

## Report on Earth Day: the good, the bad and the future

Earth Day turned out, mostly but not entirely, as expected: a torrent of grotesque corporate PR and almost equally toxic Gaian odes to personal responsibility. It was like being force-fed Werner Erhard to the tune of a Coke commercial.

This is not necessarily to despise the ambitions and efforts of the national Earth Day organizers. Their best hope was probably that the Earth Day anniversary would provoke some consciousness-raising about what actually has happened since the first Earth Day in 1970 (everything got worse) and what needs to be done. The fact that Earth Day became a passing entry on corporate advertising budgets is an inevitable part of the price of admission if you decide to go in for one of these Hands-Across-America affairs.

So far as any decently radical and activist environmental agenda is concerned, Earth Day will have served a useful purpose if it awoke some people to the following:

- The 20 years since Earth Day 1970 saw the U.S. get dirtier, with the price of corporate fouling levied most heavily on the poor and the non-white.

- The main environmental groups are white (see story on page 8), elitist, undemocratic, dominated by conservative trustees, increasingly reliant on corporate subsidy and hog-tied by Washington lawyers and lobbyists.

- An environmental movement that doesn't include among its concerns the biosphere of a black slum in the U.S. and, say, the unavailability of safe water for about 90 percent of the population of El Salvador (and the reason for both conditions) isn't worth joining.

- The time now, over the next year or so, is ripe for the development of a radical environmental organization, hopefully stemming from cooperative discussion among left greens, some Earth First! groups, anti-toxics groups, labor organizations, sections of the Central American solidarity movement and so forth.

**Exception to the rule:** I had the pleasure of passing Earth Day as an invited speaker at the Milwaukee Green Earth Festival, which was probably one of the best events of this sort across the country because it was consciously directed toward establishing the sort of coalitions and politics gestured at in the preceding paragraph.

Longtime community organizers Rae Vogeler and Mike Wunsch, along with hundreds of volunteer organizers, managed in three and a half months to put together a day that was both fun for the 15,000 people who showed up at one time or another in the area of Wisconsin Avenue and 24th Street and also politically serious.

Milwaukee is one of the most segregated cities in the U.S. A couple of weeks ago black city alderman and former Black Panther Michael McGee raised a national commotion by announcing that two decades of "development" in Milwaukee—a familiar chronicle of sports stadium, sprouting downtown skyline, etc.—had left the black ghetto untouched, and he was now organizing a black militia prepared to use violence to achieve justice (see *In These Times*, April 25).

"We wanted involvement with the black

## ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

community," Wunsch told me after the event. They were successful. The neighborhood they chose to have the festival in was on the edge of a black area, and this accessibility got results. "I've been in Milwaukee 11 years," Wunsch remarked, "and no event I've been at, including sports, was as integrated as this."

The organizers kept their distance from corporate donors. Their group accepted a contribution only from Aveda (organic cosmetics, \$5,000), and Wunsch and Vogeler weren't too happy even about that.

The event's \$20,000 price tag was paid for by collections at the procession, proceeds from a Holly Near Claudia Schmidt concert the next day and \$4,000 from the Michigan Foundation. Having invited Mayor John Norquist and Secretary of State Doug LaFollette as speakers early on, they then turned down mainstream politicians who were increasingly eager to jump on board, with Wunsch finally putting the phone down on an importunate aide of Wisconsin's junior senator, millionaire Herb Kohl.

"What we wanted," Wunsch said, "was to get a radical analysis of the causes of pollution, expand the environmental movement beyond its white middle-class base, give grass-roots organizations a good venue for organizing, attract a lot of people and thus get beyond the workshop approach."

They went a long way toward realizing these ambitions, even if, as Wunsch admitted, they were a bit too successful in getting beyond the "workshop approach." Dave Henson, of Environmental Project on Central America (EPOCA), and I found ourselves lecturing to what could be tactfully described as compact audiences in the basement of the Central United Methodist Church, while the masses enjoyed themselves listening to the bands in the nearby park or the Central Park building.

The procession also showed the results of good organizing. There were groups from the United Auto Workers and the Amalgamated Transit Union and brewery workers as well as contingents from the inner city and Native Americans in spectacular gear. I kept hoping for an encounter between a Chippewa wearing a fine wolf head and an Animal Rights chap 50 yards back in the line.

The program had good politics too, cautioning people against Pogoism ("We've met the enemy and they are Us"), and reminding people that most of the mess is made by Them—in other words, corporations for whom filth is an integral part of the beefier bottom line.

So in Milwaukee they tried to show the connections between the environmental

and the social, and people ambled cheerfully from table to table—Jobs with Peace, Mobilization for Survival, Greenpeace, housing groups—to see the programs and strategies being offered.

**The New York difference:** Contrast this with what went on in New York, as described by two of my *Nation* colleagues, Peter Rothberg and JoAnn Wypijewski. Peter went to the huge gathering in Central Park and JoAnn to the action to shut down Wall Street on April 23, the morning after Earth Day.

The main Earth Day ceremonies in New York turned out to have consisted primarily of an "eco-fair" running along Sixth Avenue from 42nd Street to 59th Street and a rally in Central Park featuring bigwigs from the music, political and show business worlds. The tone of the entire event was apolitical and resolutely Pogoistic. Lots about recycl-

**How do you get people behind some program to save the atmosphere when you talk about ozone and they're living in a crummy apartment, choking on the car exhaust from the street below and have nowhere to escape to?**

ing, with individual accountability stressed and corporate accountability ignored.

Many corporations, in fact, had tables, displays and PR teams out in force. Con Edison, Alpha Paper and General Motors all had prominent exhibitions advertising their awareness of environmental peril. All talked of the imperative of recycling and conservation of resources. A friend of Peter's asked a Con Ed spokesman about the contradiction posed by a company in the business of selling energy simultaneously proclaiming the need to conserve (which its PR literature does). "There's no contradiction," the flack chirped. "It's just a matter of being responsible and cleaning up the environment."

Almost every mainstream environmental group had tables: Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) and New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG) were all very visible. The principal focus of EDF and NYPIRG's literature and displays was recycling, with sermons on what the individual could do. Both pressed the importance of political lobbying.

If you really want to help the environment, someone from NYPIRG told Peter, lobby your Congress member to support the Clean Air Act. When he asked an EDF spokesman about the potential perils of corporate sponsorship of the environmental movement, he was told he was being unfair and biased because "some corporations are doing really good things." When Peter's friend put a similar question to someone from NYPIRG, he was told that corporate sponsorship was too controversial a topic for the spokesman to comment on and was asked not to bother other NYPIRGers with such questions.

The most striking thing about New York's event was its composition. Young wealthy whites dominated. The tone was reminiscent of a huge fraternity party, especially when one got to the park, with beer and marijuana in flagrant abundance. The vast majority of people had obviously come to drink beer and listen to music. The crowd intermittently booed the speakers. When actress Susan Sarandon asked the crowd, "Why are we here today?" many in the crowd could be heard bellowing in response, "For the music." They left behind a horrible mess of beer bottles, cigarette butts and candy wrappers.

In tune with the incredible "whiteness" of the crowd, the performers chosen were sure to appeal to white audiences. The Roches, Hall and Oates, the B-52s and Edie Brickell all have predominantly white audiences, and the only black performer, Ben E. King, played for all of eight minutes. Peter says Earth Day was the "whitest event I've ever been to in NYC except for a Rangers hockey game I took in a few years back."

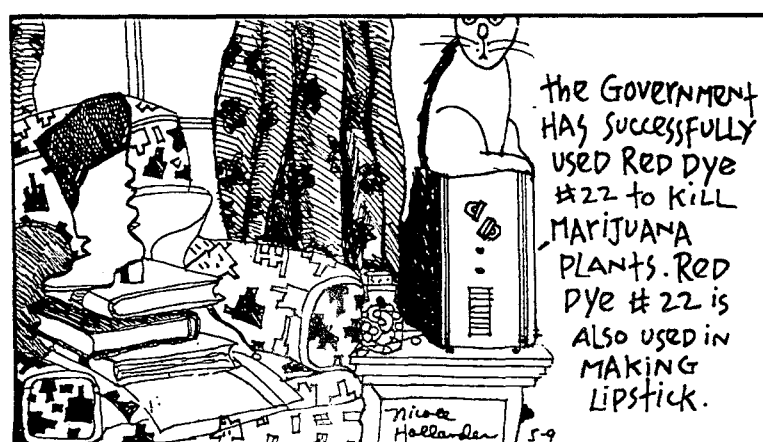
On April 22 JoAnn went to a local Earth Day event on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. On either side of 4th Street between Avenues C and D, in the heart of an extremely depressed and drug-ridden district where lots nearby are littered with burned-out cars, old sofas, single shows and the other familiar indicators of social disarray, there are two community gardens. One, an exceptionally peaceful and well-designed place called Paroque de Tranquilidad, and the other a sort of work in progress.

Those gardens and others like them in the Lower East Side are shepherded to some extent by a group called the Green Guerrillas, and it is this group that held the event—basically a day for tree planting, for recognizing the gardeners who work, for interesting others who might want to garden and for passing out such useful information as details about alternatives to plastic diapers.

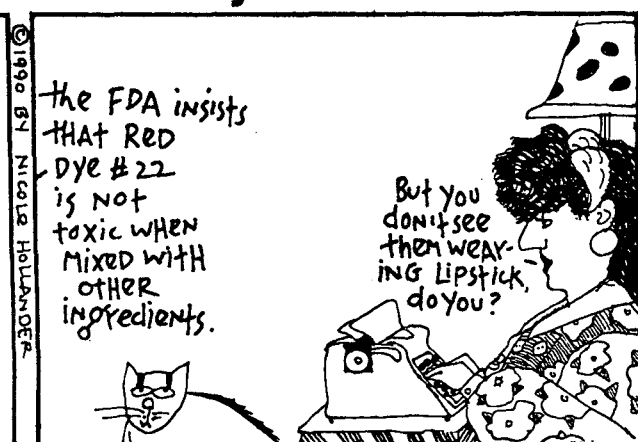
In the context of a neighborhood where lots of people hang out on the street, especially in the summer when their apartments become too hot, this type of street event—casual, with live jazz by a group of teenagers of various ethnic origin, ad-hoc games and kite making for kids—seemed appropriate,

*Continued on following page*

## SYLVIA



## by Nicole Hollander





# Earth Day

Continued from preceding page  
and in that same context so did its cause for celebration: the creation of gardens in an otherwise fairly hostile environment. There was no pretense about saving the world, only the recognition that on the most basic level, the neighborhood people were doing something collectively that improved the actual conditions of life and that had at least a marginal ecological benefit.

The larger questions seemed to be more understood than raised: in a neighborhood full of poor people, the notion of ecology is best expressed in something as solid as a garden, and the need and importance of that garden cannot be separated from the other vital things on the neighborhood's agenda—housing, jobs, urban redevelopment. Half the spectators and tree planters were black or Hispanic. Of course, the matter of the urban environment—what it is, how it can be made less alienating—was not very high on the agenda of the main Earth Day events (if there at all). But how do you get people behind some program to save the atmosphere, say, when you talk about ozone and they're living in a crummy apartment, choking on the car and truck exhaust from the street below and have nowhere to escape to?

The Wall Street action promised more

than it delivered. Weeks ago the organizers of the event came out with a 64-page "Action Handbook," typeset, with illustrations, essays by prominent people, a reading list in the back, an outline of the day's events and a sizable list of contact numbers. This was selling for \$1, and along with this there were posters advertising the action. The "endorsers" included EPOCA, Mobilization for Survival, National Toxics Campaign, Love Canal Homeowners Association, War Resisters League, Clamshell Alliance, Green groups from throughout New England, Vermont Pledge of Resistance—in other words, a lot of folks who have experience in direct actions. There were also various Earth First! contingents and collectives like Red Balloon, groups of anarchist friends.

The difficulty seems to have been that the effort to close down Wall Street was scheduled to begin at 6 a.m., at which time about 1,000 demonstrators emerged from the subways to be confronted by overwhelming police force. Even by the time JoAnn arrived, at about 10 a.m., there were cops everywhere—at the subway station entrances, in front of every corporate building, lining the streets on foot and on horseback, sitting in police cars and special police vans, sitting even in buses apparently hired for the occasion. Against the weight of such force, it was impossible to carry out any of the demonstrat-

ors' planned strategies, and arrests of more than 200 people commenced at about 7 a.m. By about 12:30 p.m., people released from jail emerged to find a couple of thousand new arrivals for a rally at the Federal Building, with crowds of Wall Streeters on hand to observe.

So perhaps it was the early hour that prevented large numbers from participating at the outset. But some at the demo challenge the view that there had been careful advance coordination. JoAnn talked to a fellow who said that at the planning meeting he attended the night before—which he said seemed to him as if it were one of very few such meetings held—the attitude was "Whatever your affinity group wants to do, that's cool." No leaders, therefore no organization. A group of people who had come down from Ohio apparently said, "We're just five people from Ohio; what can we do?"

After the early waves of arrests, when the best-organized groups were in jail, the demonstration had more the timbre of an anarchist frolic, with people tearing up dollar bills, shouting "Jump" to those peering out of office windows—essentially doing nothing likely to impress Wall Streeters with a sense that this was a serious opposition to their way of life.

The anti-AIDS group ACT-UP disrupted the Stock Exchange last year. They had a highly

orchestrated sit-in, and when that was broken up by the police, they infiltrated number of well-dressed men with faked IDs into the building, who then chained themselves to fixtures and berated the corporate traders for the actions of their company. When they took to St. Patrick's Cathedral and interrupted the Mass, that too was a highly organized action. ACT-UP constantly passes self-criticism about whether it's being too white, too male, too hierarchical, etc., but in the end it drafts a plan, organizes people into groups and they know what their movements are to be.

From the police presence on Wall Street, it's clear that you can still scare the ruling groups with a good come on, but when you don't deliver, you've done more than just hold a disappointing demonstration. You've shown that there's no real reason for them to be scared next time, or any time.

That was the bottom line of Earth Day. Power, in the form of powerful people as opposed to empowered people, wasn't scared at all. George Bush was so unscared that he actually took the opportunity of his Earth Day message to herald his plan to empower the oil companies to start drilling off the coast of California.

Let's organize so they're scared by the time another "Earth Day" rolls around. ■  
Distributed by LA Weekly.

## SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

### MOVING?

Send changes with old mailing label to:  
**In These Times**  
1912 Debs Ave.  
Mt. Morris, IL 61054

### PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write or call:  
**1-800-435-0715 (National)**  
**1-800-892-0753 (Illinois)**

# Gift

**GIVE**  
**IN THESE TIMES**  
**OFFER**

**In These Times**  
1912 Debs Ave.  
Mt. Morris, IL 61054

MY NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send my first gift to:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ X1990A

☐ \$34.95 one year ☐ \$18.95 for 29 issues  
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

Send my second gift to:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ X1990A

☐ \$24.95 one year ☐ \$16.95 for 29 issues  
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

Send my third gift to:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ X1990A

☐ \$19.95 one year ☐ \$14.95 for 29 issues  
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

☐ Payment enclosed.  
☐ Bill me later.  
☐ Charge my MC/Visa

# \_\_\_\_\_ exp. date \_\_\_\_\_

Or call our toll free number 1-800-435-0715. In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753.

A gift card will be sent announcing your gift.

Please write any additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper. Each gift being sent to Canada or Mexico, please add \$6.50 postage for 29 issues and \$13.00 for one year. All other foreign orders add \$23.20 for 29 issues or \$33.00 for one year.

## Namibia

Continued from page 13

policy, it appears the new government will not test the decree's validity, preferring to work with the corporations rather than against them.

Namibia's fishing industry also suffers from exploitation. A 1989 U.N. report said that after a peak catch of almost 1.4 million tons of fish in 1968, the catch "has drastically declined to an average level of 90,000 tons per annum, a classic case of depletion through over-exploitation." Because Namibia did not have its own government, and South Africa's authority was not internationally recognized, Namibia is one of the few countries in the world without a 200-nautical-mile exclusion zone to protect its fishing waters. This opportunity was exploited by the International Commission for South-East Atlantic Fisheries (ICSEAF), whose members overfished Namibian waters because they lacked any kind of policing. While Nujoma says Namibia plans to give "highest priority" to establishing 200-nautical-mile limit, there is no navy or coast guard to enforce that limit or quotas on catches.

**Disputed territory:** In any discussion of Namibia's economy, Walvis Bay must be considered. This enclave midway up the Atlantic coast is vital to the security, even the sovereignty, of Namibia. Because the bay was a British colony—and not German, as was the rest of Namibia—South Africa claims the area is not part of the territorial mandate, and thus not a part of Namibia. No one, least of all the Namibians who specified Walvis Bay as Namibian territory in the new constitution, accepts the claim that the bay is part of South Africa.

But the South African flag still flies over the bay, and to reach the enclave from Swakopmund, 30 kilometers away, travelers must pass through a passport control point. Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep-water port, though which virtually all goods imported or exported must pass. Pretoria maintains a light-infantry battalion of 1,700 troops there—"one hard-hitting mobile force able

to operate anywhere," its commandant says—but the naval base is being dismantled.

While there are obvious economic reasons for holding onto Walvis Bay, University of Namibia political science professor Gerard Töttemeyer says, "It's more for psychological reasons that they stay on in Walvis Bay... [Pretoria] can say to the whites, 'See, we are still very much represented in Namibia.'" While he says South Africa would not hesitate to intervene in Namibia if it felt its interests were threatened, cooling tensions, the withdrawal of Cuba from Angola and the unbanning of the African National Congress—making it unlikely that Namibia would allow ANC guerrillas to train in the country—make the possibility remote that Windhoek would give the SADF any pretext to intervene.

The conflicting claims have the bizarre effect of Namibia calling for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa—at least in the case of the port. Nujoma wrote to the U.N. in March requesting the lifting of economic sanctions against Namibia, including Walvis Bay, and the oil embargo against the bay. "From March 21, Walvis Bay should be recognized as the bona fide port of entry to Namibia for refined oil products and other goods," he wrote. The U.N. has not lifted the embargo.

For decades, South Africa used Namibia as a testing ground for its apartheid policies. Now the process is being turned on its head. Namibia has become the testing ground for democracy that could open the way to change in South Africa. As Gwen Lister, editor of *The Namibian* newspaper, writes, "Apart from setting an example to the skeptics in Namibia itself... [South Africans] have seen for themselves how things proceeded smoothly in Namibia and, having allowed 435 to go ahead in this country, now feel they have the courage to try a few reforms themselves." □

**Jim Wurst** specializes in United Nations and international-security issues. He was recently in Namibia on a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.



By John Russo

**T**HE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS long had an uneasy relationship with the Catholic Church. In labor's view, Catholic social teaching often conflicted with union membership's needs, while on a day-to-day level, Church support of union-organizing efforts was inconsistent. But in 1986, with the publication of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on Catholic social teaching entitled "Economic Justice for All," things took a turn for the better. Church-union relations had been improving for 30 years, but the 1986 pastoral letter seemed definitively to place labor—not capital—at the center of the church's concerns. The bishops unequivocally supported the rights of workers to form unions and "firmly opposed organizing efforts, such as those regrettably now seen in this country, to break existing unions and prevent workers from organizing."

Only four years into this new relationship, however, tensions between labor and the church are again high—in part because of the debate over pro-choice resolutions before the AFL-CIO executive committee, and in part because of strong church opposition to union-organizing efforts at Catholic institutions.

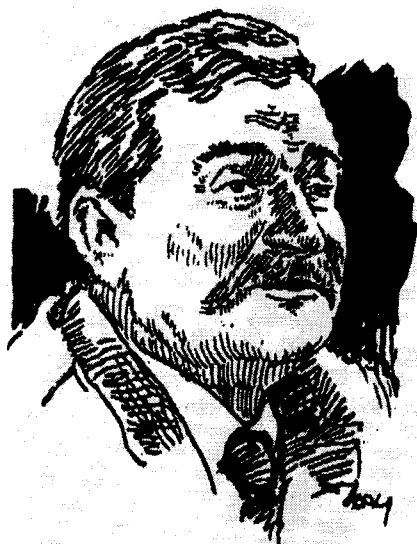
**The AFL-CIO and pro-choice:** For 17 years the AFL-CIO has had a "no position" policy on abortion. But changing demographics within the labor movement have resulted in greater sensitivity by union leaders about women and minorities. This new concern was reflected at the AFL-CIO convention in November when the delegates referred six pro-choice resolutions to its executive committee with instructions to develop a new federation policy for its 90 union affiliates. Using the resolutions as a guideline, the executive committee has begun formulating its policy statement in preparation for its meeting next month.

The pro-choice resolutions proposed that the AFL-CIO oppose efforts by politicians and judges to restrict reproductive choice and that the federation work for legislation that would overturn *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* and against state legislation to restrict reproductive freedom. In addition, they would commit the union to support women's rights to legal abortion and access to health care and family-planning services, including prenatal health care, regardless of ability to pay.

These pro-choice policy proposals by the 14-million-member federation sent shock waves through the Catholic hierarchy and the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC). In response the NRLC issued a strong *Legislative Alert* to all Catholic diocese warning that the passage of a resolution supporting pro-choice will "unleash the AFL-CIO's massive organizational resources in support of the pro-abortion cause." According to the NRLC, this would include AFL-CIO staff lobbying in support of pro-abortion legislation and use of its "political apparatus" to defeat pro-life congressmen or to pressure them into abandoning pro-life positions.

The *Legislative Alert* and lobbying materials have been disseminated to all U.S. Catholic diocese. Church leaders have justified the use of the diocesan network on the ground that the "no position" policy by the

## Tensions run high again between unions, Catholics



**IF RADICAL PRO-ABORTION FEMINISTS HAVE THEIR WAY, EVEN LECH WALESA COULDN'T BE ENDORSED FOR POLITICAL OFFICE IN 1990.**

Detail of a poster distributed by the Ohio Right to Life Society Educational Fund.

AFL-CIO indirectly supports Catholic teaching on abortion.

And NLRC lobbying efforts have begun to show results. Writing in the *Catholic Exponent*, Monsignor George G. Higgins, the dean of Catholic labor scholars, has suggested that if the AFL-CIO reverses its neutrality position, "it will suffer dire consequences" and will risk alienating large segments of its membership at a time when it needs unity and solidarity. Cardinal John O'Connor of New York has urged in his weekly column in the archdiocese newsletter that the AFL-CIO reject the abortion resolutions that have been pushed under the guise of pro-choice. Clearly, when it comes to Catholic teaching on abortion, the Catholic hierarchy is only too willing to provide moral and political leadership to their flock.

**Catholic cemetery workers:** Enforcing Catholic social teaching in other areas such as organizing unions in Catholic institutions (schools, hospitals, nursing homes and cemeteries) is, however, another story. In such cases, the church hierarchy's moral and ethical leadership and support for unions and other social groups dissolves.

The experience of the Catholic Cemetery Workers of Los Angeles (CCWLA) is an example of this gap between Catholic rhetoric on unions and church officials' behavior. In April 1988, CCWLA requested organizing assistance from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) after cemetery workers discovered that their annual Christmas bonus had been discontinued and that a deceased employee's life insurance had been cancelled. The rationale given to employees was that the church needed the money to pay for the pope's visit to Los Angeles in 1988.

Within two months, 85 percent of the CCWLA had signed authorization cards and ACTWU requested union recognition from the archdiocese and its archbishop, Roger Mahony. Based on his past support of union organizing activities, especially those of the United Farmworkers of America, ACTWU had every reason to believe that Mahony would grant union recognition. They were mistaken.

The archbishop denied the request but directed ACTWU to seek a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election. Then, at the

NLRB hearing, the archdiocese claimed that the CCWLA were "religious workers" over whom the NLRB had no jurisdiction.

After the NLRB agreed with the archdiocese, the ACTWU petitioned Mahony for an independent election supervised by a neutral third party. This incensed Mahony, who charged that ACTWU had forced employees to sign authorization cards. "I've been around unions enough to know how you get people to sign cards," Mahony told the *Los Angeles Times*. "You have a big rally, serve a lot of food and drink and get people ... to sign cards." Angered by the archbishop's remarks and aware that they would be used by anti-union employees in other organizing efforts, CCWLA and ACTWU asked for public letters of support from other labor and community groups.

With community pressure building, an embarrassed archbishop—citing Catholic social teaching—finally directed the archdiocese to seek the third-party election the union had proposed. In November 1988, the archdiocese and CCWLA reached an agreement to have a representation election in January 1989 conducted by the California State Mediation and Conciliation Services.

But the archdiocese hadn't given in. Instead they hired Carlos Restrepo, a notorious anti-union consultant, to coordinate its anti-union campaign. Restrepo helped organize a "company union" and engaged in numerous union-avoidance strategies. Even so, on Feb. 8, 1989, a narrow majority of cemetery workers voted to be represented by ACTWU. Successful in cutting union support, Restrepo and the archdiocese delayed negotiations and initiated a campaign to overturn the election.

The archdiocese demanded an arbitration of its election objections, but when the union agreed, the archdiocese sought three separate delays, during which it fired several union supporters for "conduct that is inconsistent with the work and mission of the sacred ministry of Catholic cemeteries." And Mahony became more involved in the anti-union campaign. According to *Time* magazine, the archbishop was given a \$400,000 jet-powered helicopter by "anonymous businessmen" to fly to the various cemeteries to give anti-union captive-audiences speeches.

In December, an arbitrator finally ruled that the union election was valid, and on Jan. 4, 1990—almost two years after the organizing drive started—the cemetery workers began negotiations with the Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles. Three weeks later, however, the archdiocese terminated negotiations and called for another election. Almost immediately another "election" was held without ACTWU participation. This time the cemetery workers voted for "no union." ACTWU is currently contesting its validity.

Mahony's actions raise serious questions about adherence to Catholic social teaching as well as his personal motivation. Many labor unionists in California have suggested that Mahony needs conservative support in order to become a cardinal in the Catholic Church. What better way to win conservative support and a red hat than by union bashing?

**St. Elizabeth's Hospital:** A similar situation has developed at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Youngstown, Ohio. The Youngstown Diocese is under the direction of Bishop James Malone, formerly president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the man largely responsible for the 1986 pastoral letter.

As a result of changes in employment conditions and declining morale, employees at St. Elizabeth's Hospital have considered organizing a union. To thwart them before their efforts got off the ground in the spring of 1989, the hospital administration, the Sisters of Humility, hired Independence, Mo.-based Management Science Associates (MSA) as employee-relations consultants.

According to the AFL-CIO's *Reports on Union-Busters*, MSA specializes in "preventative labor relations," or the use of applied psychology and sophisticated attitudinal surveys to defeat union-organizing efforts.

As part of their services, MSA provides extensive supervisory training. At St. Elizabeth's, MSA organized training seminars for supervisors using their 160-page standard text, *Positive Employee Relations and Union Free Management: A Health Care Supervisor's Manual for Improving Employee Relations and Maintaining Non-Union Status*.

While Malone has no control over the actual running of the hospital, it is in his diocese and he has not chosen to speak out or exert his moral authority concerning violations of both the intent and spirit of the pastoral letter that he helped draft.

Likewise other church leaders, including a pope who claims affinity with the working class, have not spoken out concerning the actions of Catholic institutions that, like the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, openly engage in anti-union activity.

To many in the religious labor community, the silence indicates a continued hypocrisy and situational ethics practiced by the church hierarchy in regard to Catholic social teaching. Others merely see the church leaders as practicing the same "cafeteria Catholicism" that they so often complain about to their parishioners. That is, they pick and choose which church doctrines to live by. They don't perform abortions at Catholic hospitals in Los Angeles or Youngstown because of Catholic social teaching, but these same church leaders are only too willing to abort those who seek to improve labor and human rights.

John Russo is director of the labor studies program at Youngstown State University.