

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

AN INTREPID BAND OF TRADE UNIONISTS, shouting "Scabs go home!" and singing "Solidarity Forever," gathered in the park outside Robert F. Kennedy stadium on Sunday, October 4, as the football game between the replacement players from the Washington Redskins and the St. Louis Cardinals went on inside. National labor leaders stepped to the microphone to cheer on the striking Redskin players and to excoriate the fans and players who had ignored the picket line set up outside the stadium gates.

"We will win this struggle, as long as it takes," said Gerald McEntee, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

And Machinists President William Winpinger declared, "The real folks are here. The scabs are in there."

The comparative size of the two crowds, however, told the real story. While no more than 300 trade unionists listened to Winpinger and McEntee, 27,000 rabid Redskin fans had crossed picket lines. Many of them expressed frustration with the strikers. Walking past the strikers, one middle-aged woman told Redskins' second-string running back Keith Griffin, "In two years, I'll be here, and you'll be out on the street." In the game's fourth quarter, as the Redskins pulled away from the Cardinals, the fans chanted derisively, "Stay on strike!"

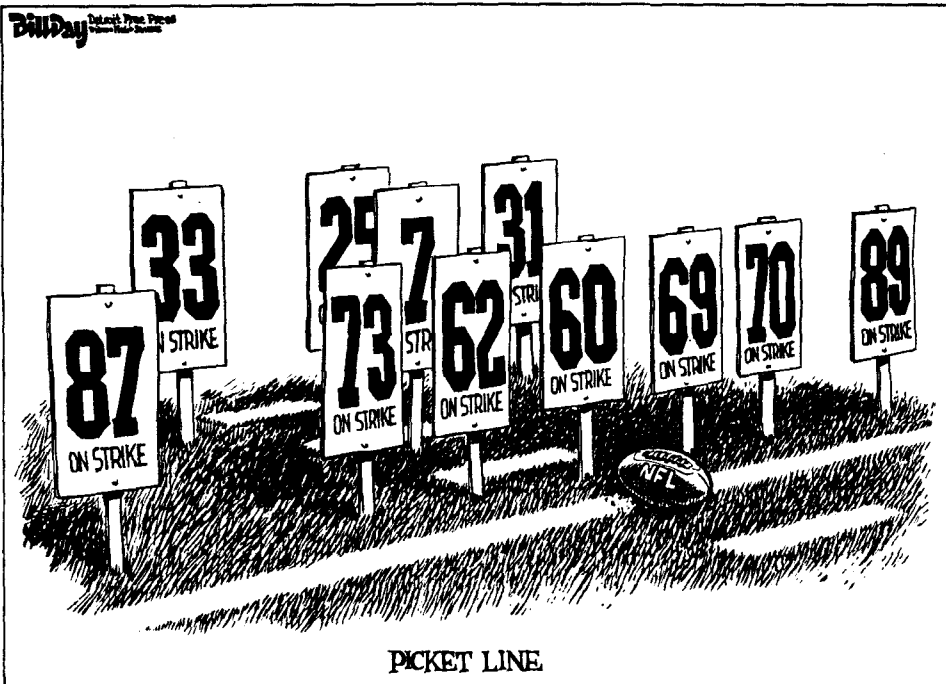
In other stadiums attendance was not as high as it was in Washington, but solidarity among the players and the local union movement was also not as high. Eighty-six players crossed the picket line, and in some NFL cities no players picketed. Sympathetic union leaders here now expect that the National Football League (NFL) players strike, which began September 22, will end in defeat. Because the strike is so visible and because the issue is the union's viability, its defeat would affect the entire labor movement. "If they bust this union, they are going to encourage other people to bust unions," said AFSCME official Steve Silbiger.

Temporarily rich: Like all strikes, this one is about the collective power of employees to win concessions from their employers. But in almost every detail the football strike is different from other labor union struggles. It is one of the most unusual and complex strikes in American history.

It does not pit workers against corporations. Except for the Green Bay Packers, pro football teams are privately owned—some by fabulously wealthy individuals, like the Kansas City Chief's Lamar Hunt or the Redskins' Jack Kent Cooke. Many of the owners look upon a pro football franchise as a means to gain celebrity and to exercise childhood fantasies.

Football players are highly skilled, having been trained for eight or more years in their specific position, and cannot be easily replaced in the same way as, say, an airline clerk or even an autoworker. They are paid an average of \$214,000 a year—about 10 times the median annual wage—but on average they work in their jobs for only 3.2 years. "The class struggle here is decidedly upper, the temporarily rich doing battle with the unimaginably wealthy," *Washington Post* sports columnist Ken Denlinger wrote.

The issue that led to the strike—the right of free agency—is also highly unusual. In



Football strike: fourth and long and time running out

most labor battles, unions are seeking to restrict the operation of the labor market in order to increase their wages. In professional football, however, players are trying to open up the market. As it is, they cannot choose which team they play for—they must play with the team that "drafts" them out of college unless that team trades them. This prevents players from bargaining up their wages. By striking they are demanding the right to work for whichever employer they choose—in other words, football players want unfettered free enterprise.

Most important, the team owners and the players' union are bound by a close legal relationship from which the owners cannot afford to extricate themselves. Without the union, the owners would be vulnerable to lawsuits charging that they are violating anti-trust law. Indeed, without the union the players would become free agents. "The owners want to tame the union, but they don't want to destroy it," said David Harris, author of *The League*, an authoritative portrait of the NFL.

To understand this complex relationship one has to go back to the union's founding and to the legal battle it waged in the '70s. **Fighting socialism with socialism:** Professional sports leagues are large cartels that do everything the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was designed to prevent. The NFL, for example, prohibits the entry of new firms; it

divvies up TV revenues and gate receipts among the teams (home teams get 60 percent of receipts and visitors 40 percent); and it rigidly restricts the movement of labor through a draft of new players and through what is called the "Rozelle Rule." According to this rule, named after current NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle, if a player from one team signs a contract with another without being traded, his original team is compensated with high draft choices. Under the current arrangement, a team that signs an average player has to give up more than the player is worth: two number-one draft choices. As a result, only one player has changed teams without being traded over the last 10 years.

In the '50s players began suing the NFL for violating the anti-trust law, and to avoid such suits the owners recognized the fledgling labor union. In 1959, when the NFL commissioner lobbied Congress for exemption from the anti-trust law, he ran into criticism that the NFL was a non-union shop. The owners decided to recognize the union that had begun three years earlier in Green Bay, and they were able to obtain Congress' permission to pool TV revenues.

The union itself had little clout until the '70s. In 1972 Baltimore Colts tight end John Mackey, the president of the National Football League Players Association (NFLPA), filed suit, charging that the Rozelle Rule vio-

lated anti-trust law. In 1974 the union staged an unsuccessful strike to win free agency. But when one-quarter of the players returned to work after a month, the union's executive director, Ed Garvey, announced that all union members would return to work without a contract, and would try to win free agency in the courts.

In 1975 a federal district court ruled for Mackey and the NFLPA, and in 1976 an appeals court affirmed the decision. But it left the owners a loophole: the Rozelle Rule could be applied legally if the union and the owners accepted it within a collective-bargaining agreement.

The union was interested in a deal because it was more than \$200,000 in debt and membership had plummeted. In addition, Garvey did not believe that free agency was the solution to players' problems. First, he thought the owners, who shared their gate receipts and TV revenues equally, lacked an economic incentive to get into a bidding war for free agents. And second, he believed few football players were irreplaceable.

In 1977 Garvey and the union signed an agreement with the NFL owners acknowledging the Rozelle Rule. In return they got \$107 million in benefits and a union shop, where all players entering the league automatically had to pay union dues.

In 1982 the union struck again, but this time the issue was not free agency. Instead, Garvey demanded that the owners allot 55 percent of their rising profits to the players. Salaries would be scaled by seniority. "We are fighting socialism with socialism," Garvey said.

That year the players struck after the season's third game. The owners were forced to cancel games and lost TV revenues. But it was players who folded. When the owners made an offer of \$1.6 billion in pension and other benefits, four teams voted to accept the owners' offer even though it was virtually the same one the owners had made before the strike. After 57 days on strike Garvey was forced to accept the offer. Several months later he resigned and was replaced as executive director by former Oakland Raider guard Gene Upshaw.

The strike: In the aftermath of the 1982 strike, NFL players' salaries on average more than doubled—from \$90,000 to \$205,000 in 1986—but it was not because of the union agreement. In 1983 the United States Football League (USFL) was formed, and competition for labor contracts bid up players salaries. After the USFL collapsed, salaries increased only 5 percent between 1986 and 1987.

Despite the salary gains of the past few years, football players' salaries and pensions remain considerably lower than those of baseball and basketball players, even though football requires as much skill as baseball and is much more dangerous than either. Last year average baseball salaries were \$371,000, and basketball \$450,000. Pensions, which are particularly important to football players, were also lower. At age 55 the average football player draws \$1,300 a month, while the average baseball player gets \$3,000.

Meanwhile, owners' income has continued to skyrocket. Take, for instance, the publicly owned Green Bay Packers. The least wealthy of the teams, it had the league's third worst record last year. In another sport it would have suffered financial reverses. Yet Green Bay, which paid players a little more than

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Maverick owner shunned for fair labor practices

Only one owner has consistently broken ranks with the other owners, the Los Angeles Raiders' Al Davis. In 1978 he defied the league's rule against owners moving their teams without authorization by announcing that he would transfer the Raiders from Oakland to Los Angeles. In an ongoing suit, Davis charged the league with violating anti-trust law.

Davis has also backed the players' demand for free agency and chided owners for their recalcitrant attitude toward the players. During the 1982 strike Davis said, "The idea should not be to defeat the players. I see one owner saying the season is over and others talking about getting new

players to play under the banner of the NFL. To my way of thinking, that's not the way to approach the problem. The players are the game. We own it, but they play it."

In this year's strike Davis has proposed a compromise in which players would become limited free agents after seven years—with teams having the right to equal offers from other teams—and unrestricted free agents after 10 years. Worried about his team's unity, Davis also convinced several top Raider players, including star Howie Long, not to cross the picket line.

But the other team owners rejected Davis' compromise and scorn his labor practices.

—J.B.J.

Joel Bleifuss

Big Brother calling

"Seriously improper" people and organizations, and anyone "doing business" with such, may soon find themselves on a computerized nationwide master list being established by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The OMB, through the issuance of regulations, has created a government-wide "Consolidated List of Debarred, Suspended, Voluntarily Excluded and Ineligible Assistance Participants." According to *Foundation News*, anyone placed on the list will be ineligible for federal grants, loans, scholarships and most other government benefits. The new rules require all federal agencies to give the OMB the names of all applicable persons and organizations. There are many ways you might end up on the blacklist. Your name is added, for example, if you are a public school teacher who goes on strike despite a no-strike clause in your contract. It is also added if you engage in "seriously improper" conduct or show a lack of "business integrity or honesty," or if you perform poorly on any public grant. The OMB will be mailing out lists of the "seriously improper" to governmental bodies and private organizations (like universities) that handle federal money. And plans are in the works to hook up the list to an automated telephone answering service that would allow anyone to call in and find out who's done wrong.

Johns Hopkins—a spy for the Pentagon

Johns Hopkins University has fired photographer Terry Corbett for refusing to cooperate with a university security operation that compiles a photo catalog of anti-war protesters. Corbett worked at the university's applied physics laboratory (APL) in Laurel, Md., a research center that receives military contracts of about \$300 million a year, making Johns Hopkins the university that profits most from the Star Wars effort. The laboratory has regularly been the focus of demonstrations. Corbett says that until this summer he had been able to avoid working the photo-surveillance beat. However, in June he was ordered to begin preparing the 1987 "Protesters Board"—a photo record of this year's APL demonstrators. When Corbett claims the university sends to the Pentagon. He refused the assignment and was fired. "What is a non-profit, university-sponsored research-and-development facility doing making files on people practicing their First Amendment rights and distributing them to various government agencies? The powers-that-be at APL would tell me they were worried that some of these people would become terrorists and blow the place up," Corbett told Michael Anit of Baltimore's *City Paper*. "But when you're looking at a picture of a mother holding a baby, it's a little difficult to conjure up that image."

Coming showdown at the AFL-CIO

Central American policy will be debated at the AFL-CIO's annual meeting this month in Miami. And if the Minnesota state AFL-CIO convention last month is any indication, it could be a good fight. According to Dave Hage of the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, AFL-CIO delegates watched a 35-minute documentary that accused Nicaragua of oppressing unions and praised Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte for his labor and land reforms. The unionists then heard a talk from an official from the group that made the movie—the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an international policy organization funded by the AFL-CIO and, many allege, the CIA. AIFLD's David Jessup told the convention he expected the AFL-CIO to endorse Central America's peace plan but he doubted that Nicaragua would abide by the plan's principles. At that point, however, several delegates brought up a resolution calling on the national AFL-CIO to change its neutral stand on contra aid and lobby against the funding, to endorse the regional peace plan and to support unions in El Salvador that are critical of the U.S.-backed government. Elliot Seide of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees argued: "It troubles me that the federation's position seems so close to the position of Ronald Reagan. A president who does everything possible to harm workers and farmers in the U.S. certainly can't be doing anything for workers and farmers abroad." Minnesota AFL-CIO President Dan Gustafson ruled the resolution out of order, saying it conflicted with national AFL-CIO policy. But the delegates overruled Gustafson. And, after an emotional debate, the Minnesota AFL-CIO passed the anti-contra resolution on a voice vote, to much applause.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Homecoming. Announcing his candidacy for president, Pat Robertson returned to the largely-black Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn where he once lived. At a carefully staged event, the evangelist-turned-candidate blathered on about God and country to a mostly white audience as demonstrators chanted their displeasure. A peeved Robertson, referring to the three months he lived there 25 years ago, declared: "What the people on this block must understand is that this is the neighborhood we lived in and I don't think it's [the protesters'] neighborhood."

Will the real human rights abusers please stand up?

Ever since the five Central American presidents signed a regional peace plan on August 7, the Reagan administration has warned that Nicaragua cannot be trusted to comply with the plan's provisions for internal democratization and greater respect for human rights. That is absurdly hypocritical.

Costa Rica aside, the administration's Central American allies are the hemisphere's worst abusers of human rights.

Nowhere is this truer than in El Salvador, where respect for human rights continues to be abysmal. The New York-based human rights group, Americas Watch, in their August 30 *Report on Human Rights in El Salvador*, concludes that El Salvador under President Jose Napoleon Duarte is "very far from now being in compliance with the human rights commitments it undertook in signing" the plan. The report, which the mainstream press has largely ignored, documents a wide range of human rights violations. Further, it says that the already bad situation may be getting worse.

Abuses listed by Americas Watch include the disappearances, torture and assassination of government opponents. In addition, in the last 18 months more than 800 people, mostly civilians, have been killed during military operations. Many of these deaths are the result of indiscriminate bombings by the Salvadoran air force. To make matters worse, El Salvador's death

squads, after being relatively restrained for the past few years, have gone back into action, according to the report.

El Salvador's disinterest in improving its human rights record is seen in the government's failure to convict one single military official for human rights violations. In fact, several officers who have been linked to army massacres continue to hold important posts. For example, Col. Roberto Mauricio Staben, commander of the notorious Arce battalion, was personally reinstated by Duarte after being cleared "due to lack of evidence" on charges of running a kidnapping ring.

The report also notes that El Salvador continues to hold approximately 700 political prisoners. "Any suspicion whatsoever, no matter how unfounded, can serve as a basis for arrest. Many forms of legitimate, peaceful, political activity fall under the rubric of suspicious activity in the eyes of the Salvadoran Armed Forces," says the report.

Freedom of the press is another concern. The country's two major opposition newspapers were both violently eliminated in the early '80s. In one case the editor and a photographer were disemboweled by machete and then shot. Understandably, no other opposition newspapers have since appeared.

Furthermore, El Salvador has not acted in good faith to meet requirements of the regional peace pact. The agreement calls for each country to form a National Reconciliation Commission (CNR) to help resolve political differences. Aryeh Neier, who worked on the Americas Watch report, describes El Sal-

vador's CNR as "absurd." Commission members include Alfredo Cristiani, a member of the far-right ARENA party, and Alvaro Alfredo Magaña, the conservative former president. The left, with which the government is fighting a civil war, was excluded.

Nor does El Salvador appear willing to meet the plan's call for refugee resettlement. Neier says that during a recent meeting the Salvadoran military high command told him that refugees would not be allowed to return to areas of present or former guerrilla strength. And the officer told Neier that any peasant wanting to return to Arcatao, an area of Chalatenango province, "is a communist."

The records of the Reagan administration's other regional allies are not a great deal better. Honduras and Guatemala, both with dismal human rights histories, have barely begun to meet the plan's requirements.

The CNR in Guatemala, which was not finally appointed by President Vinicio Cerezo until mid-September, is dominated by rightists (see story on page 2). In Honduras, 16,000 peasants, who were moved from their homes to accommodate the contras, need to be resettled. But the government does not admit to hosting the contras and has not proposed returning these people to their homes.

For all his earnest words, President Reagan's disregard for the obvious shortcomings of his Central American allies is just further evidence that he has little interest in a negotiated settlement to the Central America conflict.

—Ken Silverstein

Scandinavia "zones in" on a nuclear-free Baltic

HELSINKI—Next to the majestic Helsinki Cathedral, in a ground-floor office of Finland's Foreign Ministry building, a young diplomat is laboring to politically defuse a nuclear powderkeg in Scandinavia.

"We would like," says Pertti Torstila, "to keep this area as calm as possible." But submarines and ships roaming the nearby Baltic Sea often carry enough nuclear missiles—aimed at East and West—to obliterate hundreds of large cities.

As a key Finnish foreign policy official, Torstila enthusiastically speaks about what is somewhere between a hope and a plan: The governments of Finland and Sweden are promoting the idea of declaring Scandinavia off-limits to nuclear weapons—a concept known here as the "Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone."

A half-mile south of Torstila's office, the U.S. Embassy's press attache is amused. "Just about any time a Finnish politician makes a speech he talks about the Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone," Douglas Davidson says. "It's sort of the sacred proposal of the Finnish gov-

ernment."

The State Department can be moved to anger if a small country decides to restrict the U.S. military by excluding nuclear weapons from its territory. That's what happened when New Zealand barred nuclear arms from its harbors two years ago. And last April, on the tiny South Pacific island of Fiji, voters elected a coalition that pledged to forbid U.S. nuclear warships from visiting their ports. A month later a military coup of suspicious origin toppled that government (see "In Short," May 27).

Now the Reagan administration seems anxious about the nuke-ban momentum in Scandinavia. Already the region's five countries—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden—claim not to permit nuclear weapons on their territory. Norway and Denmark, however, oppose formalizing the ban. As members of NATO, both nations cite an obligation to serve as hosts for nuclear weaponry in time of crisis.

But public opinion polls in each Nordic country show a substantial majority favor some kind of regional nuclear-weapon-free zone. And the scope of such a zone could extend well beyond national boundaries. Two weeks ago, Soviet

leader Mikhail Gorbachov proposed that the military presence of both East and West in the Arctic be restricted and the area designated as a "zone of peace."

The U.S. is eager to discourage such talk. At summer's end, Assistant Secretary of State Rozanne Ridgway said that an agreement on intermediate-range missiles would make free-zone notions "out-of-date." With a treaty disarming those missiles, she said, "we will be now in a position to look at the future away from these kinds of proposals of [nuclear-free] corridors and zones."

But Ridgway appears to be indulging in wishful thinking. No treaty is on the horizon to curtail either Europe's battlefield nuclear bombs or Baltic sea-based nuclear arms. The free-zone approach is as valuable as ever.

What's more, since May the Norwegian government—a strong U.S. military ally—has taken a position that directly contradicts Ridgway's statement. In an official policy document Norway contended that an accord eliminating intermediate-range missiles would create one of the conditions needed to establish a Nordic zone free of nuclear weapons.

—Norman Solomon

Attempted "image assassination" leads to jail for Chilean satirists

In late August Chilean police arrested and imprisoned without bail two journalists who had tried to publish a mock diary of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Coming to the journalists' defense are leaders of the Chilean bar, medical and psychological associations, as well as prominent members of the press. They are calling the government's trial tactics an "unprecedented" threat to the opposition press and an attempt to stifle public debate before the upcoming one-way presidential race.

The military junta has charged Marcelo Contreras, director of the investigative newsweekly *Apsi*, and Sergio Marras, the magazine's associate director, with "insulting the head of the armed forces." To honor Pinochet for his 14 years as president of Chile, *Apsi*, on the cover of an August 20 special issue, featured the dictator dolled up in powdered wig and ruff collar as Louis XIV. The accompanying story, "The Thousand Faces of Pinochet (My Secret Diary)," was an intimate, first-person account of the general's last days in office. The diary was illustrated with provocative cartoons, one of which depicted last September's failed assassination attempt.

The journalists' professional supporters have strongly condemned the tactics of Lorenzo Andrade, the military prosecutor



Apsi reported the confiscation of its humor issue in an August 24 cover story illustrated with the previously censored depiction of Pinochet the Fourteenth. But this time around the dictator held a mask to hide his identity and the headline read: "He who laughs goes to jail."

handling the case. At Andrade's behest, Chile's highest military court not only denied bail but also ordered that a court-appointed expert conduct a "psycho-political analysis" of the magazine. Andrade has refused to describe the nature of that analysis or how it will be used when the Chilean Supreme Court hears the case during its current session.

The opposition fears that, if accepted as evidence, this analysis will establish a precedent that would enable the regime to censor news when it objects to a story's "hidden" meaning. "Repression of free speech in Chile is nothing new," says Fernando Villagrán, *Apsi*'s general manager and acting

director. "What is new is the military prosecutor's argument, which permits him to act as a censor.... The government is using the phrase 'image assassination'—a charge it intends to substantiate with a so-called 'psycho-political analysis'—as a pretext to punish political humor."

Rather than file suit in civilian court, Andrade indicted *Apsi*'s directors in a military court, where punishments are harsher and due process less likely. If convicted Contreras and Marras could face five years in prison.

Observers attribute the intensity of the government's reaction to timing. Under the country's rewritten constitution the four military commanders-in-chief will name a single presidential candidate—presumably Pinochet—to be elected in a yes-or-no vote sometime before February 1989.

According to the Chilean Human Rights Commission, *Apsi* is the victim of a relatively recent government trend to try journalists in military court and thereby curtail political debate in this pre-electoral period. Indeed, Pinochet is already campaigning and his supporters have closed ranks to protect his image.

For instance, Attorney General Ambrosio Rodriguez, in a speech to military cadets, accused the magazine's directors of being "apologists for terrorism." And in a recent issue of the popular magazine *Cosas*, he accused Marras and Contreras of verbal terrorism. "*Apsi*," he said, "has tried to assassinate the character of Gen. Pinochet."

—Philip Mistral

Crackpot crusader

"Love of life is good, but veneration of life is idolatry," right-wing wag William F. Buckley Jr. told 3,000 evangelicals who congregated in Washington, D.C., last month to study the Bible. According to the *National Catholic Reporter*, the idolators Buckley had in mind were those Protestant and Catholic peace-movement leaders for whom "veneration of life" is more important than doing what is right—supporting a U.S. nuclear buildup. "We are coming perilously close to worshipping false gods," Buckley said. He then added that it was too bad the world had abandoned the medieval tradition of waging war to fight evil, leaving it for God to sift out the saved from the damned.

To B-1 or not to B-1?

Rep. Robert Dornan (R-CA) recently told *Frontline*, the newsletter of the Conservative Action Foundation, that the problem-plagued B-1 bomber is just fine. It flies. In fact, Dornan claimed he recently flew in one. Said Dornan: "As we were flying some practice runs, I asked the pilot whether they got many noise complaints from local freeze-niks. He told me that when they call, the servicemen simply tell the caller, 'I'm sorry, sir, but that's the sound of freedom!'"

Right-wing coup in Anaheim

California Republican Party efforts to present a reasonable public image have failed. At a state convention in Anaheim last month party leaders were off the floor refereeing a spat between Young Republicans when right-wingers seized control of the convention. Party zealots then passed a resolution demanding that Republican Gov. George Deukmejian "prosecute" two groups that are distributing "obscene and pornographic AIDS-education materials." According to the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, the coup was led by Ezola Foster of Black Americans for Family Values. In her speech to the convention Foster also condemned the head of the governor's AIDS task force, Bruce Decker, for describing himself to the press as the governor's "in-house fairy." Applauded by the convention delegates, Foster was then arrested at the behest of party officials and charged with suspicion of trespassing.

Gulag Leavenworth

Jacek Czaputowicz, a one-time political prisoner in Poland, had been invited to a September 27 dinner for Vice President George Bush at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. But then the embassy suddenly asked him to decline the invitation. It seems that Czaputowicz, who was imprisoned for eight months in 1986 for supporting Polish draft resisters, was planning to protest to Bush the U.S. imprisonment of Gillam Kerley of Madison, Wis. Kerley, a Selective Service non-registrant and the executive director of the national Committee Against Registration for the Draft, began serving three years in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas last May for what the Wisconsin judge who sentenced him described as "continuing criminal activities" in aiding and abetting other draft resisters. In August Kerley was moved to a prison isolation unit as punishment for having written a letter to the *Kansas City Star*. That letter alerted the paper to a new prison regulation that forbids unauthorized contact with the news media.

Waste runneth over

If you want to get truly disgusted read *Waste Management Inc.: The Greenpeace Report*. The environmental group's 64-page study, borrowing an idea from *Harper's* "Index," lists five pages of facts about WMI, the world's largest waste-disposal company. Among the many nefarious items:

- Estimated total of penalties paid by Waste Management for environmental violations, 1981-86: \$31 million.
- Estimated average time it took the company to gain \$31 million in gross revenues, 1986: six days.
- Number of incinerator ships operated by Waste Management: two.
- Number of operational incinerator ships in the world: two.
- Last time ocean incineration was allowed in U.S. waters: August 1982.
- Amount of PCB-laden waste oil incinerated on the ships, August 1982: 800,000 gallons.
- Estimated company earnings from 1982 U.S. ocean incineration operations: \$3 million.
- Reason why the company finds its current incineration operation in the North Sea so lucrative: lack of international environmental controls.
- Items on Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) walls that cause the EPA inspector general to rebuke officials for creating the "appearance of favoritism," 1983: Waste Management Inc. calendars.