nia staff hung out at bus stops looking for women who appeared to be domestic workers. They made appointments to see them in their homes to discuss forming a union. Slowly, individual by individual, a core group came together to plan the founding convention.

## Modest Victories

The group's plans are modest to start with. It helps individual members with grievances. These small victories, such as winning a day's pay of \$10 for someone who had been cheated of it, build the confidence of the members. It hopes to purchase a group health plan and, soon, to bargain with employers for some fringe benefits and better wages.

While Nia was making the journey from a black nationalist to a multi-racial organization, its politics were changing.

After a brief flirtation with some Trotskyist and other left groups, individual staff of Nia became interested in DSOC, the New American Movement (NAM) and the California-based Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED). (Akili was elected to DSOC's National Executive Committee at the Houston convention; UDW's second vice-president, Raquel Beltrán, is now a member of the DSOC Hispanic Commission, and Ken Msemaji, UDW president, plays an important role in CED as a member of its statewide steering committee.) Although the organization is not formally affiliated with any political group, it receives grants for its organizing work from CED.

"We want to be careful about keeping our autonomy," warns Akili. "These groups have a lot to offer us in the way of help, contacts and advice, but we have a lot to offer, too. We look at our relationships with political groups as a covered dish supper. Everyone brings something to make a good meal, but if some of the people go home, you're still going to eat because you brought your own." ■

# Health and Safety Will Be Key Issues of Eighties

By Ed James

**E**VERY YEAR SOME 14,000 AMERICAN workers die on the job, while another 2.2 million suffer lost time from disabling injuries. If the figures are large, public perception is small. Highly publicized mass disasters like the Farmington mine explosion in 1968 that killed 78 workers may rivet public attention. But most workers die in ones and twos, alone and unnoticed.

Despite its massive dimensions, occupational health and safety has received little attention as an organizing issue except in very specialized settings. In part, this is due to the fact that the area has been seen as the province of the experts, difficult for the layperson to decipher.

Groups such as the Urban Environment Conference and the various Committees on Occupational Safety and Health (COSH) have made known its political dimensions. With the exception of the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California, few groups organizing under the rubric of economic democracy or corporate accountability address these problems.

Its potential is great, for it is both an objective and a means, a handle on the larger issues of worker organization and corporate power. It unites disparate groups—unionists and environmentalists—and has a clear class and race character.

It is not the lawyers for the Manufacturing Chemists Association or the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association who breathe vinyl chloride or benzene. It is workers on the job and on the farm, and residents in inner cities. The cancer map of New York City confirms the bias. Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant have the high rates, not the upper east side or Westchester County.

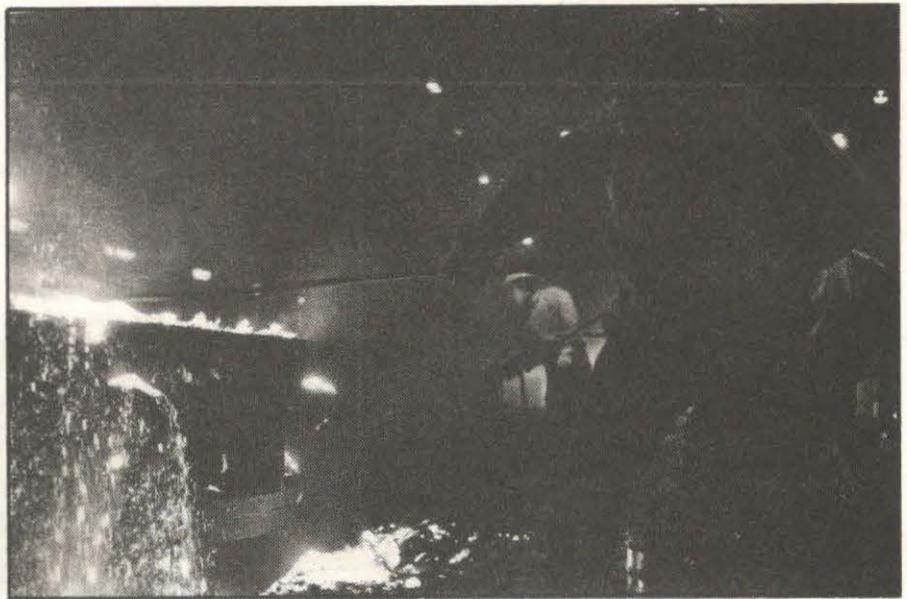


Photo by Robert Gumpert

## *Two Major Campaigns*

Two examples of health and safety organizing point the way for other efforts to link the issue to a larger political movement.

In 1969 forty thousand West Virginia coal miners walked off their jobs to force the Republican governor to sign a bill making black lung an occupationally compensable disease. Although it had been long recognized in England as a work-related disability, the West Virginia Medical Association was still telling miners that coal dust was good for them and the general public that black lung was caused by cigarette smoking.

The black lung movement began with one tireless VISTA organizer who assembled three doctors and some disabled coal miners into the Black Lung Association (BLA). Traveling from coal town to union hall, the group organized loose chapters of disabled and working miners to campaign for passage of the BLA-sponsored legislation.

The BLA contributed heavily to United Mine Worker president Tony Boyle's fall from power. Boyle, who only months earlier had appeared at the still smoking portal of the Farmington mine, not to mourn the dead but to praise the company, strongly opposed the black lung movement. Black lung activists later opposed him. The Association still exists as an advocate for miners' health.

The Carolina Brown Lung Association, now active in attempting to organize nonunionized mill workers, is the second example of health and safety organizing that feeds into a larger political movement. The Association boasts some 6,000 active members and twelve chapters in the Carolinas, and is soon to enter Virginia and Georgia.

About 85,000 people are victims of brown lung, a disease caused by breathing cotton dust. Most of the affected workers developed the disease in the area's almost exclusively nonunion mills.

The Association began in 1975 with the help of organizers who had been

active in the Brookside strike of the United Mine Workers in Harlan County. It received early and continued support from the Youth Project, a Washington, D.C. foundation, and was modeled on the experience of the BLAs.

### Kepone, Cotton, Chemicals

While health and safety issues are endless, ranging from low level radiation and lead poisoning to a worker's right to know about the toxicity of substances and reproductive health hazards, three recent examples illustrate potential as organizing issues: kepone, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) cotton dust standard, and chemical waste dumps.

Kepone is a carcinogenic pesticide that has neurotoxic and sterilizing effects. Its dangers came to national attention when dozens of workers at the Life Sciences Products Corporation in Honeywell, Virginia became ill.

Life Sciences was a corporate spin-off of the Allied Chemical Company, which knew of kepone's toxicity and carcinogenicity in the early 1960s. Allied chose not to tell its workers or protect them, but to subcontract the production of kepone to two of its former employees in an attempt to insulate itself from liability.

A recent *Fortune* magazine article called the kepone poisonings "an unfortunate incident" seized upon by an irresponsible and biased press. Besides, said *Fortune*, a cure had been found for the workers' symptoms. *Fortune* neglected to add that the James River is so laden with kepone that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) threw up its hands in frustration.

OSHA's cotton dust standard proposed in the summer of 1978 was another politically important event. President Carter declared that the proposed standard would be inflationary. Although OSHA seemed to win the ensuing battle, it was a procedural loss, for the administration's economic advisors retained the right to judge every OSHA regulation.

The third, and continuing example, involves situations such as that at the Love Canal, where residents discovered that they were living over a graveyard of highly toxic chemicals that were causing illness and birth defects.

The EPA estimates that there are 32,000 waste dumps, of which 2,027 are

imminently hazardous. It estimates that the clean-up costs would run between \$3.6 and \$6.1 billion. A serious battle is developing over who pays the costs of the clean-up—them or us.

In these cases, opportunities to focus on corporate accountability were missed. Groups that should be natural



Earl Dotter/American Labor Education Center

allies fought each other instead of the real enemy. For instance, workers whose livelihoods depended on industries on the James River resented environmentalists' attacks.

However, as more and more workers become aware of the ramifications of occupational safety and health, they will organize to fight the corporations who hold them hostage by threatening to eliminate jobs if forced to provide safe working conditions. The seriousness of the fight is summed up by a statement of the Carolina Brown Lung Association in reply to those who charged that the cotton dust standard would be inflationary: "Inflation doesn't count if you're dead."

*Ed James worked with Miners for Democracy and for the United Mine Workers Union. He is now Associate Director of the Progressive Alliance. He holds a degree in law and occupational medicine from Harvard.*

#### RESOURCES

A short reading list for further details: S. Epstein, *The Politics of Cancer*; N. Ashford, *Crisis in the Workplace*; J. Stellman, *Women's Work, Women's Health*; F. Wallick, *The American Worker: An Endangered Species*; D. Berman, *Death on the Job*; P. Brodeur, *Expensible Americans*; B. Hume, *Death and the Mines*; Urban Environment Conference, *Inner City Health in America*; New York Academy of Sciences, *Cancer and the Worker*.

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# Bill Would Stymie Urge to Merge

By David Hoffman

**I**S "SMALL" NECESSARILY "BEAUTIFUL"? Is "big" always "bad"? Socialists might answer that it depends on who owns and controls the social institutions in question.

But in America, there has long been a profound mistrust of corporate giantism. In a recent Yankelevich poll, for example, 73 percent of those asked were in favor of some control over business size.

Economic concentration—now multinational—has been gathering momentum in the advanced capitalist world for many decades. The *Fortune* 100 top firms now control about the same share of manufacturing assets as did the top 200 thirty years ago. The top 200 now have the same share of these assets as did the top 1,000 in 1941. Five hundred companies now control over 80 percent of U.S. industrial assets—a share ten times greater than that of the second 500 firms.

The government's primary antitrust tool is Section 7 of the Clayton Act which, as amended by the 1950 Kefauver-Celler Act, allows courts to block a merger between two companies if it is proven that it creates a monopoly or "substantially" undercuts competition.

Thus, antitrust prosecutors could frustrate a horizontal merger, such as one between two companies that sell in the same market, or a vertical merger, such as one between two companies in a buyer-seller relationship. But these accounted for less than 30 percent of all larger industrial mergers from 1951 to 1977.

As another merger wave swept the nation in the late 1960s, federal enforcers were hamstrung. Their problem was that these new mergers—so-called "pure" conglomerate mergers—were between companies from different industries, and the old antitrust laws were interpreted by the courts to be largely inapplicable.

Now, the country is again in the middle of another major merger wave, putting the spotlight on the inadequacy of Section 7 of the Clayton Act. There were 2,100 mergers in 1978, involving more than \$34 billion, an increase from nearly \$22 billion in 1977 and from \$11.8 billion in 1975.

Why the urge to merge? They are often mergers for paper gains. Companies buy, rather than build, siphoning cash from expenditures on new plants and equipment. Inflation has overpriced construction and undervalued assets. Thus,

*“Past antitrust enforcement has hardly been the basis for deep-seated progressive social reform.”*

in many capital intensive areas, or for a company seeking to diversify, it is cheaper and safer to buy existing facilities and expertise than to build new ones.

Now, for the second time in a decade, there is talk in Congress about stiffening regulation of corporate mergers. Senator Edward Kennedy, the new chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is leading the drive to block big mergers in the future. With too much concentration, says Kennedy, comes too much financial power, too much market power, too much political power. Rebuttals come from the Business Roundtable and other corporate forces, who now see Kennedy as—in the words of the Allegheny Ludlum chairman—"the ayatollah from Massachusetts."

Kennedy's bill would flatly ban all mergers between corporations where each partner has sales or assets of \$2 billion or more. This would cover the nation's top 128 industrial corporations, according to the 1977 *Fortune* 500 list. The

ban would have halted the 1974 Mobil-Montgomery Ward merger or that in 1977 between Atlantic Richfield and Anaconda. Among less giant firms, the ban would only be conditional, with the burden of proof on them to show enhanced efficiency or competition, or if divestiture equal to the acquisition would be made within a year.

For months, Kennedy worked with the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to develop a joint approach. At first it was believed that President Jimmy Carter would mention the issue in his State of the Union address last January. He did not, after business leaders warned the White House that Carter support of the legislation would be viewed as a "declaration of war on the business community."

The future of Kennedy's bill is, so far, precarious. Without strong White House support, passage of antimerger legislation seems unlikely. A promising sign, therefore, is the backing Carter spokesmen now give to a second Kennedy antimerger bill, which in the wake of the latest eye-popping oil company profits is directed solely at Big Oil. (A prime offender is Exxon, which wants to buy the Reliance Electric Company for \$1.7 billion, one of the largest cash bids in history.) Kennedy's bill would prevent the nation's 16 largest oil companies from acquiring any firm with assets of \$100 million or more. It passed the Senate antitrust subcommittee in July, and action on the Senate floor could come this autumn.

But no matter what the outcome for Kennedy's proposals may be this year, the opening round has already been fired in what could become a heated national debate—tinged with presidential politics—lasting for years.

What can socialists expect to contribute? The answer is unclear. Past antitrust enforcement has hardly been the basis for deep-seated progressive social reform. Only democratic planning—nationally, regionally, and locally—together with the public control of key investment decisions can launch economic and social democracy in this country. But, in the meantime, we should not ignore the political potential of antitrust legislation, armed with new weapons, to fight corporate concentration. ■

*David Hoffman is a legislative staff member in the U.S. House of Representatives.*

# Management Sharpens Union Busting Tactics

By David Salomon

**B**Y ALL INDICATIONS, THE LABOR movement is under serious assault. On the legislative front such measures as common situs picketing and labor law reform have failed to pass Congress. More alarming, the "anti-union" deregulation of the airline industry has already occurred, leading to a rapid growth in nonunion air carriers. Similarly, the efforts to deregulate trucking and repeal the Davis-Bacon Act are now making headway in Congress. Economically, organized workers are suffering serious losses in real wages, as President Carter exacerbates this trend through his Council on Wage and Price Stability.

Perhaps most significantly, employers are finding it increasingly easy to flout the labor laws and avoid unionization or deunionize.

Since 1976, the AFL-CIO has lost more than 200,000 members while total employment has grown by 8,800,000 or 10.1 percent. Total union membership has declined to only 24.5 percent of the non-agricultural workforce from a high of 35.5 percent in 1945. At the same time, union decertification elections are on the rise, numbering well over 1,000 in 1978, up from 200 in 1965. By 1980, some estimates indicate that one out of nine union elections will involve either decertification or union-shop deauthorization of existing unions. Unlike union representation elections, where unions now succeed only 46 percent of the time, management wins nearly 80 percent of all decertifications.

Far-reaching union-busting strategies being implemented by corporate America appear to involve a fundamental restructuring of business relations with labor. While these effects will not be felt immediately, in ten years we may live

in a totally new labor relations climate. Indeed, labor historians may well view the late Seventies as a period of relative calm before a deluge.

## Associations Coordinate Attack

The basic trend is the centralization of anti-union expertise and policy making authority within each industrial sector.

Trade associations now appear to play the role formerly handled by the labor relations vice president of an individual company. As a result, all elements of an industry can pool resources and strengthen their strategic positions vis-à-vis labor. The American Hospital Association, the Master Printers of America, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Construction Users' Committee of the Business Roundtable are but a few of the business organizations dedicated to "improved" labor relations on an industry-wide basis.

Printing serves as an excellent example of this trend. The Master Printers of America (MPA), once an inconse-

quential open-shop fringe group within the Printing Industries of America (that industry's trade association) represents nearly 70 percent of all printing employers. It has become a master of the installation of automated printing systems at the expense of unionized printers. More significantly, the MPA's general counsel, Francis Coleman, provides printing management with legal advice on how to set up nonunion subsidiaries and gradually transfer operations to those new firms whose employees do not enjoy the benefits of unionization. For those printing firms unable to afford the services of counsel or an anti-union consultant, the MPA has constructed a pre-packaged sampler of anti-union tactics called the "stay-free kit." Included are tips on how to intimidate workers during elections while attempting to remain within the law, create grievance procedures and other management policies designed to establish nonunion shops, and develop strike insurance to help management win strikes and decertify unions.



Similarly, in construction, the large industrial owners like Exxon, AT&T, IBM, and U.S. Steel have formed a group called the Construction Users' Anti-Inflation Roundtable (now part of the Business Roundtable), in which they have pooled their vast economic resources, which in 1979 approached nearly \$1 trillion in sales. The Roundtable has subsidized critical structural realignments in construction, including the formation of the open shop Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC). In addition, Roundtable has established a role for the construction user in local construction collective bargaining through the formation of local user groups that monitor and "communicate" with groups during their labor negotiations.

Since the Roundtable's inception in 1969, dramatic changes have taken place in the construction industry. ABC has grown from a regional trade association centered in Baltimore with only several hundred members to a national organization of more than 12,000. The key element in this transformation was the early recruitment of nonunion Roundtable member, Brown & Root, into ABC. According to ABC estimates, the construction industry is now almost 50 percent nonunion as opposed to 20 percent ten years ago. Strategically, the nonunion contractors dominate the traditionally open shop, low wage residential construction area but are now making major advances into the traditionally heavily unionized industrial and commercial sector. For example, in 1978, 43 power plants and a number of major industrial projects were built by nonunion labor. The Roundtable also is playing a key role in the present efforts to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which secures the union's position in the crucial federally supported construction market by establishing prevailing union wage standards on such jobs.

The prospects for the Teamsters Union may be equally ominous if trucking deregulation is enacted by Congress. Here legislative shifts would make possible the massive growth of open shop trucking firms and the increase in owner-operators.

In mining, the same pattern is possible. The growth of nonunion operators and strip mining may consume the United Mine Workers by the middle of the next decade.

## Strangling Industrial Unions

Taken separately, these circumstances are harbingers of ill tidings for those unions involved; taken together, an even more disturbing pattern emerges. The miners, truckers and construction workers each play a key reinforcing role for the power of the large industrial unions (Steel, Auto Workers and Machinists), not only politically, but in strike situations as well. If a firm like Allegheny Ludlum or International Harvester decided to take a strike ten years from now, management success might well be insured by a stream of nonunion trucks moving in supplies and carrying away finished products, especially non-union coal coming from open shop operators. All the time, plant expansion and capital investment would go on with construction by open shop contractors.

A new industry has emerged to perform the dirty work of undermining

*“Whether these efforts and others will be too little and too late remains a critical question.”*

union strength. These are the union busting consultants, psychologists and lawyers whom the AFL-CIO recently made the central focus of a new offensive at its February 1979 Executive Council meeting.

The union busters are best understood by example. The National Association of Manufacturers' Council for a Union Free Environment retains a panel of lawyers, psychologists and labor relations consultants who run management's election campaign as though they were running a candidate for office. These individuals channel management into anti-union information networks which include films, seminars and referrals. Supervisors are trained as anti-union foot soldiers, and a basic series of "dirty tricks" is employed that includes election delays and rumor campaigns about plant closings, labor racketeering, lengthy strikes and high union dues.

The objective is to influence the psychological climate of the workplace toward union prevention or elimination. The union is portrayed as an external

interloper between the worker and management.

Modern Management Methods (MMM) is one consulting firm that employs more than sixty such professionals. It appears to receive referrals from the American Hospital Association, among others, and claims a 98 percent anti-union win record in over 100 elections annually. Its clients are drawn from all sectors of industry, but MMM seems to specialize in the rapidly growing largely female service sector such as hospitals, banks and offices. MMM is apparently referred to these situations through leading trade associations. Here again the trade association provides an industry-wide umbrella under which a unified anti-labor policy is developed.

Many consultants and law firms act alone in selling their services. They are scavengers in the sea of modern labor relations. Small and unaffiliated with established trade associations, these groups tend to receive the most public attention because they boldly sell their cynical wares publicly.

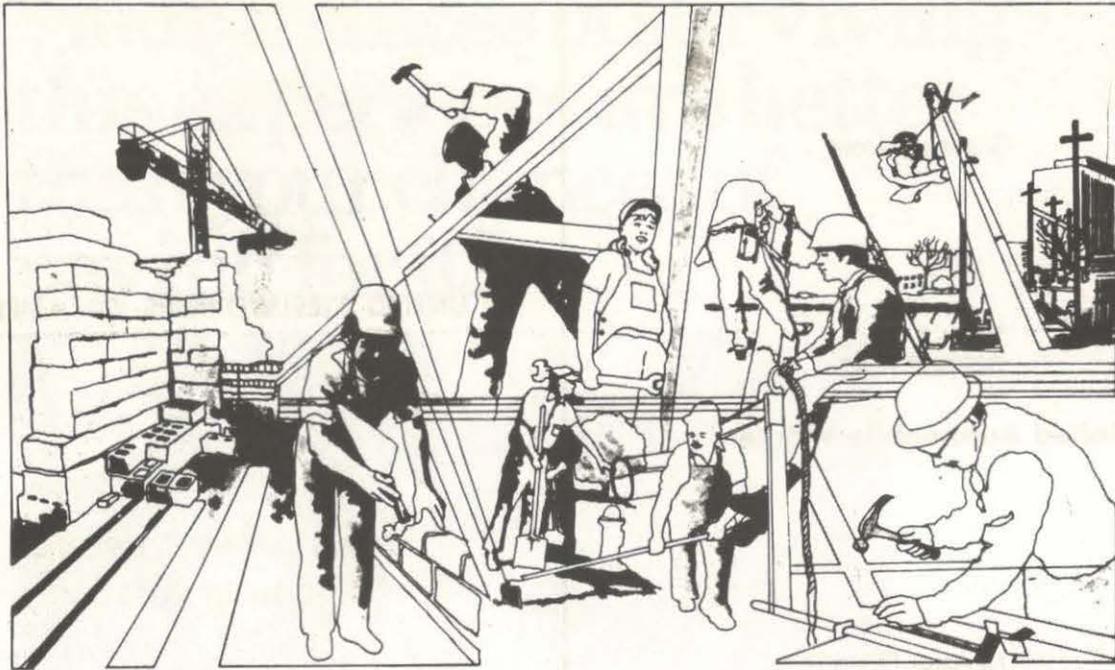
## AFL-CIO Fights Back

*What is being done about these trends?*

The Department of Organization of the AFL-CIO has begun to publish a monthly "Report on Union Busters" (RUB Sheet), which highlights the activities of consultants and reports on emerging union efforts to combat the union-busting industry. For example, the Service Employees International Union recently convinced the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue regulations prohibiting federal reimbursements to health care institutions covered under Medicare and Medicaid for anti-union consulting fees. Applied on a state and federal government-wide basis this principle would eventually seriously infringe upon the union-busting industry which provides services to defense and other large government contractors. And many other strategies for combatting the union busters are in progress within the labor movement.

Whether these efforts and others will be too little and too late remains a critical question for American labor in the 1980s. ■

*David Salomon works in the labor movement in Washington.*



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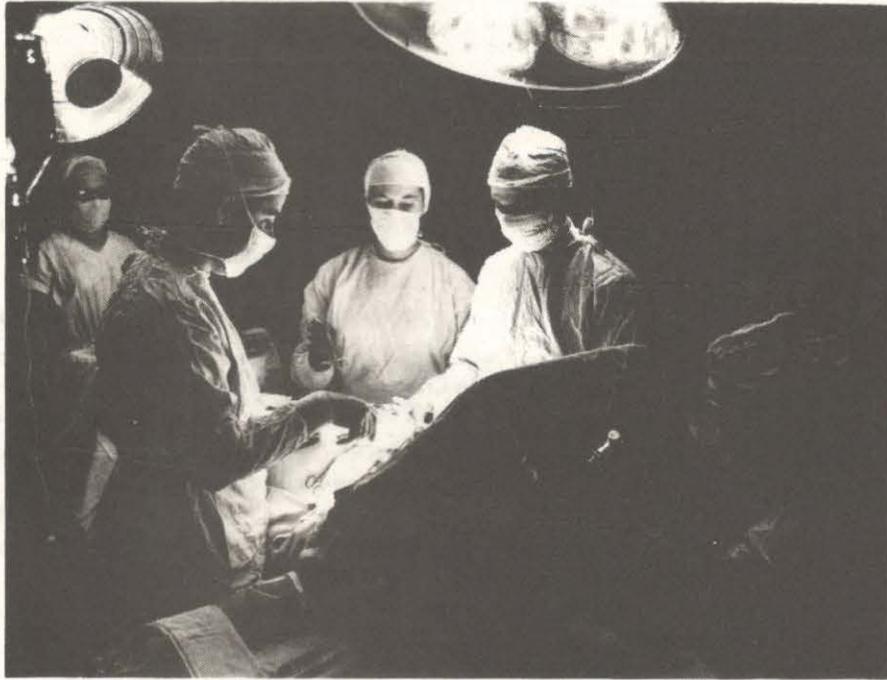
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There *is* a method to end this madness: national health insurance.

Several such plans are before Congress. Each one will cut health care costs, by giving the consumer a voice in getting decent medical care at a decent price.

National health insurance works. Indeed, it works in virtually every free society in the world.

We must have the courage to abandon our present irrational, expensive system. And insure every American the right to a long and healthy life.”

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American Federation of State,  
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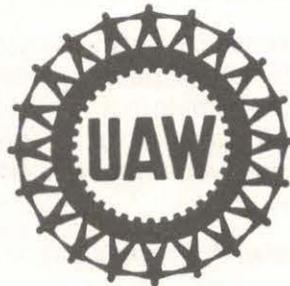
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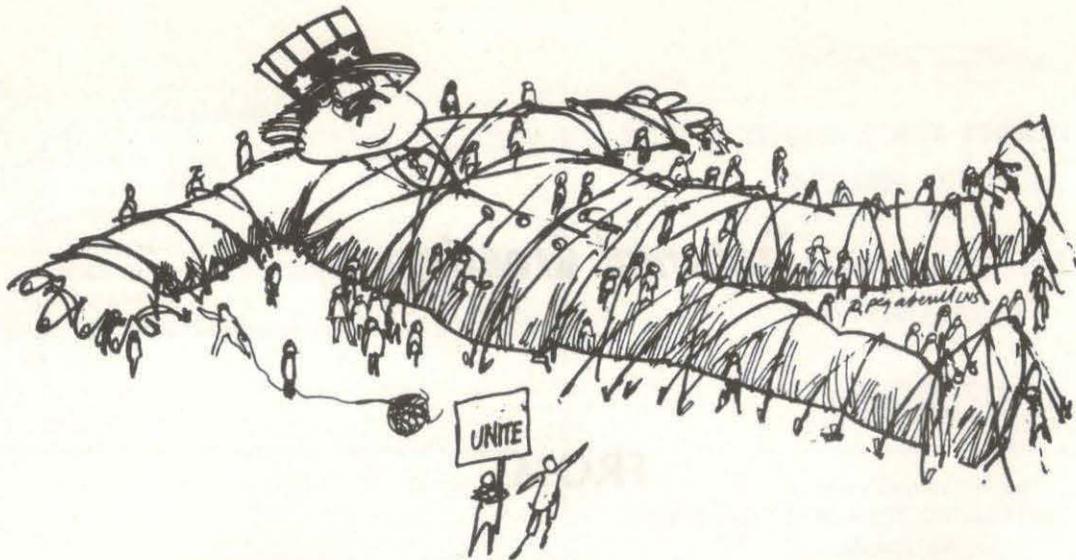


**EDWARD F. GRAY**

**Director Region 9, UAW**

**DONALD F. EPHLIN**

**Director Region 9A, UAW**



The history of this country is the story of people struggling, striving to create a fair and decent society -- with material well-being **and personal dignity for all** -- workers, the poor, minorities, women, the aged, the young, the handicapped -- **all the people** -- not just the super rich . . .

The reactionaries would return us to the days of Calvin Coolidge, who proclaimed that the business of America is **business**. That philosophy is unacceptable to us -- we believe the business of America is **people**.

That is the secret weapon in this war for the soul of America. The key to opening the door to a just society is our strength in people -- numbers of people.

There are more of us than there are of them. More workers. More women. More minorities. More working farmers. More old and young. More progressive, humane people. More middle income, just plain people.

The sheer force of our majority holds the promise of a decent society. If we can get it together -- those who have been on the short end for so long -- we can make it work. And if structure prevents progress, we have the numbers to change the structure.

The people's need for fairness and decency requires them to organize politically to make government responsive to them instead of the wealthy and powerful.

On this Labor Day, we in the UAW rededicate ourselves to our basic job. Our basic job has always been to create a better life for all people -- we have never been about simply protecting ourselves. All of us must participate in the American political system. We will work with others to build a broad-based coalition of progressive and humane people and organizations to fight selfish capitalistic money power, which seeks to buy the government and kill the dreams of people . . .

*from UAW President Douglas A. Fraser's Labor Day address, September 3, 1978*

# United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers Union of America, UAW



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James Connolly Clark  
Rosa Luxemburg Clark  
Earl & Honorine Bourdon  
Bob, Patty, Moira & Kevin Groves  
In Solidarity, Baltimore DSOC  
Joanne & Norman Miller  
State Rep. Harlan Baker—Maine  
Northern Virginia DSOC  
Alice Dodge Wolfson  
Peter & Lewraine Graham  
DSOC Cultural Geographer  
Marlene & David Frankel  
Alexander A. Spinrad  
Greetings from Takoma Park, Md.  
Harry & Natalie Fleischman  
James Porterfield  
Fay Bennett  
Rowland Watts  
Don Pogue  
Susan Bucknell  
Jim & Diana Chapin  
Al Russell  
Jacques Travers  
Laurence E. Prendergast  
Stephen Retherford  
Arnold Kaitinick  
Portland, Maine DSOC  
Leon H. Keyserling  
Beth and Rebekah Young  
Jim and Betty Young

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What we have going for us is the truth.

Plus the knowledge that the goals we seek are the proper ones and the road we are on is the right one, long as it may seem.

And on these pages we travel in the best company.

## DISTRICT COUNCIL 37

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees  
AFL-CIO

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*President*

**VICTOR GOTBAUM**  
*Executive Director*

**ARTHUR TIBALDI**  
*Treasurer*

**EDWARD J. MAHER**  
*Associate Director*

**CHARLES HUGHES**  
*Secretary*

**LILLIAN ROBERTS**  
*Associate Director*

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## The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

Salutes

Democratic Left

There is much work to be done in bringing about improvements in the working and living conditions of millions of workers here and around the world. We need compassion and determination. But we can prevail.

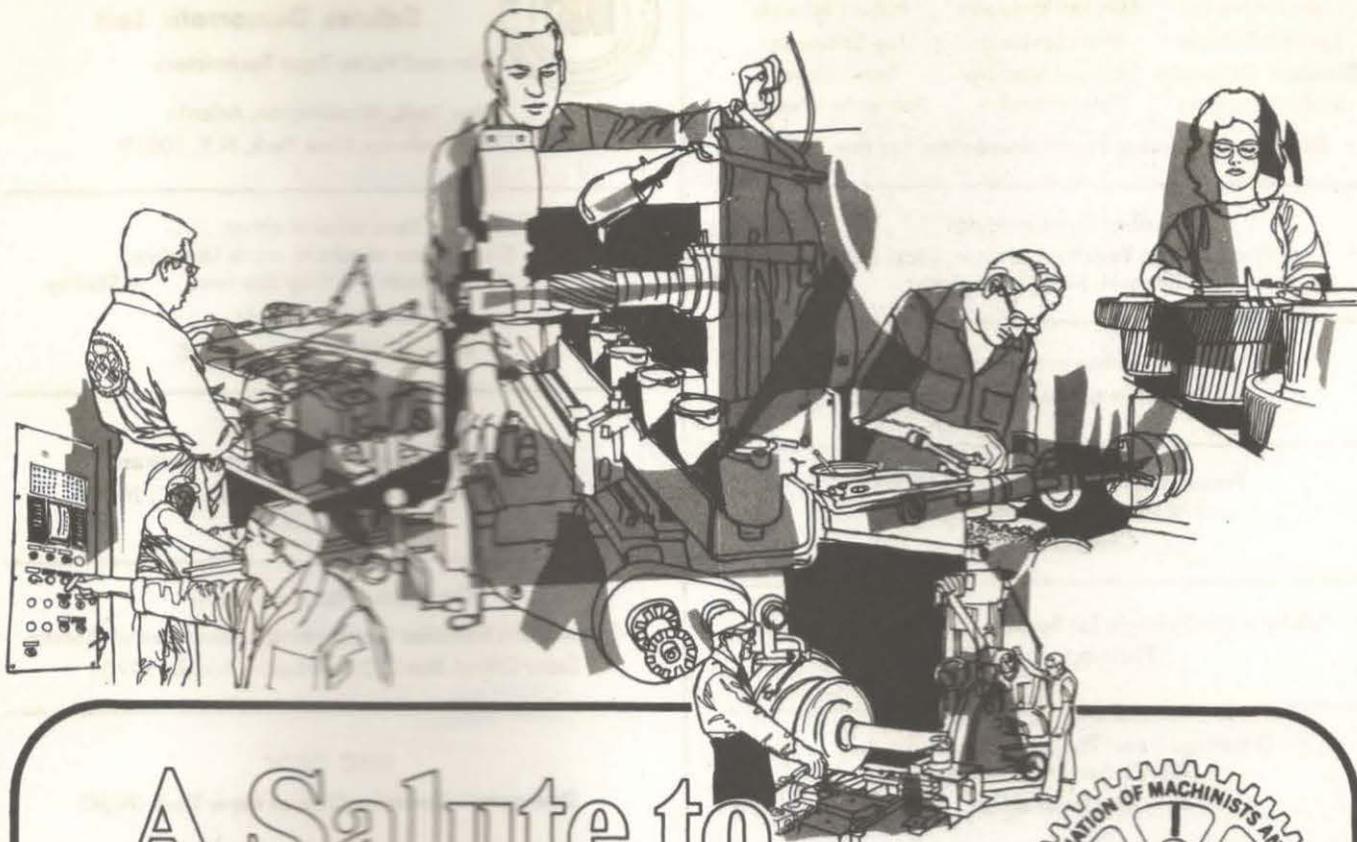
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President

**JACOB SHEINKMAN**  
Secretary-Treasurer

**SOL STETIN**  
Senior Executive Vice President

**SCOTT M. HOYMAN**  
Executive Vice President

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# A Salute to our friends

**Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee**

*and its goals and programs on behalf  
of all working men and women*

from the Union that Brings You the Best

**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS  
AND AEROSPACE WORKERS**



**William W. Wimpisinger**  
*International President*

**Eugene D. Glover**  
*General Secretary-Treasurer*

**General Vice Presidents**

**Mike Rygas**  
*Ottawa, Ont.*

**Tom Ducey**  
*Chicago, IL*

**Sal Iaccio**  
*New York, NY*

**Roe Spencer**  
*Dallas, TX*

**John Peterpaul**  
*Washington, DC*

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*Portland, OR*

**Justin Ostro**  
*Long Beach, CA*

**George Poulin**  
*Washington, DC*

**Merle E. Pryor, Jr.**  
*Cleveland, OH*

**On Behalf of the DSOC Youth Section**

Bob Ambaras	Mitchell Horowitz	Robert Schwab
Lynette Brimble	Mark Levinson	Joe Schwartz
Elizabeth Goldstein	Michael Mandler	Ben Tafoya
Judy Hempfling	Peter Mandler	Adrienne Wesely

**Building a Socialist Youth Movement for the 1980s**

Labor Day Greetings

**Washington Teachers' Union, Local 6 AFT**

William H. Simons, *President*

Best wishes in the struggle

**The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists**

Fraternal greetings from an ancient,  
but still hopeful, sociologist.

**Charles H. Page**

*"Unity in the Struggle for Socialism and Democracy"*

**Philadelphia DSOC**

Greetings from "The Jack London Times,"  
DSOC's Second Newsletter

**Bay Area DSOC**



**NABET LOCAL 15**

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Rise like lions after slumber. . . .

Shake your chains to earth like dew.

We are many — they are few. —Shelley

*Socialist Greetings*

**New Bedford, Mass. DSOC**

Center of Concern—

**Focus: Toward a World That Is Human**

3700 13th Street, N.E. / Washington, D.C. 20017  
(202) 635-2757

The North WILL Rise Again!

**Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee of Alaska**

State Office: Box 252, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

**NYC DSOC**

**Democratic Socialist Club of New York (NDC)**



**FEELING RUNDOWN?**

**JOIN THE FIGHT AGAINST  
THE RADICAL RIGHT**

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PUBLIC SERVICES  
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POLITICAL ACTION  
COMMITTEE



COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN  
PUBLIC EMPLOYEES 1105 16TH STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

*In Solidarity  
with your commitment  
to building an American  
Socialist Movement*

**IN THESE TIMES**

*The Independent Socialist Newspaper*

1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622

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Our challenge is to continue to view our society skeptically and be willing to make the kind of fundamental changes required to provide millions of people a secure and useful job, a healthy environment and, in general, life with dignity.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION

FRANK D. MARTINO  
*President*

J. A. THOMAS  
*Secretary-Treasurer*

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"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. The capital is only the fruit of labor and should never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. . . ."

Lincoln to Congress  
Dec. 1861



**International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and  
Agricultural Implement Workers of America**

Stephen P. Yokich  
Director Region 1, UAW

Ken Morris  
Director Region 1B, UAW

# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

THE POST-MEANY PERIOD OF THE AFL-CIO may be beginning. The summer meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council was held without the only president the merged federation has ever had. Reports were that Meany's health is very bad. Other reports, on the front pages of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* said that he may retire from his office at the AFL-CIO Convention this November. If he does plan his retirement, Meany will probably hand the presidency of the federation to long-time heir apparent, Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland. But if Meany balks at retiring and is then persuaded to step aside, there could be a fight for the succession. Almost every member of the Executive Council would consider himself a potential candidate, but after Kirkland, three loom as possibilities: Martin Ward from Meany's own United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters; William Wynn, president of the newly merged United Food and Commercial Workers, an amalgam of the Butchers and the Retail Clerks and the largest federation affiliate; and J.C. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers.

OF THE POSSIBILITIES, Kirkland rates as the most conservative. Described inaccurately by the *Times* and the *Journal* as Meany's ideological clone, Kirkland is actually a more sophisticated neo-conservative. He shares Meany's hard line on foreign policy, but he would be less inclined than Meany is to enforce the federation's tough pro-busing stance, for example. Wynn, who gave a major address on rebuilding the labor-liberal alliance to the most recent ADA Convention, may be the most liberal potential successor. And though both Ward and Turner come from the building trades, both represent a new brand of building trades leader. After the last DEMOCRATIC AGENDA conference in November 1977, Ward sent a report of the conference to the United Association's regular publication. And Turner (who participated in that conference) has involved his union in the Progressive Alliance. Note: no matter who succeeds, the AFL-CIO is likely to become looser and more decentralized. The Old Man has shown a genius for holding things together, building alliances and isolating opponents. Whoever takes the reins from him will lack 24 years experience.

IUE CALLS FOR NATIONALIZATION—The International Union of Electrical Workers, currently on strike against Westinghouse, has called for nationalization of all domestic energy resources. IUE's executive board supported the proposal "in consideration of a fundamental philosophy that all natural resources contained within the boundaries of the United States should be regulated in the interest of all Americans and not for the profit of a few."

THE DEMISE OF THE LIBERAL-LEFT has been greatly exaggerated. It's old news to DEMOCRATIC LEFT readers that the shift to the right among America's voters was overstated and oversimplified. But the idea is catching on, and *Working Papers*, *Mother Jones* and *Commonweal* have all suggested recently that America may not be moving so far to the right. Even more convincing, a staunch partisan of the right, Kevin Phillips, believes that the momentum is passing from his allies to ours. In the May 25 issue of *The American Political Report*, Phillips suggests that Carter's "ineffective centrism . . . is beginning to create a possible 1980's contest for a major anti-business shift in U.S. opinion and politics." He cites the popularity of Kennedy's economic positions, the shift of left activists away from unpopular social and cultural concerns toward a "new set [of economic issues like plant closings] that is in the mainstream of U.S. populist politics." From the rise of George Wallace to the celebration of Howard Jarvis, there was a substantial right-wing populism in the U.S., Phillips says. But traditional conservatives and business failed to make effective alliances, and now the coalitional opportunity may be passing. Phillips' conclusion: with or without Kennedy, "economic populism cum anti-business politicking is likely to be a rising force in 1980 and beyond."

MINORITY WORKERS ARE EAGER TO JOIN UNIONS, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. A study reported on in the June 19 Labor Letter says that 66 percent of non-unionized minority workers would vote for a union. Only 33 percent of all unorganized workers expressed a desire to vote the union in. But the pro-union sympathies of unorganized workers were as strong in the South as in the North.

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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