

p. 20
Some
History
A Witness - Arborescent
to DNA strike

The Witness

Volume 79 • Number 9 • September 1996



IN NEED OF A LABOR MOVEMENT

Hospitals

YOUR "HOSPITALS" ISSUE [6/96] WAS excellent!! I am in the midst of my CPE program and your issue could not be more relevant! Please send me a study packet as soon as it is available. I am passing it on to my CPE group. Keep up the great work!

Kurt J. Huber
San Francisco, CA

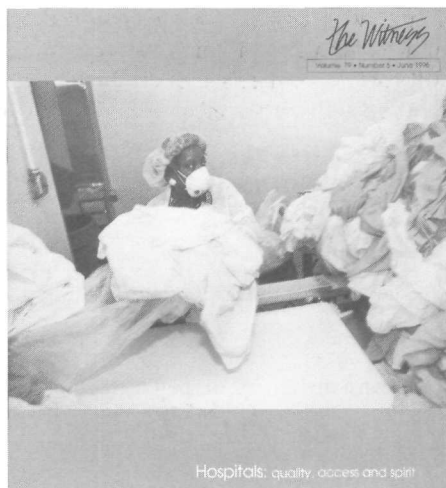
Is it ever OK to lie?

IN A RECENT SERMON Verna Dozier said she increasingly has become convinced that "the power of darkness is our need to be right." Virginia Ramey Mollenkott's attempt to provide "an ethic for lying when necessary" verifies for me Dr. Dozier's statement.

Ms. Mollenkott invokes several Biblical stories that are important to the development of the Jewish and Christian peoples and that include acts of deception, subterfuge, lying, cheating, and other behaviors generally presumed to be unethical. Because these stories are part of our story, however, does not, as Ms. Mollenkott asserts, justify either those actions or similar actions by any other persons, whether those persons are oppressed or not.

Instead of fully facing the costs of unethical behavior, which include a loss of integrity, separation from each other, and possibly separation from God, Ms. Mollenkott says that the institutional church and society *force* people to behave in unethical ways and that because of this we need feel no guilt for our secrecy or subversion. This is not justification, it is blaming, and it is dangerous because it denies our fundamental capacity to choose our own course of action in any given situation.

A far clearer vision is indicated in the article included in the same edition of *The Witness* on the actions by the Trocmés and their town of Le Chambon which hid and protected Jews during the Nazi occupation.



"None of these leaders became reconciled to making counterfeit cards," says their chronicler Philip Hallie, even though they continued to make and use such cards.

As human beings, we want to make "right" decisions, and we justify our actions on many grounds. Ms. Mollenkott's examples concentrate on justifying actions that bring desired outcomes. But the problem with self-justification is that it involves self-deception — that is, it involves an unwillingness to accept responsibility for the totality of our action and a failure to acknowledge that in each action we take we could be mistaken.

Janice M. Gregory
Washington, D.C.

ANYTHING VIRGINIA MOLLENKOTT writes for has to be good. She has had a profound, positive influence on me. I am blessed that she is my friend.

Elizabeth Baglivo
Philadelphia, PA

Holy matrimony

YOUR ISSUE ON MARRIAGE and relationships was useful and refreshing. Especially encouraging was the page on unmarried people by Kay Collier-Slone. I really wish our diocese were as actively supportive of unmarried members.

Thanks for the flyer about *The Witness* study groups. I plan to post this on the bulletin board and to ask around to generate interest. *Dialogue: Conversing with Adversaries* [4/

93] would be relevant to us, since we live in an area with a press hostile to us. Do you have experience with other churches whose local paper runs anti-Episcopal columns?

Francis F. Smith
Pleasant City, OH

Witness complaints

NO THANK YOU. I am a liberal Christian, but am not interested in reading about a narrow Feminist/Lesbian agenda. Wake up! There are more effective ways to bring souls to Christ than yours. But then maybe you are so "left wing" that you are not interested in the above.

Gail Evans
Denver, CO

Witness praise

IN BOTH ISSUES I HAVE RECEIVED SO far I have found at least one thing to pass on to others. I plan to leave my next copy in my parish tract rack, when I'm finished, to let others discover your magazine. Your sober, balanced coverage of the recent U.S. heresy trial provided fresh understanding of an issue covered here only cursorily — or in lurid detail by newsletters of the fundamentalist "ain't it awful" school of journalism.

Mary Finlay
Toronto, ON

Classifieds

Vocations

Contemplating religious life? Members of the Brotherhood and the Companion Sisterhood of Saint Gregory are Episcopalians, clergy and lay, married and single. To explore a contemporary Rule of Life, contact: The Director of Vocations, Brotherhood of St. Gregory, Saint Bartholomew's Church, 82 Prospect Street, White Plains NY 10606-3499.

Classifieds

Witness classifieds cost 75 cents a word or \$30 an inch, whichever is less. Payments must accompany submissions. Deadline is the 15th of the month, two months prior to publication.

Letters

Question of ordination

I AM WRITING IN RESPONSE TO Jennifer Phillips' article on ordination [6/96]. I respect her theological view of the priesthood, and she rightly raises the question whether financial pressures should determine what the leadership of the church will be. She contrasts the oversupply of qualified candidates for ordination with the church's inability to find paid work for them, and eloquently articulates the spiritual role of the priest as the sacramental presence in a gathered community. But I operate on the basis of a different set of presuppositions than she does. I have been a rural dean as well as a parish priest, and have served on a committee that worked on mission strategy for a diocese. Unfortunately, financial resources do dictate the limitations the church faces, but they are also a call to evaluate how we are doing business. I have learned from our foremothers who could not be ordained though they felt called to ordained ministry, that if God calls to ministry, there will be ministry, with or without a paycheck from the church, with or without ordination, for all Christians are called to be agents of God's healing in a broken world. Candidates need to learn the difference between God's call to ministry and the needs of the church as an institution.

My perception of the financial pressures of the church is that they will get worse, not better, because they are part of the larger issues of the secularization of society and the deconstruction of the Constantinian church, not simply a matter of failure to do evangelization or stewardship. Since the fourth century, the church has played an important role in society and society was based at least loosely on the values of the church. Those facts are no longer true. Already in many places the model of an educated priest as the sacramental presence in each congregation has become an unaffordable luxury. But the good side of poverty is that it gives us an opportunity to abandon the "lone ranger" model of hierarchical ministry. The only things that a priest can do that laypersons cannot do are absolve, bless, and consecrate. One does not need a theological education to do any of these things. Thus the church is inventing new models, such as local priests. But Phillips is

correct: we need to think very carefully about what we need, and I do think that we need and will continue to need some educated priests. I think that the future ministry of the church will be done in teams of lay and ordained persons, and priests both local and educated. I see each team member bringing different skills, with the mix enriching all. I would envision several parishes in a cluster with local priests, laypeople, and educated priests all serving the same parishes. Some of the reasons for such team ministries are the breaking down of hierarchy, the better utilization of gifts and skills, the decrease of isolation especially in rural areas, and accountability, in addition to financial savings. But I see the need for education for priests differently than Phillips does.

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foremothers that if God calls,
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without ordination or a
paycheck from the church.*

I will thus argue the case for educated priests of a different kind. First, Christian education for adults in all too many parishes I know, especially in the rural areas where few educated clergy are willing to go, is abysmal. I think that many people go to seminary because, if one is an educated, serious Christian, where else is one to learn more? Even in rural areas Episcopalians tend to be educated people and professionals. Poor sermons do not serve them well, and the sermon, practically speaking, is the major educational event in most parishes. I don't see this changing. A team enriches everyone's preaching. Laity sometimes are reached better by laity than clergy, but it is critical that sermons be theologically and biblically literate. That takes education, either seminary, continuing, or preferably, both.

Second, one of the major responsibilities of clergy is leadership. There are three critical areas of leadership: the first is spiritual leadership; the second is bureaucratic leadership; and the third is transitional leadership. The role of education in part is to broaden one's

perspective and to teach alternate ways of doing things. Those are essential elements of preparation for leadership.

Spiritual leadership is and will increasingly become a critical function of clergy. It is the only thing clergy have to offer that some other profession does not offer. Spiritual leadership means being a person of prayer so that one can teach others how to pray. People are starving for spiritual leadership and turning everywhere but the mainline churches to find spiritual direction. It doesn't take an education to learn how to pray, and many who are educated don't pray any more. But our people need educated leaders who pray, who have thought beyond simple answers and who have a broader perspective than "Jesus and me."

Bureaucratic leadership is a major role of the priest in a parish currently. Primarily it means having a vision, a mission, and bringing others to share it or to build another. That usually takes some education and a broader perspective than a single parish or region. I greatly fear the increase of parochialism — which is endemic in the church anyhow — without educated clergy. And I have never been in a parish where there was no serious conflict. Conflict is necessary in a healthy parish, just as diversity is necessary, and the two go together. The role of the parish priest today is mediating between groups so that everyone who wants to share responsibility can. Some distance is necessary for mediating disputes. Local clergy may not have enough distance or power to be successful.

Transitional leadership is the vision that the church needs now to get us from where we are to new models of church. I cannot envision that kind of leadership without education, simply because it requires a sense of the larger picture, and again, some freedom from ties to the congregation.

The reality of the post-modern world is forcing us to examine anew what is necessary for a congregation to exist, and ways of meeting those needs. We need to think intentionally about designing leadership for the church in a new world, especially because the church has a record as one of the worst employers in terms of compensation for skills and education required and work done.

Leona Irsch
Toronto, ON

THE WITNESS

Since 1917

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Contents

- 8 **Fighting for a decent wage** by Manning Marable
The decline in workers' living standards, the loss of white privilege, the increase of global competition and massive corporate layoffs signal a crisis that must be met with a campaign for a living wage and full employment legislation.
- 10 **Anatomy of a strike** by Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann
The Detroit newspaper strike raises questions about union power and tactics just when a strong labor movement is most needed.
- 16 **A malcontent's view of labor** by Jane Slaughter
A long-time union activist examines the problems with the labor movement, tells why she sticks with it and suggests strategies to those who wish to be in solidarity with workers.
- 20 ***The Witness'* labor crusade** by Marianne Arbogast
The Witness' current support of the Detroit Newspapers strike has precedent in the work of Bill Spofford, managing editor of the magazine in its early decades.

2 Letters	7 Poetry	28 Film review
5 Editorial	24 Short takes	30 <i>Witness</i> profile
	25 Vital signs	

This month Vital Signs reports on the sentencing of former Episcopal Church treasurer Ellen Cooke.

Cover: Protesting the Detroit newspaper strike. Photo by Daymon Hartley.

Back Cover: Worker at A.E. Staley's corn-processing plant in Decatur, Ill. Workers were locked out on June 27, 1993. Photo by Jim West.

Trampling the grapes of wrath

by Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann

Job News Good; Wall St. Shudders, the headline read on the Internet in July. The story explained that with the creation of 250,000 new jobs, Dow Jones dropped nearly 115 points.

What an irony that good news for workers is bad news to Wall Street, but then the last decade has proved that the steady withdrawal of employment and benefits has been good for stockholders and CEOs. More clearly than has been true for several decades, the interests of American workers are at odds with the interests of the rich. (See Manning Marable's article on p. 8.)

At *The Witness* we received this letter from a woman in the southeast who receives a gift subscription:

"I was laid off from my position as administrative secretary for two small Episcopal churches. Excellent references have been little help in view of the severe unemployment in this rural area. I've learned first hand the frustration of dealing with the welfare system.

"For every dollar I earn in a part-time job as receptionist in an insurance office, I lose more benefits. As soon as I worked just 12 hours a week my SSI [Supplemental Security Income] was cut in half. When my employment was increased to 18 hours a week, my SSI went down to \$6 a month, and my food stamps to \$10 a month. My employer has offered me six more work hours a week, but I can't accept, because I'd lose Medicaid and a rent subsidy (for which the increased wages would not compensate)."

In a country where people cannot find

Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann is editor/publisher of *The Witness*.

work or can work full-time at minimum wage and still not pay their bills, we need a union movement.

Most church activists turned their attention away from the unions in the 1950s. Incomes were increasing. Unionized labor seemed almost fat with the nation's prosperity and many of its leaders were openly hostile to women, racial minorities and people with anti-war sentiments.

But we can no longer afford to dismiss the union movement. Since 1980, times

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have assets, infrastructure
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have changed radically. *Business Week* editors forecasted then that the average American was going to need to pay for the retooling of American industry.

"It will be a hard pill for many Americans to swallow — the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more," the editors wrote. "Nothing that this nation, or any other nation has done in modern economic history compares in difficulty with the selling job that must be done to make people accept this new reality."

And with a deftness and surety of purpose that was unrelenting, the affluent altered the balance in the economy.

The labor movement, which had cut deals with corporate leadership, was unprepared and did not fight. There are signs of hope that it is mending its ways. But whether it is or not, the churches are

going to have to begin monitoring the needs of workers and the strategies of labor. If necessary, they must call the labor movement that we need into being.

As *The Witness* sets out to uphold unions, we are not naive. (See Jane Slaughter's "malcontent's view" on page 16.) Sometimes during the Detroit Newspapers' strike I have been appalled at the inaction, fear and subservience to protocol that can bind union leaders, but then I am struck that many must feel the same frustration when they look toward the church. Both institutions have assets, infrastructure and a vocation to serve, but both are largely disabled by fear and pomp.

The unions are bound by labor laws that curtail where and when workers can be organized, what strikers can do to demonstrate the urgency of their needs and what redress is available. The arbiter is the National Labor Relations Board, a bureaucracy *par excellence* that wobbles slowly to rulings that can always be appealed. (Some labor attorneys argue that unions would be better off if the whole body of labor law were dumped.)

I feel for the union leaders in Detroit's newspaper strike. I suspect they are good people who want to do the respectable thing. So they reign in their troops to ensure there is no suspicion that they've engaged in "misconduct" and have thereby given up the fight, because they cannot win against the newspapers simply by picketing the merchants that advertise in them.

Religious leaders can act more freely

continued on page 6



editor's note

Industrial mission hero

by Scott Paradise

Ted Wickham died last year. The news brought sadness and memories flooding back from the mid-1950s when he was my colleague, mentor and friend. In those years his was the voice of a prophet speaking the truth about the church in industrial England.

He was a cockney, of short stature, with a pipe in his teeth, glasses sliding down his nose, and perennial bad hair days. But he was energetic, eloquent, and winsome, quick with repartée, with an imaginative way of articulating the Gospel in secular contexts, and a gift for involving unsuspecting industrial workers in serious theological discussion.

In his youth he had been a worker employed in the chemical industry, while reading for a degree in theology from the University of London.

Wickham was appointed Industrial Missioner for the Diocese of Sheffield in 1944.

The Sheffield workers in the black mills lining the River Don took pride in the tradition of steel-making there since the days of Chaucer. But only one percent

of them would voluntarily darken the door of a church. The rest held the opinion, usually colorfully expressed, that the



Ted Wickham

Christian faith was for children, the church was for hypocrites, and religious life was irrelevant. These workers became the "parishioners" of the Sheffield Industrial Mission.

It took all the creativity, energy, commitment, persistence, and strategic shrewdness that Wickham could muster to win from managers, unions, and the workers access to the shop floors of the Sheffield mills. It took quickness of wit, a comic flair, and a gift of open, sympathetic listening to win the hearts of the

men who worked in them. In winning both these things Wickham began to evolve a way of reaching across the chasm between church and industry.

Shop floor discussion groups proliferated. The staff of the Sheffield Industrial Mission grew. Industrial missions inspired by the Sheffield model sprang up not only in other industrial centers in Britain, but also in Detroit, Boston, and elsewhere in the U.S., Australia, Hong Kong, Puerto Rico, and some of the cities of Africa.

Wickham's work in Sheffield was not without its enemies. Traditionalists criticized it because it was not based in parish churches nor did it bring workers to occupy their pews. To this Wickham responded that his critics did not appreciate the gap between the culture of the churches and the secularism of most workers. Not only was the coloration of the church definitely middle or upper class, but the thought forms in which its message was expressed were pre-industrial and pre-scientific. Wickham's classic study, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, documents his claim that industrial workers had not been lost to the church at some time in the past, but rather, they had never been part of it. Five years after Wickham left Sheffield to become Bishop of Middleton in Manchester, the work in Sheffield was eviscerated.

Church leaders criticized Wickham because he insisted that the church take the structures of industry seriously and amend its own structures in order to engage them. It was a bitter pill for him that his plan to do that, which the Church Assembly accepted in 1959, was never fully funded or properly implemented.

But for many of us he spoke prophetic truth about the remoteness of the church from the market place and the mass of people in the world of work. And he inspired many of us with much needed hope by demonstrating how that might be changed. **TW**

Scott Paradise, retired Episcopal chaplain at MIT, worked in Detroit's Industrial Mission.

"Grapes of Wrath," cont'd

because they are not directly subject to the National Labor Relations Act. They can be charged with trespass if they engage in civil disobedience on behalf of workers, but cannot be fined for "striker misconduct."

But community activity will never be a sufficient shield for workers. Labor leaders have to find their strength.

In the meantime, the churches have

to educate themselves about the strikes currently taking place, about labor law, about life on minimum wage. If we help do the work and cry out loudly enough for strong partnership from the unions, perhaps we'll see a day when we can recognize that Solidarity Forever and the Battle Hymn of the Republic may not only share a tune, but contain something of the same truth. **TW**

THE PEOPLE, YES

by Carl Sandberg

The people will live on.
The learning and blundering people will live on.
They will be tricked and sold and again sold
And go back to the nourishing earth for rootholds.
The people so peculiar in renewal and comeback.
You can't laugh off their capacity to take it.
The mammoth rests between his cyclonic dramas.

The people so often sleepy, weary, enigmatic
is a vast huddle with many units saying:

"I earn my living.
I make enough to get by
and it takes all my time.
If I had more time
I could do more for myself
and maybe for others.
I could read and study
and talk things over
and find out about things.
It takes time.
I wish I had the time."

The steel mill sky is alive.
The fire breaks white and zigzag
shot on a gun-metal gloaming.
Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win.
Brother may yet line up with brother:
This old anvil laughs at many broken hammers.
There are men who can't be bought.
The fireborn are at home in fire.
The stars make no noise.
You can't hinder the wind from blowing.
Time is a great teacher.
Who can live without hope?

In the darkness with a great bundle of grief
the people march.
In the night and overhead a shovel of stars for
keeps, the people march:
"Where to? what next?"

— from *The People, Yes*,
Harcourt Brace & Co., 1936, 1964



Fighting for a decent wage

by Manning Marable

In the summer of 1969, my first real job was working in a large warehouse, unloading box cars and cleaning toilets. I earned the minimum wage, which at that time was \$1.60 an hour. In today's wages, that was equal to \$6.45. By working all summer, I earned enough to cover most of my first year's college tuition.

Today, millions of Americans work over 40 hours each week, and never take home enough money to feed and clothe their families. Minimum wage workers have been making \$4.25 an hour, or approximately \$170 for a 40-hour week. Almost 60 percent of these workers are women. Nearly two-thirds are adults who are trying to support their families.

In the 1980s, millions of new jobs were created in the U.S. economy, but relatively few were at wage levels that could support families. Eighty-five percent of all new jobs were located in low-pay or part-time service work. Nearly two out of ten workers had no health insurance, and two out of five had no pension. Economist Lester Thurow observes that "median household incomes have fallen more than 7 percent after correcting for inflation and family size, to \$31,241 in 1993, from \$33,585."

What is most significant about this decline is that the country's per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was rising. Moreover, the share of wealth held by the top 1 percent of the U.S. population *doubled* in the last 20 years. As

Thurow states: "In effect, we are conducting an enormous social and political experiment — something like putting a pressure cooker on the stove over a full flame and waiting to see how long it takes to explode."

Not only have American workers witnessed a decline in their standards of living, but they also face an increasingly uncertain future. In 1995, a study about employment trends in the metropolitan Chicago area was completed as part of the MacArthur Foundations' Working Poor Project. The study indicated that during the next 10 years, about 140,000 new jobs will be created in Chicago. One half of these jobs will be available to workers with a high school education — but none will pay more than an annual wage of \$23,000, which is hardly enough to maintain a family. And the competition for skilled blue-collar jobs will be higher than ever before.

Losing white privilege?

Another factor is the *racial* dimension of the class struggle. In unprecedented numbers, millions of white people are confronting what many African-Americans and Latinos have known for years — unemployment, poverty and hunger. A re-

cent study by Isaac Shapiro, of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, documents the growing crisis of non-Hispanic whites. One-half of all Americans living in poverty, nearly 18 million people, are white. For white female-headed households, more than one in three are poor. Between 1979 and 1991, the poverty rate

for white families headed by an individual between 25 to 34 years old nearly doubled.

For millions of white Americans, "whiteness" used to mean a relatively privileged lifestyle, a standard of living superior to that of most racial minorities. Now as they are losing ground, they are desperately trying to understand why their "whiteness" no longer protects them. Alienated, angry white workers are finding the "American Dream" has become a nightmare. Politicians like Pat Buchanan offer them easy scapegoats — immigrants, blacks, Latinos, welfare recipients, the homeless — to explain their misery. But the empty rhetoric of Buchanan won't reverse the class warfare that is destroying millions of American households.

The unions

A half century ago, at the end of World War II, American unions and capital reached an agreement about the future of labor relations. The union movement essentially agreed to expel radicals and Communists from its ranks, and to limit strikes and militant actions. In return, the corporations shared their profits in the form of higher wages and benefits. By the early 1970s, American workers enjoyed the highest living standard in the world.

As AFL-CIO president George Meany declared, "We believe in the American profit system."

But as global competition increased, capital-

ists cut costs, lowered wages and fired workers. Millions of jobs were shipped abroad to exploit low-wage, non-unionized labor. In many factories, occupational safety standards deteriorated, and employees lost many of their health benefits and pensions. But most unions had collaborated with the bosses for so long,

Today, millions of Americans work over 40 hours each week, and never take home enough money to feed and clothe their families.

Manning Marable, director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University, has been a long-time contributor to *The Witness*. Photographer **Jim West** works at *Labor Notes*.

they were unable to mount a counteroffensive against the corporations.

When President Reagan smashed the air traffic controllers' union during its 1981 strike, it sent a clear message to the corporations that union busting was on the immediate agenda. By 1987, nearly three-fourths of all contracts that covered 1,000 or more workers included wage concessions. Approximately 200,000 workers became non-union due to decertification elections in the 1980s. By the end of the decade, union membership declined to 16 percent of the American labor force. Workers lacked an effective, progressive labor movement which could fight for higher living standards.

Another reason that millions of American workers feel betrayed is the widespread wave of corporate layoffs. In the 1990s, as Wall Street stocks reached all-time highs and corporate profits soared, millions of workers were thrown out of work. In December, 1991, General Motors announced that it was firing 74,000 workers.

Barely one year later, Sears, Roebuck and Company fired 50,000 employees. Soon other corporations began to fire thousands of workers to improve their profitability. In 1993, Boeing dismissed 28,000 workers, Philip Morris cut 14,000, and IBM slashed 60,000 jobs. The next year, Delta Air Lines announced 15,000 layoffs, NYNEX cut 16,800 jobs, and Scott Paper fired more than one-third of its total work force, over 11,000 people. This January, AT&T Chief Executive Officer Robert Allen announced that his corporation was firing 40,000 employees. Coincidentally, Allen's annual salary at AT&T was \$3.3 million.

Who can expect American workers to feel any loyalty to companies that only are concerned about profits and not

people? Corporate executives pay themselves millions of dollars in salaries, fringe benefits, bonuses and stock options, while millions are losing their jobs. In 1975 the average chief executive officer of a corporation received about 40 times the salary of an average worker. Today that ratio has jumped to *190 times as much*. The typical CEO of America's 100 largest corporations receives about \$900,000



Fighting for a \$1 raise in Detroit.

Jim West

in annual salary, and \$3.5 million in overall compensation.

A living wage

We need governmental policies which create jobs and promote income growth for working people. One essential step toward that goal is the reallocation of government expenditures from wasteful military spending into the social and economic infrastructure that makes produc-

tivity possible.

We urgently need to make massive public investments in housing, streets, highways, railroads, bridges, hospitals and clinics, public schools and universities to create new jobs.

One national organization that is leading the fight for decent wages is ACORN — the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now. Last year,

ACORN participated in the Chicago Jobs and Living Wage Campaign, a coalition of over 40 community groups, labor unions and religious leaders. The Campaign has called for a city ordinance requiring businesses that receive subsidies or hold city contracts to pay their workers at least \$7.60 an hour. The majority of Chicago's City Council now supports the living wage ordinance, but it is opposed by Mayor Richard Daley. ACORN is also pushing for a living wage in St. Louis, Mo., and Houston, Tex.

However, the effort to achieve decent wages for working people will not be won without a struggle. In St. Paul, Minn., last year, a local initiative that would have required any company that received over \$25,000 in public subsidies to pay their employees at least \$7.21 an hour was defeated. Activists from ACORN, the New Party, religious and labor groups were viciously attacked by politicians and the press. A sophisticated campaign was orchestrated by one of St. Paul's largest public relations firms to mobilize opposition. Advocates for a living wage were smeared as "Stalinesque" and "job killers."

We cannot wait for Congress or Clinton to "do the right thing." Labor unions and civil rights organizations must lead a national campaign for a significant hike in the minimum wage, as well as for full employment legislation. **TW**

Anatomy of a strike

by Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann

Thousands of union members forced the Detroit Newspapers to airlift their Sunday edition from its suburban printing plant last Labor Day. Skirmishes with police were frequent. Militance was high.

Today the strike is in its fourteenth month. Strikers are juggling part-time, low-wage work with strike duty. Their families are stressed. They haven't yielded, but they can't tell if they are winning.

Meanwhile the AFL-CIO is pouring in money. The Sweeney-Trumka leadership understands that this strike is a show-down they can't afford to lose if their claims of a new militance that can win the hearts of the unorganized are to hold.

A string of big strikes have been lost recently, at Caterpillar, Staley, Firestone. People are seriously asking whether unions still have any clout. Can unions get busted even in Detroit?

At issue

Initially the intent of the Detroit Newspapers (DN), which administer *The Detroit Free Press* and *The Detroit News* under a Joint Operating Agreement (JOA), was to win concessions. It may also have been then, as it clearly is now, to destroy the unions.

"The unions made a lot of concessions in the last contract, and rather than work through a reasonable contract this time, the company wanted a lot more concessions," explains labor negotiator Dan O'Rourke, who negotiated a new electrical workers contract with the DN prior to this strike.

Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann is editor/publisher of *The Witness* and active in Readers United. Camille Colatosti contributed to this report.

"It appears that management had planned for months, if not years, in advance of the contract," O'Rourke added. "They had put together a lengthy and detailed strike plan. Their parent companies are willing to put in millions of dollars to win."

The two unions most affected by management's demands were the Newspaper Guild and the Teamsters, but the four other unions negotiating contracts stood in solidarity and struck unanimously on July 13, 1995 when management refused to extend the previous contract.

An issue for the Guild is merit pay. The DN already had merit pay bonuses but was now attempting to make annual 2-6 percent increases dependent on merit evaluations, according to labor analyst Steve Babson.

"Criteria was murky," Babson explains. "Eric Freedman, a reporter who won a Pulitzer Prize, earned the lowest merit pay possible because management said he was not a team player."

The DN also wanted to put workers on salary so they could not claim overtime pay.

"For drivers and printers, the issue was job security," Babson adds. "New technology and work organization would reduce jobs. The unions are willing

to respond to this technology but not at the accelerated pace that the company insists upon. The union had already agreed to a reduction of 400 jobs when the DN was losing money [at the time of the

creation of the JOA]. When the DN started earning money, the union didn't expect a continued crisis atmosphere."

But Wall Street dictates that newspapers should make 17 percent profit. The \$54 million the DN earned on both papers in 1994 was good, but not good enough. Apparently even the \$100 million in profits that analysts projected for 1995 weren't good enough.

Raising the profit margin can only be accomplished by filling the newshole with syndicated material and getting rid of staff.

Striking reporter John Lippert says, "The DN demanded that management be allowed to transfer work to nonunion workers at a pace determined by management without bargaining, the right to take away union jurisdiction in the composing room at the company's discretion and more use of part-time workers.

"It would be easier for me to accept if I thought that the companies would make a stronger paper because of the strike," adds Lippert. "But they are not serving the community. They've taken a bad situation and made it worse."

The *News'* editor/publisher Bob Giles admits that his paper twists its strike coverage because the TV coverage, he says, is pro-union. And the *Free Press* has dropped 30 of its 59 city desk reporters.

Management

Management has been unabashed.

The DN refused to extend the terms of the old contract,

produced the paper by flying in employees from other corporate papers when the unions struck, then hired "permanent replacement workers" to continue production.

"We're going to hire a whole new work force and go on without unions, or they can surrender unconditionally and salvage what they can."

— Bob Giles



Sterling Heights police spray pepper gas on striking newspaper workers.

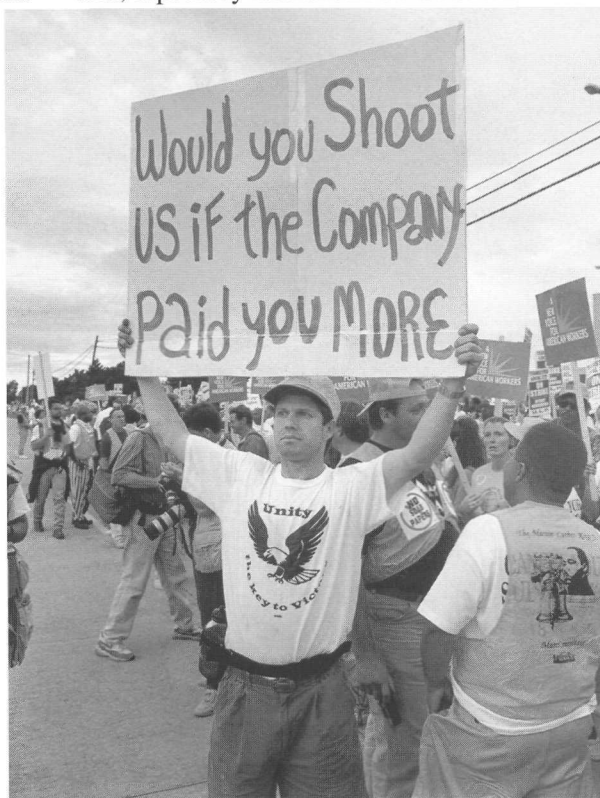
Daymon Hartley

Giles told *The St. Petersburg Times*, “We’re going to hire a whole new work force and go on without unions, or they can surrender unconditionally and salvage what they can.”

Company security operations are in the hands of John Anthony, former director of the FBI in Detroit. Four to six months prior to the strike, the DN was negotiating with Sterling Heights and Detroit police, offering money to increase service. While Detroit refused, the suburban community has accepted more than \$2 million so far.

The nationally-known Vance Guard was hired “to protect the property,” according to Susie Ellwood, spokesperson for the DN. But Vance’s own ads refer to their superlative ability to videotape striker misconduct. In fact, they were famous during the Pittston Coal strike for riling, then videotaping, the crowd in order to persuade judges to issue injunctions against the strikers.

Vance’s provocations were often violent, especially last fall. In a brawl at the



Jim West

Clayton Street distribution center, during which strike supporters broke the car windshields of replacement workers, striker Vito Sciuto was beaten so badly that he is now permanently mentally impaired.

At least as bad, the DN buys air time for Vance’s carefully edited footage and misrepresents events to the public. One ad in Detroit portrayed enraged strikers near a burning DN truck. Another showed strikers slamming their picket signs (cardboard and sticks that are one-eighth inch thick) into a *Detroit News* truck.

It would be months before a court would decide that strikers did not ignite the DN truck; in fact there was considerable reason to suggest that the Vance guard did. In the latter case, an unedited tape would have shown people in the driveway, several DN trucks crashing through the gate without warning and running through the crowd at 35 miles

an hour. As the last truck passed, strikers took out their fear, their anger and their disbelief with the only weapon they had — their lightweight picket signs.

The silk-stockinged set has been imported, too. Smith-Henan, the law firm used by Pittston, is maneuvering the DN through the byzantine regulations in the National Labor Relations Act. They've also advised the company in its pending RICO suit under which anyone who repeatedly disrupts another's business can be charged with racketeering.

"There is a whole industry that specializes in union busting," observes business writer Lippert. "It's not just Vance but lawyers and a public relations apparatus. There are textbooks written on the subject."

Absentee corporations

Detroit's two papers are owned by Gannett and Knight Ridder who produce some 108 other papers as well, only 15 of which are unionized. Already they have been able to force concessions elsewhere by pointing to the situation in Detroit.

The cost is not low. Everyone suggests that the corporate boards underestimated the Detroit community's sense of investment in this strike.

Subscriptions have fallen at least one-third. The DN refuses an audit, but admits it has lost 30 percent of its readers. It's suggested that their losses are greater. Advertising is down one-quarter. The DN acknowledges losing \$100 million in 1995 and \$50 million in the first half of 1996. These figures don't reflect the loss of profit that the papers could have anticipated which was projected at \$100 million a year.

Management continues to claim an openness to resolution, but is unwilling to dismiss its replacement workers.

"From management's standpoint, the issues are really the long-term need to adapt to changing technology," says Joe Stroud, editor of the *Detroit Free Press*.

"We were not trying to make dramatic changes in the negotiations that led to the strike. We were willing to make incremental changes. My own view is that the unions misunderstood some tactics that management used," Stroud adds.

A vacillating liberal voice on the *Free Press*' editorial page, Stroud says that he'd still like to see a negotiated settlement, but adds, "The law is that we are within our rights to hire replacement workers. We had argued editorially that Congress ought to change the law. This is not a management position but it is my editorial position. Every person we hired was a painful decision. We told strikers that we intended to operate and had to hire. I think we took on an obligation to those people. We're not going to fire replacement workers."

The unions

By most accounts the six striking unions were unprepared for a strike. Members were still closing on new homes the month before the strike; they were utterly vulnerable financially.

"We didn't see the danger we were walking into," Lippert says. "We underestimated the willingness of the company to go for broke. We were not prepared the first weekend the way they were. There were 18 months of collapsed negotiations before the strike and we didn't see the danger signs."

Friends of the unions credit union leaders for holding a united front.

"The solidarity of 2,000 workers in six unions is amazing," comments David Elsila, editor of UAW Solidarity Magazine. "In the past, one union or the other would cross the line. Here there is no union crossing."

The unions have mounted a serious campaign to boycott the papers and to pressure businesses not to advertise.

"We've been able to put into motion the most effective newspaper boycott that has ever happened," says Roger Kerson, media spokesperson for the striking unions. "We were not able to stop the production of the paper, but we didn't expect that in this day and age. We have caused economic pain to the employer."

Labor advocates are reluctant to criticize the unions publicly. But privately many question decisions made by the Metropolitan Council of Striking Newspaper Unions.

Some question whether walking out was the best response when management refused to extend the existing contract.

"In the 1990s, we have to look at alternative ways to win labor battles," says labor negotiator O'Rourke. "Without legislation that reforms replacement worker laws, we have to think about whether to use strikes or to design in-plant strategies."

Others complain that the union leaders, out of practice with militance, were afraid.

Word is that in the first month, the Council of Unions rejected three proposals presented by strikers and supporters. The first was for a strike

"The solidarity of 2,000 workers in six unions is amazing. In the past, one union or the other would cross the line."

— David Elsila

paper that could hit the streets two weeks after the strike began. The second outlined a campaign that called for a public spokesperson, use of billboards and public action. The third, drawn up by a striking reporter, listed ways to reach out to the religious communities in Detroit. In the last case, the writer was reportedly told that he was "insubordinate" for pre-

senting suggestions that had not been solicited. Three months into the strike that reporter crossed the line — at about the same time that the unions finally started a strike paper and hired a press spokesperson. The religious community wouldn't be organized for another two months.

Many believe that the mass actions at the DN's two printing plants should have continued. Buttressed by UAW members and other supporters in the community, strikers stood in crowds of thousands when they blocked the driveways and faced down the police.

But when an injunction was issued at the Sterling Heights plant and the company complained to the National Labor Relations Board about striker misconduct, the unions called off the mass demonstrations. The penalties for misconduct would be high. But in the Pittston strike, the United Mine Workers violated injunctions and got most of their penalties dismissed in the settlement.

Rumors abound as they do in all crises. Some say, although press person Roger Kerson will not comment, that most of the union presidents continue to draw full salaries and therefore lack incentive for militance. Some say there are union leaders in the pay of the company. And if the company is willing to lose \$250 million breaking the unions, there is money to spare. But it is as likely that six separate unions simply find it difficult to act in concert. Internal politics are touchy.

"Teamster Council 43 has been a real disappointment," says historian Babson. "Council 43's opposition to Teamster reform president Ron Carey affects their willingness to mobilize Teamsters" to win this strike during Carey's tenure.

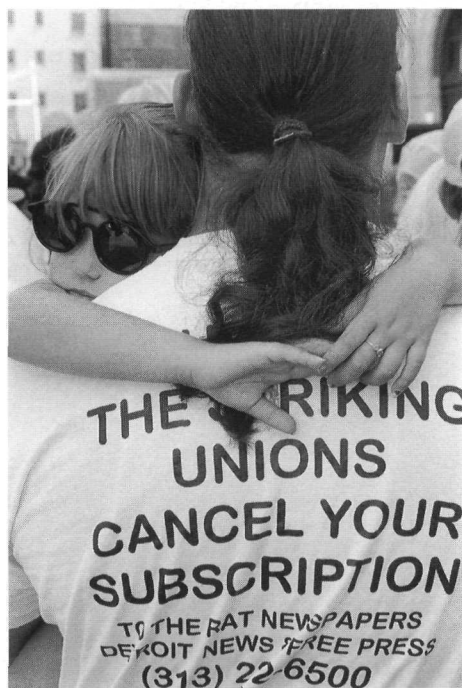
The AFL-CIO

Sweeney and Trumka are believed to be unable to afford a loss in Detroit. The defeats at Caterpillar, Staley and Firestone could be blamed on previous leadership,

but the Detroit newspaper strike is happening on their watch.

In January, they sent Eddie Burke, a Teamster who helped run the Pittston coal strike campaign of civil disobedience.

Burke's crew of eight AFL-CIO staffers has organized a 5,000-person rally addressed by union leaders, invited sym-



Jim West

pathetic nonstriking unions to march and has organized 800 members of the religious community to sign a pledge condemning the use of replacement workers.

Locally they have reorganized the daily pickets so that they are deployed from a central point where they can gain information and encouragement before picketing key advertisers and distribution points. Strikers' duties have expanded to include joining rallies or marching through the neighborhoods of management. But critics note that Burke has not prepared the strikers for nonviolent action.

Nationally, the AFL-CIO has sent some \$18 million in strike benefits in addition to staff and legal help, according to Burke.

The AFL-CIO has also initiated a national boycott of Gannett's USA Today which is observed by United Airlines and several hotel chains.

"It's down to a marathon," says Burke. "Who will break first?"

Labor-community relations

Official union structures were established for community involvement. But many who tried to participate reported that the union presidents shot down their ideas.

"Those meetings were very, very frustrating," claims former staffer Cheryl Buswell-Robinson. "We had noted that after the cancellation of the Saturday protest actions, there was a lull in activity. We were fearful that people would drift away, so we proposed a rally. A rally is not some radical idea — Republicans hold rallies." But the union presidents wavered for weeks, sometimes endorsing and sometimes refusing the rally — finally approving it four days before the event.

Dissident strikers

The Unity Victory Caucus (UVC) is composed of strikers from all six unions. Their stated goal is to supplement the leadership of the unions and to win the strike "by any means necessary." Early on, UVC called for a strike paper, more AFL-CIO investment and mass protests.

"I've always been heavily involved with the Teamsters and was working with Al Derey to get people motivated," explains Rick Torres, a striking driver who worked for the DN for 18 years. "But I was alarmed by the rate of decline in activities going on. The leaders were losing heart and losing their fight."

UVC organized a demonstration at the north plant on a Saturday night last fall.

"But the Metro Council leaders were concerned and upset that we were doing something different from their tactics," says striking *Free Press* photographer Daymon Hartley. So UVC regrouped,

conducting a low-profile leafletting campaign, before going public again several months later.

Frequently demonized by union leaders, UVC members have still managed, over the last 10 months, to distribute a vivid slide show about the strike, leaflet, engage in a coordinated slow-down protest on Detroit freeways and help organize another demonstration at the Sterling Heights printing plant when it was learned that the Metro Council simply planned a picnic on the first anniversary of the strike.

Unofficial community efforts

Finally, several community groups decided to work independently of the striking unions. They attempt to communicate with the Metro Council from time to time, but they do not ask permission to act.

The WILD women (Women Involved in Labor Disputes), composed of strikers and strikers' wives, organized in October.

"When you're on strike, the whole family is on strike," explains Carol O'Neal. "I'm a striker and my husband is a striker. We saw that some families were suffering. Wives and husbands were fighting. 'We meet every week. It is very successful. Spouses — wives and a few men — come to meetings. They learn about the labor movement and this stops the fights. Spouses work fundraisers; they work on the picket line.

"When someone is on strike, there are so many emotions. The money isn't there. The children may get flack in the classroom. We've brought families together. I'm very proud of the WILD women."

Readers United (RU), organized in late September, formed to allow the community a voice.

"We were concerned that a certain apathy was developing in the community," says long-time community activist Grace Boggs. "The unions were not addressing the needs of the community. The

strike was seen as a labor struggle and it wasn't seen that the community has a real stake in the strike. We wanted to support the strikers *and* put forward the interest of the community. We also wanted an alternative newspaper."

Boggs adds that for community groups,



Readers United action, fall 1995. Jim West

the strike is lethal because they cannot publicize their activities or learn about other efforts.

"We want to rebuild Detroit, but we can't put news in scab papers so no one knows what we are doing," Boggs points out. "Knight Ridder and Gannett don't care about Detroit, but we do. They don't respect our culture. This is a union town."

With an impressive list of endorsers, Readers United made demands on both the unions and the company.

RU requested that the unions provide a strike paper and train all their striking members in nonviolence.

The *Detroit Sunday Journal* began publication in November, but mass nonviolence training has not happened. At a minimum, proponents argue, nonviolence training might teach some strikers why using racial and gender epithets to insult

scabs hurts their cause.

Readers United's demands to the DN include: negotiating a fair contract, dismissing replacement workers and apologizing to the community.

RU held three demonstrations in the fall, including a newspaper burning outside the offices of the *Detroit Free Press*. It is also investigating whether a community-owned, unionized newspaper can be created that would make Detroit independent of the absentee conglomerates.

In the spring, when the company seemed to be claiming victory, RU initiated a series of 10 nonviolent civil disobedience actions outside the offices of the *News* and *Free Press*.

The first wave of arrests included three bishops, the president of the Detroit City Council, two Baptist pastors and a retired attorney who helped write much of the earliest labor law.

"There is a drive on the national level to break unions," protested city council president Maryann Mahaffey. "We have a right to bargain, to organize, to strike and to expect management to participate. I was the last one to sign onto the resolution for the JOA. I did so with great pain. But we had been promised that there would be no further loss of jobs."

RU's demonstrations, which have included advance nonviolence training, are not characterized by verbal abuse of police or replacement workers. Clear that the struggle does not have to be against the Detroit Police, RU has worked with commanders to ensure that demonstrations are respectful. Some strikers complain they are too tame.

Snared in the legal trap

Inevitably, the DN moved against Readers United, asking the NLRB to declare RU "an agent of the union." If it had, RU would have been constricted by the NLRA just as the unions are and the unions (as well as RU) could have been fined for any violations. Members of RU attempted to

explain to the NLRB that this strike affects not only management and labor, but the whole community. When the NLRB issued its complaint against the unions, RU was not named.

Ten waves of protest resulted in 288 arrests. By July, the city dropped all charges. (The National Lawyers Guild, which provided legal assistance, declared the dismissals a public vindication.)

But alarmed that some union leaders, like Don Kummer, administrative officer of the Guild, were saying publicly that “the community would have to win this strike,” RU pulled back after informing the Council and the AFL-CIO that its purpose had been to bring attention back to the strike, but that it was looking to the unions to provide training and leadership for its own nonviolent campaign.

In late May, the UAW’s RADD team (Rapid Action Disciplined Deployment), along with some strikers, blocked traffic outside the *News* and *Free Press* offices and barricaded the driveways with old cars. Since then, presumably because the UAW has been named in the DN’s RICO suit, RADD has been described by some as being in an “inactive phase.”

The anniversary

It’s too soon to call this strike.

When noises were made in July about offering an unconditional return to work — a motion that requires the company to either rehire (on its own terms) or, at the end of the strike, pay everyone back wages (less whatever they earned at part-time jobs) — the union presidents refused, saying their reserves weren’t that low. The strike still had life.

The NLRB is back in session considering union evidence that the company precipitated this “unfair labor practice” strike. A decision in the union’s favor would certainly be appealed, but the courts generally are more lenient about striker misconduct in an unfair labor strike and they *can* require the company to fire all

replacement workers. A decision may not be issued until fall.

“The appeals process is there to allow everyone due process rights,” according to the NLRB’s William Schaub, Jr. “However, it is conceivable, if the court de-

ing through on a whistle stop, have refused comment.

Strategies to win the strike abound. The UAW’s David Elsila would like to see a one-day general strike. The Unity Victory Caucus wants a national labor



Readers United blocks the Detroit Newspapers’ driveway in early March. (L to R) Bill Wylie-Kellermann, United Methodist pastor; Selma Goode, Jewish Labor Committee; Emmanuel Giddings and Ed Rowe, Methodist pastors; Marion Kramer, head of Michigan Welfare Rights; Coleman McGehee, retired Episcopal bishop; Maryann Mahaffey, president of the Detroit City Council; and Maria Catalfio, *The Witness*.

Daymon Hartley

clares this an unfair labor practice strike, we could go back to court and ask for some kind of interim injunctive relief to put everyone back to work.”

The *News* and *Free Press* claim to have written off thousands of boycotters as a permanent loss. Meanwhile, it’s stunning how many No Scab Paper lawn signs there are, even throughout the northern reaches of the state.

But the community suffers with the strikers. Ideas and initiatives that should be given public consideration through the papers are not.

Community groups refuse to talk to the scab papers: soup kitchens refuse promotional stories; organizers for the Stand with the Children demonstration refuse coverage. Nuns, lawyers, Readers United and even President Clinton, pass-

march and nonviolence training. “After they’ve arrested every priest and nun, every UAW member and city council member, it’s time for strikers themselves to take arrests,” Hartley says.

As we go to press, many are mobilizing in hopes that John Sweeney will call a national march in Detroit for Labor Day.

In the meantime Detroiters can be thankful.

As Cheryl Buswell-Robinson points out, “Through this whole strike, people have been mobilized and activated. There is a whole layer of folks in Detroit who know each other now who didn’t know each other before. We should be in pretty good shape the next time trouble comes down the pike.”

And the strike’s not over.

TW

A malcontent's view of labor

by Jane Slaughter

Since 1974 I've been a union member who has prodded the unions to shape up. Inspired by socialist politics, I always assumed that unions, as the biggest and potentially most powerful organizations of working people, were the right place to organize. Yes, top union officials were overpaid, sluggish, concerned about their own members (if them) and nobody else. Yes, unions had a bad rep among members of my 1960s generation for being slow to oppose the Vietnam War, indifferent to racism and organizing women, concerned only with the paycheck, not liberation. But I was part of the wing of the labor movement that wanted to change all that. As a new auto worker and UAW member, still wet behind the ears, I helped write a newsletter that criticized my local union officers for not standing up to management. I ran for convention delegate on a reform slate and won.

For 16 years I worked for an independent reform-minded magazine called *Labor Notes*, calling for more democracy, more militancy, more class consciousness, less hobnobbing on the golf course with corporate execs. Because of my books and articles criticizing labor-management cooperation and contract concessions, I've been vilified by UAW officials and others as an irresponsible malcontent.

I take it as a compliment.

New leaders

Now, in the mid-1990s, we see signs that the labor movement may be getting off its arthritic knees and taking some of the

steps that thousands of us malcontents have advocated for so long. Last year, even the aging bureaucrats at the top of the AFL-CIO began to stir. They elected John Sweeney president on a platform promising "a new voice for American workers." Sweeney and his running mates had campaigned in union halls and on picket lines across the country, vowing to organize thousands of workers, especially people of color, women and immigrants.

The new leaders took some aggressive steps right off. They vowed to pump \$35 million and thousands of volunteers into key Congressional races in 1996. They launched Union Summer, modelled after the 1960s' Freedom Summer for civil rights. Out of 3,000 applicants, a thousand young people were chosen to work on union campaigns, from contract fights to voter registration.

For union activists, it was a breath of fresh air. Many hoped that the new leaders would be more open to militant strategies and less quick to crush dissent.

A Labor Party

Another movement within the unions was taking a different tack. Bucking a media black-out, 1,400 delegates from a variety of unions met in

Cleveland in June of this year to proclaim the founding of a Labor Party. "The bosses have two parties, we should have at least one," the T-shirts read. It was the first time in this century that American workers had proclaimed their own, independent voice in politics.

The Labor Party calls for a constitutional right to a job, a 32-hour week to

create more jobs, an end to hate crimes, affirmative action, universal health care, free university education, and the banning of scabs.

But I'll remain a malcontent within the labor movement, because these two developments are not nearly enough. I'll list just a few problems:

• *Most labor observers are circumspect about what Sweeney can accomplish from on high—even if he wants to.* They know that protocol is the ruling energy in intra-Fed dealings; the AFL-CIO cannot tell an affiliate union what to do, and Sweeney is unlikely to try. Perhaps because Sweeney broke decades of encrusted protocol by running for the top job, he will be careful about offending union presidents now. Word is that he was willing to keep his promise to aid the A.E. Staley workers of Illinois, who had been locked out for two-and-a-half years, and make their cause a nationally known crusade. But their international president, Wayne Glenn of the Paperworkers, said no thanks. Glenn just wanted the Staley struggle over with, and Sweeney did not ride in on a white charger.

The same seems to be true in the Detroit Newspapers strike. Despite AFL-CIO investment in the strike, the local

The labor movement is a sleeping giant with the strength to disrupt business and to mobilize millions.

union presidents here continue to make the most important decisions: to honor an injunction against mass picketing, to shun civil disobedience,

and thereby to keep the strike from moving off dead center.

I'd rather see the national leader of the labor movement lead.

• *Sweeney often seems to misunderstand the conflict of interests between employers and employees.* Since his election, he has spoken before a number of employer groups, reassuring them that

Jane Slaughter, former director of *Labor Notes*, is a writer in Detroit.

the labor movement seeks cooperation.

For the last 15 years a wave of worker cooperation programs has swept the workplace. Beginning in the auto industry with Quality of Work Life, moving on to Employee Involvement, by 1990 Total Quality Management was everywhere. In 1994 the AFL-CIO finally took notice, issuing a report from its Committee on the Evolution of Work (of which Sweeney was a member). The report assures us that unions can benefit from these employer programs: "An increasing number of employers ... have been open to joining with unions ... to create partnerships to transform the work system."

The Fed goes on to list five principles and four guidelines for a successful program. Most seem to refer to employers on some other planet. Guideline #1 is "mutual recognition and respect"; the committee notes that employers who try to smash organizing drives in plant A while promising jointness in plant B "lack a full commitment to partnership."

The number of employers who pass the "respect" test could probably be counted on the fingers of a worker who has lost a hand in a workplace injury. On top of union-busting are the massive outside contracting and privatization that have decimated union membership.

What makes the "partnership" rhetoric so insidious is that it has become a cover for the introduction of "management-by-stress" or "lean production" techniques. These include elimination of job descriptions ("flexibility"), deskilling ("multiskilling"), speed-up ("continuous improvement"), and stealing workers' job

knowledge ("worker participation"). In the auto industry, the result is that the rate of workplace injuries has multiplied fivefold (from 1980 to 1992).

An important facet of this degradation

ferred; and the remaining full-timers shoulder as much overtime as they can bear. Often they don't even get premium pay, as "Alternative Work Schedules" become widespread.

• *It's hard to believe that the workplace is becoming more unhealthy and more tense as the dirty industrial jobs die and the computers take over. But it's true.* Repetitive strain injuries that cripple arms and hands are epidemic in many white-collar workplaces; they have shot up 800 percent in the last 10 years.

The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health says stress is a major culprit. The Clerical-Technical Union at Michigan State University reports that "the number of MSU employees reporting [such injuries] grew dramatically after 1988. Computerization of tasks, the lack of ergonomically appropriate equipment, and downsizing contributed to the increase."

Yet the new AFL-CIO has not said word one about the new "lean regime."

• *If Sweeney does succeed in organizing thousands of new union members, what is he organizing them into?* He and others at the top appear uninterested in changing the way unions run. He wants them bigger, but downplays the im-

portance of democracy and rank-and-file control.

I think of what happened to the Los Angeles janitors of SEIU Local 399, many of them immigrants. Salvadoran cleaners used civil disobedience to disrupt busi-

continued on page 19



Union members stage a general strike in Hamilton, Ontario, to protest the government's social service cuts and anti-labor legislation on Feb. 24, 1994.

Jim West

of work is the question of work time. "Flexibility" means, in the words of Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, that "relatively few people actually work for the high-value enterprise in the traditional sense of having steady jobs with fixed incomes." Part-timers and temps are pre-

Reactivating labor

Bob Wages is president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) which is known for its work founding a labor party, fighting for single-payer health insurance, and working with environmental groups. Wages is a leader of the new Labor Party.

Wages rose through the union ranks rather quickly, as these things go, to become International president at the age of 41. He was one of the early backers of the palace revolt that led to John Sweeney's election as AFL-CIO president last fall. Cold-shouldered, till then, by most of his counterparts in the federation, Wages was recently added by Sweeney to the AFL-CIO's Executive Council.

Q: Many people question whether the unions can still win victories by calling people out on strike. Can you call your members out with confidence that they will not be replaced?

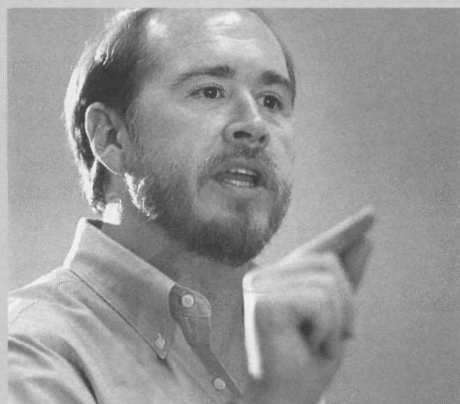
A: No. But I can call them out with confidence that I know what I'm going to do if they're threatened: put them back, and then call them out someplace else with the same employer. And if they threaten them there, put them back.

Q: What are some of the alternatives to calling workers out on strike?

A: In-plant strategies, or corporate campaigns, are successful when you know what you're doing. An in-plant strategy is a work-to-rule, engaging in concerted protected activity on the plant floor which has the effect of aggravating the boss to no end. Instead of doing some of the things that the boss wants you to do to be efficient, you do them by the book, because generally the book is cumbersome.

Q: You haven't always been a union radical. What happened?

A: The time from 1983 to 1987 helped define my union politics. I thought the road to oblivion was to continue not to be



Bob Wages

Jim West

aggressive on social and political issues. The union movement had stood for nothing but compromise, cutting deals, and all the things that Kirkland, Meany, *et al*, stood for. In the meantime we had gone from representing 35 percent of the workforce down to 15 percent, and now it's down to 12.

Q: Why has union membership in the U.S. fallen so low?

A: It's reflective of the tremendous loss of manufacturing jobs. There's a lot of short-term work, temporary work, piece-work. It's very hard to get your arms around people in those industries. Also, the labor movement has lost a great deal of its appeal to people. There's a legitimate question being raised by workers as to what unions really stand for.

Q: What should unions be doing to regain legitimacy?

A: The key to our future is refocusing our efforts on organizing. We have to get out of this mind-set that the law is going to

help us. We've got to be in the streets, we've got to be visible, and we've got to take on some fights and win.

We need to focus on creating a mind-set among workers that there's a fundamental imbalance — they're being victimized for the sake of stockholders.

Q: President Clinton got an extremely warm welcome at the AFL-CIO convention last October. You wouldn't have known this man bought votes to push through NAFTA, did nothing on the anti-scab bill, campaigned for GATT, proposed a health care reform package that favored insurance companies. Why are union leaders committed to Clinton?

A: Because they're not willing to fight for an alternative.

Q: Why do union leaders prefer to not fight and be sure to lose, than to fight?

A: They don't see it that way. They are people who are comfortable, people who believe *they* know how to play this game. By supporting a winner, they perceive themselves as having a role to play.

Q: Given the climate, how did Sweeney get elected?

A: Many people felt betrayed that the federation didn't do more on NAFTA and on striker replacement/labor law reform.

Q: Were people concerned about the unions themselves being in danger?

A: I don't know that it goes that far.

Q: The buildings can still exist no matter how weak the actual union?

A: The churches are proof of that!

Q: Many union members I talk to say that things need to get worse before people will start to fight back.

A: People will start fighting back when they see that there's leadership.

— J.S.

LABOR MALCONTENT, *continued from page 15*

ness as usual in Century City's luxury office buildings, even invading the bars frequented by the resident executives and lawyers. They won a contract.

But then they were dumped into a 25,000-member citywide local run very much in the old style. In 1995 they and others organized a dissident slate called the Multiracial Alliance for the local's first contested election. When they won, and the local's old guard resisted, Sweeney's International threw the local into trusteeship. "The rank and filers had violated the understanding that their organizing was to stop when they became members," commented *Labor Notes*.

• **Labor's internationalism still needs a lot of work.** The AFL-CIO maintains its overseas institutes that *Business Week* once called "labor's own version of the Central Intelligence Agency."

Funded by the U.S. government, these institutes helped set up sham union federations in the Third World, to compete with more militant ones that challenge U.S. corporations abroad. The AFL-CIO always refused to work with COSATU, the leading black federation in South Africa, for example, because of its alleged Communist ties. Sweeney indicated obliquely during his campaign that he would shift the focus of the AFL-CIO's international policy, and he is consolidating the several regional institutes into one. But its future policy is still an open question.

• **The newborn Labor Party is already divided on a crucial question:** Many see it as solely a pressure group on the Democrats, never to run candidates of its own. And the heads of most unions remain committed to the Democrats no matter what indignities they heap on workers' heads. Even if Sweeney's committed to Clinton for 1996, now would be the perfect time for him to start serious third-party talks. But he won't.

Sticking with the union

Why do I stick with the unions?

Here are three reasons:

The labor movement is a sleeping giant, with the strength to disrupt business as usual and to mobilize millions. Not too many other potentially progressive organizations have 15 million members.

Take the United Auto Workers, whom I've written about for 18 years. Given the sluggishness of the UAW and what seems like complacency on the part of many members, I'm amazed that the Big Three don't try to smash the union outright, as



the Caterpillar corporation did. But contract after contract, they don't, and I have to believe it's because Big Three execs understand the power of the sleeping giant and fear to wake it.

Second, I'm not alone. There's a reason that *Labor Notes'* organizing manual, *A Troublemaker's Handbook*, is our biggest seller. Thousands of salt-of-the-earth unionists and supporters slog along in the day-to-day. And thousands of others find their singular time to fight and inspire the rest of us — the Hormel and Greyhound and Pittston Coal strikers in the 1980s, the Staley and Caterpillar strikers and the Detroit newspaper workers in the 1990s.

Say these names to any active union member, and you'll see a flash of pride.

Third, those flashes of inspiration and solidarity are peak moments for me. When I stand in front of the *Detroit News* with hundreds of strikers singing "Solidarity Forever," tears come to my eyes, and I say, "I will never give this up." I think about bragging to my grandkids.

I believe that 1996 is an excellent time for people who aren't union members themselves to make common cause with the unions once again. Here are some practical suggestions:

• **Support changing the labor laws that hamstring unions and make winning a strike next to impossible.** Ask your denominational lobbying office to request legislation, like the bill that failed in 1994, that would make it illegal to use "permanent" replacement workers during a strike. On the congressional docket this summer, unions supported the bill to raise the minimum wage, which passed in July. They are opposing the TEAM act, that would permit company unions, and the National Right to Work bill which would outlaw union contracts that require all employees to join.

• **Support strikes.** Unions don't strike on a whim these days; educate yourself on the issues, and you'll likely find that it's a pretty clear-cut case of corporate greed v. human working conditions. A union on strike should be seeking the churches out. If it is not, volunteer.

• **Join campaigns to raise the minimum wage.** Unions and community groups (including the New Party) have joined hands to create ballot initiatives that would raise the minimum wage. These campaigns need basic legwork, letter-writing and door-knocking.

• **Check out the local chapter of the Labor Party.** Though it won't be running candidates yet, it may be considering local campaigns. (National office of the Labor Party: 202-234-5190.)

TW

The Witness' labor crusade

by Marianne Arbogast

If you had walked into the *Witness*' office on certain days during the past few months, you might have wondered whether we were running a magazine or a strike support headquarters. The fax machine was sending off press releases on civil disobedience actions in support of the Detroit newspaper strike; papers scattered around the xerox machine bore the letterhead of Readers United—a grassroots strike support group which Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann played a large part in founding; and phone callers were as likely to be asking about demonstration plans as subscription information. You would not have found our editor herself, who would have been meeting with union leaders or police representatives, to return at an ungodly hour to write an editorial or plan a layout.

But though some of us grumbled about the disruption to our schedule, we know deep down that *The Witness* has only been enriched by this connection with the strikers whose chants drift up through our windows from the *News* and *Free Press* buildings a few blocks away. Besides, it has precedent.

Standing with the workers

For many years after its founding in 1917, *The Witness* consisted of 16 newsprint pages of minuscule type, sparsely sprinkled with photographs of clergymen and cathedrals, published weekly and dispersed to Episcopal congregations nationwide through a "bundle plan." But amidst ads for pipe organs, reports of clergy postings, and some unfortunately stuffy sermons, a spirit of sharp social

criticism pervaded the magazine from its earliest days.

This charisma was crystallized in the person of Bill Spofford, managing editor of *The Witness*, who was also secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy (C.L.I.D.).

In a 1931 *Witness* article explaining C.L.I.D., Vida Scudder wrote that they "stand where we think our Master stood, with the workers and the poor," then proceeded to catalogue Spofford's journeys to industrial hot spots.

Early *Witness* readers benefitted from Spofford's first-hand accounts of miners' strikes, sharecroppers' attempts to organize, and experiments with worker cooperatives.

"Six pine coffins, made out of raw lumber, containing the bullet ridden bodies of men still clad in the only garment they have ever worn, overalls, leads me to suggest that we are paying too great a price for cotton print," Spofford wrote in October, 1929, after a trip to Marion, N.C., where striking cotton mill workers had been shot while fleeing tear gas.

After a detailed report of the workers' grievances, Spofford—predicting that he "shall doubtless be told that such a story has no place in a paper of the Episcopal Church"—appeals for donations of

clothing and money. "It might help to let them know that there is a Christianity of a different sort than that preached from the mill owned pulpits."

Such appeals were frequent and often

specific. A request sent in by A.J. Muste for clothing for an Anthony Ramuglia, president of the National Unemployed League, included Ramuglia's jacket, trousers and shoe size.

"The measurements are not those, you will note of a skinny brother," Muste writes. "Maybe some Bishop's measurements will correspond."

In January, 1931, Spofford wrote of his trip to Danville, Va., "where four thousand textile workers are striking for the right to bargain collectively through an organization of their own choosing. ... I was given the real privilege of addressing their meeting last Sunday afternoon. ... For half an hour before the meeting these workers raised the roof with old Gospel hymns, led by a Salvation Army officer, with 'Throw Out the Life Line' apparently their favorite since they sang it three times. ... They ended their song service by singing the National Anthem, the colors raised before them, with a gusto which put to shame the well-fed patriots who are using the troops and the courts of Virginia to crush these workers. ... I have never felt myself in a more religious atmosphere than I was in last Sunday afternoon."

Spofford's weekly columns were full of news from the labor front, such as a

"Six pine coffins, made out of raw lumber, leads me to suggest that we are paying too great a price for cotton print."

— Bill Spofford,
The Witness, 1929

December, 1935 report that "six men, arrested in Tampa, Florida, were bundled into automobiles, beaten, tarred and feathered. Those doing the job are said to have worn the uniforms of the

city's police. One of the men died in a hospital on December 10th. ... Their 'crime' was an effort to organize the unemployed. None were communists but members of a union that is affiliated with

Marianne Arbogast is assistant editor of *The Witness*.

the American Federation of Labor.”

Critiquing the church

Church pronouncements against child labor and in support of collective bargaining and employment security were given prominence in *The Witness*, but Spofford took the church sharply to task when it fell short.

In 1926, when a Canadian priest was refused access to the pulpit of the Detroit Cathedral Church of St. Paul unless he agreed to say nothing about labor, Spofford called it “a sign of the decadence of the Church in Michigan.”

The same year, he published an article charging that “if the National Commission on Evangelism wished to drive every trade unionist out of the Episcopal Church they could not have done better than they have done ... [in] the Leaflet ... which I have just received [condemning violence by strikers].”

In another issue, Spofford lamented that “if laborers went to church in New York last Sunday (Labor Sunday) expecting to have their movement receive the sanction of the Church they were doubtless disappointed,” and contrasted the church’s timidity with the courage of radical friends who had done jail time for “attempting to put into practice the ethical teachings of Jesus.”

Spofford admired the church’s more progressive stance in England, and included English labor news and the writing of English church leaders in *The Witness*. A six-part series by an English priest in 1936 was entitled, “An Intelligent Employer’s Guide to Christianity.”

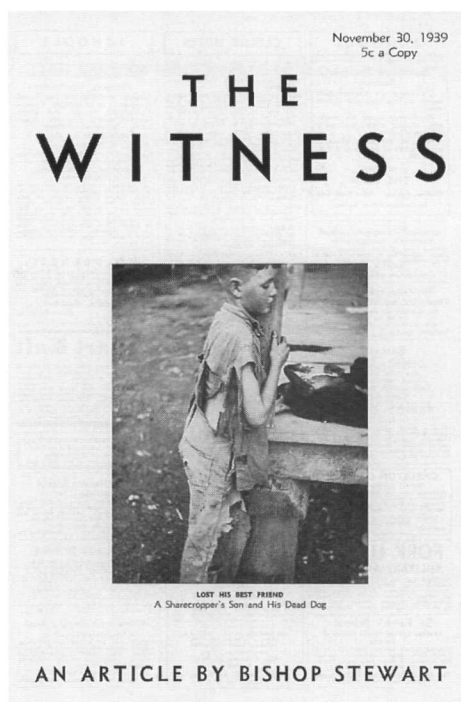
Charged with communism

Throughout the Depression era, when *The Witness* regularly proclaimed the demise of capitalism, Spofford frequently answered to the charge of communist sympathies.

In September, 1937, as C.L.I.D. was organizing General Convention events, he responded to a public accusation “that

my name was not Spofford at all but Spottofski, and that in reality I was a Russian Jew, financed by Moscow gold and trying to deliver the Episcopal Church to the communists. ... I was required to prepare a statement for the press by our executive committee. This I present to you with the suggestion that if you are as sick of this silly business as I am that you skip to more important news.”

“When [radical friends] press me for the fundamental reason for my social and



economic radicalism,” Spofford wrote in another issue, “I recite the first affirmation of the creed: ‘I believe in God, the Father Almighty.’ Of course I am greeted with loud and prolonged guffaws, and we invariably split right there, turning to more congenial subjects in order that friendships may not be too severely strained.”

“I am not a communist,” he declared flatly in September, 1938. “I am trying hard to be a Christian.”

Editorial staff conflict

In his dedication to the cause of organized labor (as on many other issues),

Spofford found himself in conflict with *The Witness*’ editor, Bishop Irving Peake Johnson, which made for a riveting dialectic in the pages of the magazine.

Johnson attempted a detached stance from the messiness of union struggles; Spofford wrote that “what Bishop Johnson says about the clergy’s lack of economic knowledge may be correct, though I rather suspect it is one of the myths fostered by the laity to keep the parsons from saying unpleasant things about this industrial world.”

Johnson was critical of revolutionary violence and leery of joining forces with professed atheists; Spofford, himself a pacifist, was committed to working with anyone seeking social justice.

“As a matter of fact Mr. Spofford and I constitute the management of *The Witness* and are pretty nearly at the antipoles in our political and economic views,” Johnson wrote. “I think that he is a Mr. Micawber who thinks that he can wish radicals into reasonable conclusions and he thinks that I am a hopeless reactionary who worships the god of things as they are. ... [W]e agree only in our devotion and love to the Master. ... If you get angry it is just too bad. We hope that there are enough readers who like this sort of thing to keep the paper out of the red in finances even if it is not always out of the red in politics.”

Spofford admitted that “there are occasions when I suspect that those with whom I fight are going to pin my ears back once they attain power. I haven’t any illusions about mankind — well maybe I have — anyhow, just because he won’t give me that freedom which he now seeks for himself is no reason why I should not fight for his freedom now. ... And of course there is nobody in the Church who believes in freedom more than does Bishop Johnson. He has disagreed with me for twenty-three years and yet has given battle to rather impor-

tant people in the Church in defending my right to speak my piece.”

When C.L.I.D. was given two pages in the magazine for its monthly bulletin, Johnson was besieged with complaints about the “propaganda.”

“So long as radicals use arguments instead of bullets I want to know what they are thinking,” Johnson responded.

Social thought and action

Readers of *The Witness* under Spofford would have been well-schooled in the thinking of many leading social critics of the time, including Joseph Fletcher, Vida Scudder, A.J. Muste and Harry Ward, as well as attempts to implement the social Gospel.

A September, 1926 issue includes a report by Joseph Fletcher, then a student at the Berkeley Divinity School, about his C.L.I.D.-sponsored summer of factory work, and issues from the late 1930s include regular updates on the Delta Cooperative Farm, an experiment in interracial, cooperative farming in Mississippi. (“Exactly 136 readers of this paper have so far contributed to the Coopera-



Witness cover from the July 23, 1931 issue.

“When friends press me for the reason for my social and economic radicalism, I recite the first affirmation of the creed: ‘I believe in God.’

— Bill Spofford

tive Farm,” Spofford proudly reported in May, 1937.)

The July 1939 C.L.I.D. bulletin includes Spofford’s testimony before U.S. Senate and House committees on the National Labor Relations Act.

Spofford was heavily involved in C.L.I.D.’s extensive educational programs, and served on the faculty of the School for Christian Social Ethics at the yearly Wellesley Conference. It was a rare issue of *The Witness* that did not include some announcement of a conference or lecture on labor issues.

Thumbing through *The Witness* of the 1920s and 1930s (occasionally distracted by reports of controversy over the new 1928 Prayer Book or photos of Spain’s bishops giving a fascist salute), I imagine Spofford’s office filled with trunks of clothing *en route* to mining towns and his desk littered with C.L.I.D. correspondence. I imagine his schedule as erratic. But 70 years later, the yellowed magazines still brim with vitality. It makes me feel glad to share office space these days with Readers United. TW

Witness awards

The Witness received nine awards for journalistic excellence in this year’s Associated Church Press (ACP) and Episcopal Communicators competitions. *The Utne Reader* also nominated *The Witness* for an award in the “special interest” category in its 8th Annual Alternative Press Awards.

A series on clergy sexual exploitation edited by *Witness* managing editor Julie A. Wortman won awards of excellence in both ACP and Episcopal Communicators competitions for in-depth coverage of a topic. The ACP judges said: “[The series showed] an amazing lack of bias. ... the thoughtful and comprehensive approach

to the subject makes this coverage a wonderful resource and reference.” The ACP judges also called the March 1995 issue, “Economies of Sin,” an “excellent resource for congregational discussion.”

The magazine won a Polly Bond award for “General Excellence” in the Episcopal Communicators competition, the judges commenting that, “the magazine contains an interesting blend of pure political articles and those of theological news.”

Other ACP awards:

- Award of Excellence for Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann’s editor’s note, “What Can I Say? We Like Murders,” 9/95.
- Award of Merit for the theme issue on “Economies of Sin,” 3/95.

Other Episcopal Communicators awards:

- Award of Excellence for news story, “Embezzling Power: The Ellen Cooke Affair,” by Jan Nunley, 6/95.
- Award of Excellence for original graphic, “On-Line Insurrections,” by Anne E. Cox, 9/95.
- Award of General Excellence for the October, November and December 1995 issues.
- Award of Merit for Bill Wylie-Kellermann’s critical book review, “The Resurrection of the Body,” 5/95.
- Award of Merit for Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann’s interview, “Practicing What We Preach: An Interview with Steve Charleston,” 12/95.

A history of religion and labor

Washington Gladden, a pioneer of the social gospel in the U.S., was preoccupied with a question that vexed an increasing number of Protestant clergy: Why do the workers avoid our churches? In *Applied Christianity* (1886) Gladden reported that workers avoided church because they were "chiefly attended by the capitalist and the employing classes." This worker's response summed up the feeling of many: "When the capitalist prays for us one day in the week, and preys on us the other six, it can't be expected that we will have much respect for his Christianity."

C.A.I.L.

The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (C.A.I.L.), formed in 1887 by Episcopal Church leaders including W.D.P. Bliss (founder of the Society of Christian Socialists, 1889), proved to be a significant step forward by the Church in addressing the conflicts between labor and capital that shook the country in the last decade of the century. The involvement of Episcopal Bishop Henry Codman Potter in C.A.I.L. in 1893 led to the formation of a panel to mediate labor disputes between employees and employers.

The Labor Church

Herbert N. Casson founded the Labor Church in 1894 in Lynn, Mass. This former Methodist concluded that all ex-

isting denominations were unable to meet the needs of workers. Elaborating on Marx, Casson said that "many a church is nothing but a spiritual opium joint." The first two articles of faith of the Labor Church were equally uncompromising: "1. God is the cause and strength of the Labor Movement, and whatever institu-



Lynd Ward

tion or individual opposes the Labor Movement opposes Him. 2. All who are working for the abolition of wage-slavery are consciously working together with Him, and are therefore members of the real Church."

Religion and Labor Council

The National Religion and Labor Foundation was founded in 1932. The foundation organized community-centered Religion and Labor "Fellowships." These local chapters, a number of which were based at seminaries, provided members with the opportunity to meet and discuss labor concerns. Annually, the foundation

sponsored inter-seminary conferences at AFL and CIO national conventions.

Labor Temple

The Labor Temple was the brainchild of Charles Stelzle, who bemoaned the seeming unwillingness of the Presbyterian Church to evangelize among workers in the city in 1910. So when the 14th Street Presbyterian Church in N.Y.C. merged, Stelzle convinced the Board of Missions and New York Presbytery to let him experiment with a new type of urban church that would reach out especially to workers. The Labor Temple School, which opened in 1921, at its peak had a yearly enrollment of 40,000 people.

Catholic Worker Movement

The Catholic Worker movement began in the 1930s with the creation of the *Catholic Worker* newspaper by Dorothy Day. Dorothy Day, a Catholic convert, along with a Frenchman of peasant roots, Peter Maurin, started the paper which was written for people of the working classes, a number of whom were unemployed during the Great Depression.

People came together, first in New York, and then in cities all around the country to form Catholic Worker houses that function as shelters for poor and homeless people, but also serve as bases for a growing movement.

Farm Worker Movement

Religious involvement with the farm workers began in the 1920s with direct aid programs sponsored by the Council of Women for Home Missions: day care centers for young children of laborers in Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey. Programs were expanded in 1926 when the newly created National Migrant Ministry, a ministry related to the National Council of Churches, began providing health, vocational and religious services at labor camps. By 1939, migrant ministry programs had been established in 15 states.

During this period, the California Mi-

Ken Estey, a doctoral candidate at Union Theological Seminary, contributed the earliest history in this report. The rest of the material is adapted from *Faith & Work*, an excellent congregational study guide prepared by Regina Botterill for the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice. *Faith & Work* can be obtained by contacting the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice at 1607 W. Howard St., Suite 218, Chicago, IL 60626; 312-381-2832; FAX 312-381-3345.

grant Ministry (CMM) was experimenting with ministry in “rural fringe” areas. CMM staff received training from Fred Ross and Cesar Chavez, both of whom had been trained by Saul Alinsky of the Industrial Areas Foundation. This alliance resulted in religious support for the first grape boycott in 1965.

Catholic Labor Schools

The Catholic Labor Schools were a unique and practical expression of Catholic Social Teaching in the field of labor from the 1930s to the 1960s in the U.S. The Labor School movement was a way to train union rank-and-file leaders the so-

cial teachings of the church and provide skills for building effective unions.

The Sanitation Worker Movement

In late 1967, Memphis’ sanitation workers established a local chapter of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees to improve their wages and working conditions. But the city refused to recognize the union and to negotiate a contract with its workers’ union. On February 12, 1968, Memphis’ sanitation workers — nearly all African American — went on strike.

On March 18, Martin Luther King, Jr., flew to Memphis where 17,000 people

welcomed him at Mason Temple. In his speech, King recognized the indignity of their conditions and called on the entire community to join them.

At a later march, King explained, “The question is not what will happen to me if I stop to help these men. The question is, if I do not stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to them?” The next day, April 4, James Earl Ray shot King. On April 8, Coretta Scott King led 19,000 people in a silent memorial march through Memphis in King’s spirit. Eight days later, the city recognized the sanitation workers’ union. **TW**

Prisoners form union

Prisoners in Texas are working to establish a labor union for those who are incarcerated.

The Texas Prisoners Labor Union, founded last year by Ricky Long and Willie Milton, is trying to secure wages and a safe work environment for prisoners who are required to work. Milton charges that many prisoners have suffered work-related injuries and health problems.

“We are still handicapped by the fact that labor unions are not common to the work forces here in Texas and we must educate and re-educate those persons who are here confined,” Milton says.

Although a U.S. Supreme Court ruling forbids prisoners to promote lockouts or strikes, Milton hopes to build enough outside support to call outside picket lines in response to prisoners’ concerns.

U.S. blocks justice in Haiti

The U.S. continues to impede justice in Haiti, according to Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPA) delegates recently returned

from a trip there. By refusing to turn over the full set of documents confiscated from FRAPH (the CIA-backed paramilitary organization which terrorized Aristide supporters) and Haitian army offices during the invasion which restored Aristide, the U.S. is blocking investigation of human rights abuses and location of caches of arms imported during and since the coup period, they claim. In addition, the recent release of FRAPH founder Emmanuel Constant from a Maryland prison has outraged Haitians who believe it was motivated by the desire to conceal evidence of extensive U.S. government collaboration with death squads.

— **Pierre Gingerich**

Poultry Workers’ Project

A fact-finding delegation of the National Interfaith Committee on Workers Issues has reported numerous abuses at Case Farms’ Poultry Processing Plant in Morganton, N.C., which predominantly employs Guatemalan workers recruited by the company.

Workers’ concerns include dangerous line speed, dangerous carbon dioxide levels, lack of medicine for routine injuries, and repetitive motions injuries caused by no rotation of roles. In addition, workers say that Case Farms has illegally required them to purchase their own basic safety equipment, checked the ID of workers talking with members of the delegation,

fired workers for trying to organize a union, and cheated them of wages. They also report a lack of respect evidenced by limited bathroom breaks and the unavailability of Spanish-language materials (such as safety guidelines) and a Spanish-speaking company nurse. Workers average \$6.85 an hour, are not provided with family health insurance, and pay high rent and transportation fees in Morganton.

To receive further information on the work of the Committee, write the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice, 1607 W. Howard, Suite 218, Chicago, IL 60626; (phone) 312-381-2832, (fax) 312-381-3345.

Protecting holy ground

The struggle to halt the University of Arizona’s telescope project on *Dzil Nchaa Si’An* (Mt. Graham) in Arizona, sacred to the Apaches, has gained the support of several Tucson churches. A Service of Repentance and Apology is planned for a Sunday in mid-October, at which religious leaders will express their regret “at not having come sooner to the aid of the San Carlos Apaches, and for the historic failure of the church to speak out and act in defense of Native American tradition and culture.”

Activists were encouraged by an Executive Order to protect sacred Indian sites, signed by Bill Clinton May 24.

short takes

Former church treasurer sentenced to five years for embezzlement

by James H. Thrall

Dismissing claims of former Episcopal Church treasurer Ellen Cooke that mental illness combined with stress caused her to embezzle more than \$2 million from the church, United States District Court Judge Maryanne Trump Barry departed from court guidelines, July 10, to hand Cooke a stiffer than usual sentence of five years in prison.

While Cooke's attorney, Plato Cacheris, had argued that the sentence should be less than normally stipulated by the guidelines because Cooke suffered from a type of "bipolar" mental disorder, Barry called the psychological defense "spurious" and instead condemned Cooke's efforts to avoid responsibility.

"This defendant deliberately and meticulously, and with knowledge then and now, looted the national church over a period of years with one reason and one reason only—to live the life of someone she was not," Barry said. Noting that she has rarely ordered a stiffer sentence than the sentencing guidelines recommend, Barry nonetheless said that the circumstances of Cooke's case "scream for an upward departure."

'Is nothing sacred?'

Asking "Is nothing sacred any more?" Barry said the crime was particularly heinous because it involved a church. Cooke, she said, was no different from a common thief. "She did not wear a mask or use a gun," she said, but did not need to because of the trust placed in her as a top official of a religious institution.

Barry said she based her decision on the loss of confidence that resulted for "an institution that performs an essential function in the care of the needy," the

disruption caused in the church's ability to "support its ministry at home and abroad," and on the "flagrant" nature of the abuse of trust.

Barry ordered Cooke to report to the Federal Prison Camp for Women at Alderson, W.V., to serve her sentence, which is to be followed by an additional three years of supervised release. She also ordered Cooke to pay \$75,000 to the church in additional restitution.

For the purposes of restitution, Barry



Ellen Cooke after sentencing.

ENS

accepted the church's claim that the theft totaled \$2.2 million, rather than the approximately \$1.5 million claimed by Cooke, but noted that "restitution can only be made according to the ability to pay." To date the church has recovered about \$1.6 million of the stolen funds, including a \$1 million insurance settlement, sale of properties owned by Cooke and her husband, Nicholas, and other cash and assets claimed from the Cookes. A civil suit brought against the Cookes was settled by the church in March.

Sitting in the same Newark, New

Jersey, courtroom where she pleaded guilty in January to tax evasion and transporting stolen money across state lines in the embezzlement, Cooke sat impassively through the two-hour hearing, rising once to say "No, your honor," when asked if she had any comment to make. She was accompanied by a few supporters, but by no members of her family.

In a memorandum to the court, Cacheris said that Cooke's psychiatrist diagnosed her as having an obsessive-compulsive personality disorder as well as suffering "periods of hypomanic behavior and periods of depressive symptoms." Those disorders, he said, combined with the high stress of serving in a position for which she was not qualified during a time when she carried the personal burdens of suffering a miscarriage and assisting her parents who were being treated for serious illness.

But Barry agreed with Assistant United States Attorney Robert Ernst who called the defense ploy "a charade," and pointed out that Cooke was able to function quite rationally and competently throughout the four years of the embezzlement. Her claims to have forgotten the specific events of her embezzlement because of the personality disorder, he said, in particular was "selective" and a "carefully calculated" fabrication.

"I am absolutely convinced that the defendant did not suffer from a significantly reduced mental capacity when she committed the crime she committed," Barry said. "She performed every task very well, including embezzling \$2 million."

Letter plays key role

Barry read aloud most of a one-and-a-

James H. Thrall is deputy director of news and information for the Episcopal Church.



half-page letter written by seven members of the senior staff of the national church, including Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning and House of Deputies President Pamela Chinnis, to support her assessment of the harm the embezzlement caused the church's ministry. The staff were invited to offer input into the sentencing process.

"While we have no desire for retribution or the imposition of more hurt on Mrs. Cooke's family," the staff members wrote, "it ... is our collective belief that a lenient sentence would add further to the damages that we have suffered."

Financial contributions to the national church have declined, and even other denominations have reported that "their contributions have suffered because of the ripple effect of Mrs. Cooke's actions," the letter stated, but "the psychic impact on our staff and organization has been more debilitating."

Former staff members who lost jobs "due to economic retrenchment, cannot be convinced that there is no direct correlation between her actions and the loss of their employment," the letter stated. "Beneficiaries of ministry programs that have been closed due to declining income share the same impression."

Cacheris challenged the letter as making unsubstantiated claims, but declined, after conferring with Cooke, when Barry asked if he wanted to hold a separate sentencing hearing to review the letter's statements. Following the hearing, Cacheris said Cooke had not wanted to endure an additional hearing.

Commenting after the sentence, Browning noted that since the theft was discovered the task of national staff, "has been restitution of what has been stolen, the restoration of confidence, and the assurance of a financial operation of soundness and integrity." Browning added, "We have faced the equally difficult task of coming again and again to our knowledge of sin, repentance, redemption and healing. My prayers are with Ellen Cooke and her family."

Cacheris said on July 22 that Cooke will appeal the sentence.

Seminaries face crisis

If someone doesn't do something fast the 11 Episcopal Church seminaries that prepare the vast majority of the church's clergy may soon fold, according to a recent statement by the church's Board for Theological Education. These institutions are getting smaller and costing more to attend, the board pointed out, making it less and less likely that future Episcopal priests will be educated in the "traditional" way — by going away to a residential seminary for three years to be "formed" by both scholarly training and a regular diet of Anglican worship.

"In the long run, without a stable institutional and scholarly basis for providing the theological core of the education of clergy and scholars, how can the church maintain quality theological education?" the board asked. And will non-Episcopal theology schools or unaccredited local programs be acceptable alternatives?

"In our view, the overall church community is largely uninformed about the established system of theological education and the changes taking place in it," the board said.

It plans to ask the 1997 General Convention to address the issue. "By the year 2015, the church must find successors for 5,000 (60 percent) of today's active clergy," the board said. "What the church is turning toward in meeting this challenge is uncertain, but it has seemed to be turning away from its established seminaries."

— Julie A. Wortman

Ndungane to succeed Tutu

Winston Njongonkulu Ndungane, who for three years was incarcerated on Robben Island as an anti-apartheid political prisoner, will be enthroned this month as Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Anglican Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Njongonkulu, 55, who was elected to the position on June 4, is succeeding Desmond Tutu.

Tutu retired down from his position as

Archbishop at the end of June. He will continue as chair of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission which has been investigating atrocities committed during the country's era of apartheid.

— based on an *Ecumenical News International* report

National retreat for Episcopalians affected by AIDS/HIV

The National Episcopal AIDS Coalition (NEAC) is sponsoring a retreat for those affected by AIDS/HIV in the Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C., October 10-13. The retreat will coincide with the display of the Names Project AIDS memorial quilt, whose 45,000 panels will cover the mile between the west front of the Capitol and the Washington Monument.

"This retreat is not another NEAC conference," according to the retreat's organizers. "There are no workshops, affinity groups or special meetings. This retreat offers the opportunity for those who have worked hard and long in the AIDS/HIV pandemic to be comforted in the presence of God and each other. There is ample time to pray, to sing, to work, to share with others, to make notes to yourself, and to listen to what God is saying to you."

Retreat leaders include Edmond L. Browning, Pamela Chinnis, William Countryman, Minka Sprague, Kelly Brown-Douglas, Martin L. Smith, Holly McAlpen, William Wallace and Jesse Milan, Jr.

For information write NEAC, 2025 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC, 20006.

Opponents of women's ordination say their views hold to the death

Some Anglicans opposed to the ordination of women priests are now carrying cards warning that in emergencies they wish to be cared for by a "male Priest," according to the *Church Times* in London.

— *Ecumenical News International*

A rant on 'Father-creep'

by Anne E. Cox.bapt

Okay, time for what might seem like a picayune issue to some, but actually reveals a major theological problem for our church. The topic is Father-creep. Father-creep is the increasing incidence of "Father" being used before the name of an ordained person. The usage seems to be creeping out of Anglo-catholic pockets into the church mainstream.

Generally, Father-creep seems to be a disease of the Episcopal branch of Christendom. "Father" is too pervasive in the Roman Catholic Church for it to be creeping in; and pure protestants run instinctively from "Father" language.

We Anglicans, claiming to be both catholic and protestant, are susceptible to Father-creep. Perhaps it is because we have a fondness for things formal, especially in ecclesiastical matters. I'm sure the fact that we are a hierarchical denomination — after all, "episcopal" means "bishop" — contributes to our degraded immunity to the disease. We are used to separating out clergy from the rest of the body of Christ, and within the clergy, to distinguishing a variety of ranks: the Rev., the Very Rev., the Ven., the Rt. Rev., the Most Rev. And there are probably more such ecclesial modifiers than I (with my "anglo-baptist" forebears) know. This contributes to our willingness to separate clergy out as the "fathers" among us.

So the issue of Father-creep.

I grew up calling the rector of St. Matthew's in Hillsborough, N.C., "Mr. Pettit." So I admit it wasn't until I was into my 20s that I heard Episcopal clergy called "father." Many folks, however, have grown up in more so-called anglo-catholic places where they were probably introduced to "Father Pettit." Early childhood conditioning influences all of us.

An Episcopal priest, **Anne E. Cox** is a *Witness* contributing editor.

But part of what rankles me about Father-creep is the problem of how to refer to ordained women. The director of the day care center at St. Paul's, Englewood, N.J., called me Father Anne, because as a Roman Catholic, that was the only way she knew to refer to clergy. The children at the day care center called all of the staff "Miz" — (blurring the Miss and Mrs. distinction into one title) or "Mr." So we had Miz Carol and Mr. Bob. One day, Carol paraded the children past my office door and told them to say hello to Father Anne. In unison, a dozen small voices droned, "Hello, Miz Father Anne." They figured out how to deal with Carol's contradiction.

The other phenomenon that accompanies Father-creep is the increasing prevalence of "name-plus" signatures. Far too many clergy have taken to putting a plus after their names.

In many places where calling male clergy "father" is the norm, female clergy are called "mother." That's a compromise many of us are forced to make simply to be recognized as priests in the church. But I'm also suspicious that insisting on the "father" title is a way of ignoring the increasing numbers of ordained women.

I can trot out good scriptural reasons for halting father-creep, although those who feel otherwise are no doubt able to run out scriptural references on the other side. "Call no one your father on earth, for you have one Father — the one in heaven" (Mt. 23:9). That's what Jesus says when he's slamming the scribes and Pharisees

for their hypocritical piety. So my reasons for not calling a male priest "father" are rooted in scripture, gender-parity, and my own personal tradition.

But here's the real reason I would like to vaccinate all of us against Father-creep. It has to do with the value each of us has as a member of the body of Christ. Ascribing a parental role to clergy turns the rest of the members of the church into children — that is the image when we call someone father. This is not an appropriate image or role to encourage since it implies that the clergy parents know more than the lay children, that they are older and wiser, more mature in the faith. While our relationships with our parents change as we mature (hopefully), the parental model implies an imbalance of power, with the parent always being able to get away with "because I'm the parent" reasoning. It also allows us to focus on clergy as the ones who do the real work and take this faith business seriously while the children engage in play.

The other phenomenon that accompanies Father-creep is the increasing prevalence of "name-plus" signatures. Far too many clergy have taken to putting a plus after their names. It's supposed to be a cross, and there may be some gnostic meaning behind the practice of which I am unaware. Perhaps the Internet is to be thanked for the proliferation of name-plus activity, for many clergy (male and female) sign themselves as Anne+ and bishops as +Robert (I have yet to see a posting from a female bishop). Why, pray tell, is it important for people to know whether you are a priest, a bishop or (simply) a layperson?

In my household and among some of my friends who share this rant, we are promulgating the alternative convention of signing our names on the internet as "Anne.bapt", thereby letting the world know we are baptized Christians — with all of the ambiguity and commitment that entails. *That* is what is important. The cross comes into our lives at baptism, not at ordination.

Back Issues

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Remember the future

by Uncas McThenia

Justice in the Coalfields, (1995) An Appalshop film directed by Anne Lewis; 606-633-0108.

When the contract between the United Mine Workers and the Pittston Company expired in 1988, Pittston terminated the medical benefits of 1,000 pensioners, widows and disabled miners. This precipitated a bitter nine-month strike in West Virginia and southwestern Virginia. Justice in the Coalfields documents the events that followed.

Justice in the Coalfields is a provocative film. It begins as a stock lefty labor film. The answer is clear, isn't it? *Justice in the Coalfields* means our side won. The first victory for a reawakening labor movement following the Reagan era. Solidarity between miners in Appalachia and Poland? The image of resistance so popular in *Mother Jones* or *Z* or *The Nation* — workers confronting a villainous multinational energy industry — is there on the screen. But there is something else. There is much more. What unfolds is a complex journey into blindness and finally, I think, a second sight.

There is clarity in memory of the past. Flashbacks to the golden days of John L. Lewis. Earlier strikes in the region. Scenes of confrontation between miners, their families and state police. The only difference between 1989 and the 1940s is in the film quality and the dress.

Memory is what so often keeps people

in the region keeping on in spite of the present. I recall a young child with a sign at one of the rallies in the 1989 strike proclaiming that he was the son of a coal miner's daughter whose father worked low coal. And that memory opens the door to a rich sense of community. One of the most poignant features of the film is the contrasting vocabulary. Striking miners and family members talk of neighbors and kin and obligation to the community, while the coal company officials and the public relations guru at the National Right to Work Committee talk of individual rights and competition for global markets. "The changes in world markets require that we adjust to new realities," says the President of the Pittston Coal Group.

But memory, as important as it is, can lead to nostalgia and a false sense of optimism. Following the tentative settlement in 1989 people talk of carrying on the solidarity. It will be different this time. But a few frames later this optimism is dashed with the reality that some four years later only 470 of 1,400 strikers in Virginia are still employed in the mines. And the film closes with an ironic rendition of "America" composed by a woman in West Virginia, the wife of a miner, which is a true lament.

There is no rose colored lens on Anne Lewis' camera. She moves beyond the strike and back to the question of *Justice in the Coalfields*. Is there any? And the film tells the truth about that. The strike was over health benefits and the final caption of the film answers that question: "Mine workers were among the first to get a comprehensive health plan and among the first to lose it."

One might walk away from this film in

Uncas McThenia, a professor at Washington & Lee Law School and chair of *The Witness'* board, studied the Bible and was arrested with Pittston strikers in 1988.

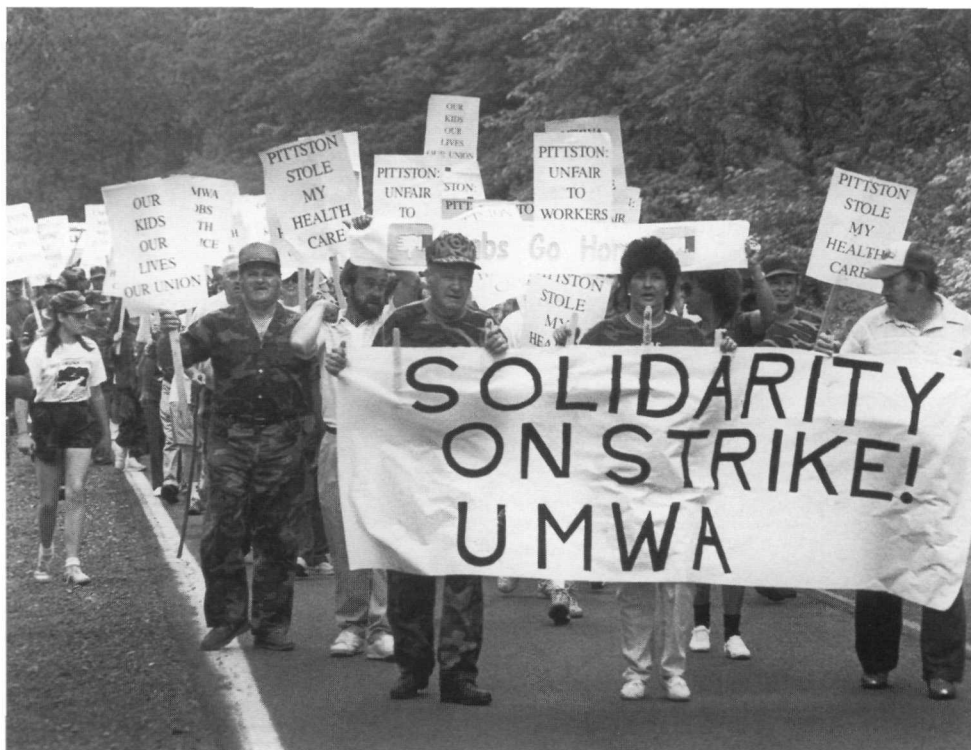
despair. But that would be a mistake. Lewis asks a young nonunion miner who was active in the strike while still in high school: "Where does it end?" And he answers with the clarity of one who refuses to succumb to either nostalgia or despair. "When all the coal has left here. They won't worry about us anymore. We'll go back to making it like we did before. That's when it's over, when every lump of coal is gone."

Here is a young man who will be there for the long haul. To be aware of the struggle, to face life as it is, is to have a vision of what the world is really like. No false promises, no slogans, no great visions of a Phoenix-like labor movement rising from the ashes of the Reagan-Bush era. No Chamber of Commerce huzzah, no paeans to a global economy. Nothing but simple human dignity. And the powers and principalities cannot take that away. That is what takes this film beyond tragedy.

Both Lewis and this young man are able to remember the future. And that is an act of hope.

It is no accident that many of Jesus' parables are set in the workplace and deal with wages, working conditions and relations between workers. New studies are showing the extent to which Jesus was involved in the economic controversies of his day, in protesting the "tribute" which peasants had to pay to aristocrats, temple priests and Roman colonizers. In challenging the honor and purity codes and in crossing ethnic, gender and class boundaries in his life, Jesus was challenging the inherited social and economic systems that keep the landless laborers in poverty.

— *The Employment Project*
Paul K. Chapman, Director



Ron Skeeber

Another theme the film explores is that of our imprisonment in role and class structures. A white male Republican Federal Judge (a Nixon appointee), could talk about shared suffering, yet still levy several million dollars in fines against the UMW and call for law and order.

On the other hand, striking miners are quite clear that the courts are "enforcing their version of the law and we are enforcing ours" by sitting in the road and blocking coal trucks — a view which though once anathema to Judge Glen Williams is considerably less threatening now, I think. The interview with Judge Williams is a masterful study in ambivalence about community, law, and finally about self in relation to community.

I think the film should be seen widely among lawyer audiences. It would help the profession come to terms with the way in which it tends to idolize law. The candor of Judge Williams' struggle is refreshing. All too often we who are charged with administering the justice

system believe we also dispense it. Who knows? Maybe one might see that justice and law are at best distant cousins. And the two are not likely to be united without listening to voices in those communities where the impact of law seems pretty oppressive on occasion.

The film is important for activists who think that the struggle is fruitless in this era of the contract on America. The call to resistance, the clarity of the young man who, with 99 others, took over the Pittston coal preparation plant, saying, "I reckon the state police are going to come in here and arrest us sometime," and the man who knows he will be there for the long haul. These are images of hope which dispel the despair of the present. **TW**

review

It is the day before the one-year anniversary of the Detroit Newspapers strike. Kate DeSmet, a striking *Detroit News* religion reporter, sits in a torn and frayed blue-plaid easy chair ("The cats won't leave it alone," she says apologetically) that is the only note of disarray in her neatly furnished, "country-style" living room home in Harper Woods, an inner suburb not far from where she spent her childhood. A bright red-and-white checked quilt hangs on the long wall behind the couch.

"I hope it doesn't rain during the march tomorrow," she says, referring to the big union demonstration called to commemorate this disappointing milestone in the strike. There's a "No News or Free Press wanted here" sign in the front yard. This is one of the few homes in the immediate area that displays one. Many of her neighbors, she says, disagree with the strike or think it's a lost cause.

"That's troubling to me, that they can see one of their own neighbors go through this and still won't stop the paper," she admits. "But I don't want to keep arguing this — I need peace somewhere."

Outside this quiet neighborhood DeSmet's current calling is, however, exactly that — to keep arguing the strike. Most days she can be found in some radio or television studio or at a public meeting debating *Detroit News* and *Free Press* management with a clarity and passion that have made her a leading striker spokesperson.

*Collective power
is a religious idea.
It's the idea of
communion, that
you are not alone.
That's why I love
the unions so
much. I love the
idea of it."*



Kate DeSmet

JAW

Called into a world of struggle

by Julie A. Wortman

"This strike had been about voice, about giving workers a say," she says. "I guess I've just found a way to articulate my rage."

Not only has *Detroit News* editor/publisher Bob Giles "publicly admitted to slanting their reporting about the strike," DeSmet says, but the newspapers have also "set their own trucks on fire and blamed it on the strikers" to feed stereotypes of picket-line violence.

"I was a union officer for 11 years," DeSmet adds. "We had a huge number of grievances. It was clear that management wasn't respecting our contract. I'm firmly convinced that eventually everything is going to be owned by six white guys in suits. They'll be seated on one side of the table. Nobody is going to be seated on this side of the table unless we fight for it. It's all about voice."

One of six children born to a Flemish father and Irish mother, DeSmet was

raised Roman Catholic. She didn't find out until recently that her late father — who worked with computers and data processing in the infancy of the technology — worked for Chrysler before she was born, and was a member of the UAW.

"I showed my mom a film of the picket line. She said, 'Wow, that reminds me of your father during the sit-down strike at the Chrysler-Jefferson plant in 1937.'"

In the 1950s her father worked for a firm where there was no union.

"When he was non-union his work life was at times pretty awful," DeSmet recalls.

"One of the few times I saw my father cry was when he was trying to get a promotion. The person who got the job was the boss's son. He had no experience, but he was the boss's son and the boss's son came first."

DeSmet's great uncle on her mother's side was a teamster organizer in the 1920s

*Witnesses,
the quick and the dead*

Julie A. Wortman is managing editor of *The Witness*.

and her grandfather was a pressman for the *Detroit Free Press* for 50 years.

"My mother's sister married the son of the managing editor of the *Detroit News*. I can remember the distinction — and animosity — between my uncle and my grandfather.

"I grew up knowing that you never, ever, cross the picket line — just like laundry gets done on Tuesdays and Wednesdays you have spaghetti."

But it shouldn't take a personal history like hers to support union efforts to negotiate with employers, DeSmet stresses. The problem, she says, is that so many people "worship at the altar of individualism."

DeSmet gets up and goes to the front door to let in a dusty-colored cat named Lucy (her sister is Ethel), one of many such trips she has already made in the course of the interview. Near the foyer a crucifix is mounted on the wall, some palm fronds tucked behind it.

"Collective power is a religious idea," she continues as she resumes her seat. "I've come to see Jesus as a guy who hung out with people. Like César Chavez, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Gandhi. These were all people seeking to change things for the group they were *part* of, not just for themselves. It's the idea of communion, that you are not alone. That's why I love the unions so much. I love the *idea* of it."

A 17-year veteran in the field of journalism (she got her journalism degree from Detroit's Wayne State University and then worked in local community newspapers for five years before joining the staff of the *Detroit News*), in 1993 DeSmet won a Knight Fellowship, given annually to 12 "mid-career" journalists, for a year's study at Stanford University.

"I arrived nearly brain dead," she says, "and then Stanford blew my mind open. I thrived on the highly charged intellectual atmosphere."

She received training as a volunteer chaplain in a children's hospital and took religion courses. Campus worship life and fiction writing fed spiritual and creative cravings. A book project on women in religious leadership brought particular focus to issues of largely male-dominated corporate power.

"Seeing where women were set me up for seeing the labor perspective," DeSmet reflects.

The time at Stanford also gave her a

People think "picket line" and they think violence. But when they think "corporate board room," why don't they think violence?

chance to think about journalism.

"As a journalist I had begun to see that there were so many restraints on me, not the least of which is the corporate restraint. In religion writing, for example, the forces I was up against saw religion as a drug for idiotic people, people who needed easy answers. I would always fight for my stories, but they can wear you down — you end up fighting for inches, for which edition your story runs in, for page one. The time constraints were horrendous. We had become assembly-line workers."

Commercial journalism may no longer be the right path for someone who wants to help readers truly understand what is going on in their community, DeSmet believes. She cites Pulitzer prize winner Roy Gutman about what fair journalism requires.

"Gutman said you cannot quote the Bosnian Serbs in the same way you quote their victims. You cannot quote the Nazis in the same way as you quote Jews. If your story says, 'The Jews have said there are these extermination camps, however Nazi spokesmen officially deny those

camps,' do you leave it at that and let the reader decide? Good journalism, I see very clearly now, requires that you go way beyond that."

She reminds people who equate all unions with Jimmy Hoffa's Mafia-connected teamsters, that most of their ideas about unions are based on media reports.

"People operate in a vacuum about labor. They rely on a press that doesn't want to report on labor, that thinks it's a business topic rather than a social topic. People think 'picket line' and they think violence. But when they think 'corporate board room,' why don't they think violence? Assumptions need to be challenged and in this media climate they are not being questioned."


DeSmet looks forward to the day she can walk back into work with her striking brothers and sisters, but she hasn't resolved "where I'm headed with journalism." Living now on strike pay of \$160 a week, care packages from friends and some support from a *Boston Globe* union that has "adopted" her (she did an internship at the *Globe*), she knows she doesn't need much to get by except a community committed to mutual sacrifice.

"I'm living more cheaply than I could ever have imagined," she says. "It's very freeing."

In this sense and many others, she says, the strike has been a blessing.

"There is such a wonderful way of looking at this strike through the way it has blessed people, given them the chance to work together with friends, to see something as a higher cause in their life. It's empowering."

Before the strike, she admits, she was "getting itchy" to live out her faith life — a life that until then had been largely a matter of prayer.

"God knows, I've gotten that chance," she laughs. "I don't know what's next, but I think I've been called into a new world — a world of struggle." 



“Some unions worry that ignoring injunctions can result in huge fines that could break them. The only answer one can give is that if unions do not continue to mass picket and stop production, they will be broken anyway.”

— Randy Furst, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*

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