Kathryn O'Donnell Howard Besser Intro to MIAP 7 December 2010 Final Paper

#### Introduction

The following is my plan for an exhibition of Deep Dish TV's labor movement videos. This exhibition will be the sixth in a series produced by Deep Dish TV, called DIY Series: Movement Perspectives on Critical Moments. I have worked with Brian Drolet and Mark Read, of Deep Dish TV, to select four videos from their archive about the labor movement for this exhibition, which will be held in mid-late February. Fifteen-minute excerpts (avg.) from each of the four videos will be screened and a panel discussion will follow. After the exhibition, a DVD featuring the full-length videos, the screener, and a video of the panel discussion will be released. The theme of this exhibition is the decline of the American labor movement and the rise of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s. This paper includes: a brief history of Deep Dish TV, a brief history of the DIY Media Series, descriptions of the videos and why I chose them, background information on the American labor movement, its decline, and Globalization, information about securing permission from the producers and the Gallatin theater, a list of potential guest speakers I have contacted, and questions I will pose to the panel.

### Deep Dish TV

"Deep Dish is a grassroots video production and distribution company that focuses on key issues of social and economic justice. Formed in 1986, it is a non profit that produces multi part series and individual programs that bring together the work of many independent producers, editors, artists, videographers, and collages them into thematic programs," says Brian Drolet, Deep Dish TV's current Acting Director. "Deep Dish TV is the first national satellite network. It was launched in 1986 by Paper Tiger TV as a distribution network, linking independent producers, programmers, community-based activists and viewers who support movements for social change and economic justice" (Deep Dish TV 2). Deep Dish broadcasts its programs on public access television and frequently screens and distributes DVDs of their programs (Deep Dish TV 2).

Over the years it has, "produced and distributed over 300 hours of television series that challenge the suppression of awareness, the corruption of language, and the perversion of logic that characterizes so much of corporate media" (Deep Dish TV 1). In addition to collaborating with other producers and artists, Deep Dish also partners with Paper Tiger TV, INN World Reports, and Independent Media Centers (Deep Dish TV 1). Brian Drolet became the Acting Director in 2005 when Tom Poole, the Director of Deep Dish, took a job in Philadelphia. Mark Read starting working at Deep Dish TV in 2007 and is the Co-Director.

#### **DIY Media Series: Movement Perspectives on Critical Moments**

In 2008, Mark Read began producing the DIY Media Series: Movement Perspectives on Critical Moments. Each episode in the series is centered on a theme, i.e. environmental justice. The producer then reviews all of the videos in Deep Dish's archive that relate to environmental justice, and selects four to five videos to include in the episode. A DVD of the four-five videos is made and distributed by Deep Dish TV. In addition there is a video exhibition where excerpts from each of the four-five videos are screened and discussed by an expert panel and the audience.

"The DIY series emerged out of a recognition that our video archive represents an alternative history of social movements in the United States over the last quarter century, one that ought to be included in library collections and universities, as a counterpoint to the version of history that is authored by the mainstream media," said Mark Read. Deep Dish TV's website states, "The

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mainstream media curates a history for us that is frequently out of sync with the experience of history's actors. This series strives to amend that record and include a "people's history" as an integral part of the story" (Deep Dish TV 3). So far, there have been five episodes in the series.

This episode, the sixth in the series, will be about the labor movement.

The Labor Movement in the 1980s & 1990s:

The Decline in American Union Power & The Rise of Globalization

Production Year: 2011

Runtime: 60 min

Series: DIY Media: Movement Perspectives on Critical Moments

Subject: Labor Studies

Catalogue Number: TBA

This exhibition examines the recent history of the labor movement in the 1980s and 1990s, both in the United States and the international community. Laborers in the videos face problems such as wage cuts, unfair wages, lack of safety on the job, exposure to pesticides and other toxic chemicals, and exploitation by corporations. Labor strikes in the United States are discussed in relation to international labor problems, particularly Free Trade, underscoring why workers from around the world have to fight together. Tactics such as civil disobedience, boycotting, and joining forces with communities, environmentalists, and consumers are utilized and stressed. The panelists will discuss how these videos fit into the greater historical context of the American labor movement, how they relate to the labor movement in America and around the world today, what the current state of the labor movement is, and if the labor movement is effective anymore.

# The Videos & The Excerpts

# Drawing the Line at Pittston (1990, 28min)

"Drawing the Line at Pittston chronicles the yearlong miners strike against the Pittston Mine Company in Virginia, West Virginia and eastern Kentucky in 1989. Though a landmark event in the history of labor (one of the largest labor disputes in the last fifty years), this working people's strike garnered little attention in the mainstream media. Using interviews with striking miners and their families, members of the clergy, labor leaders, students, and others affected by the strike this program documents the gradual political awakening of a community whose livelihood is threatened by corporate greed. This strike proved to be a dramatic symbol for unions everywhere as supporters from around the world rallied behind the United Mine Workers" (Paper Tiger TV).

When I chose the video sequence for this exhibition, I kept in mind an audience quite like myself: students who might not know much about the labor movement but who are interested in learning more about labor issues. Therefore, I chose to open the exhibition with *Drawing the Line at Pittston* because I personally found the image of miners' striking in Appalachia to be one of the more familiar images of the labor movement.

In the beginning of the video a voiceover announces: "The Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, the BCOA, currently represents sixteen coal companies that jointly negotiate labor contracts with the United Mine Workers of America. Since 1950, BCOA members have paid into pension and benefit trusts that provide for mine workers and their families in the event a company ceases operations" ("Drawing the Line at Pittston"). Interviews with mine workers and their families quickly reveal, however, that one of the companies, Pittston Coal Company, did not renew its contract with the United Mine Workers of America when it expired in Feb. 1988, and had left the BCOA. Amongst other setbacks, the health care for retired workers and their wives was cut off ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

Without a contract, they were sometimes forced to work more than eight hours a day. The miners refused to sign the new contract Pittston offered because Pittston wanted the miners to agree to flexible work hours, which would allow Pittston to hire more workers and make each worker work under 40 hours a week, so they could avoid giving workers benefits. Pittston also wanted to be able to lease their mine to other companies when they wanted, thus leaving Pittston miners out of work. The workers stayed on for 14 months in the hope that they could negotiate a

fairer contract ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

Drawing the Line at Pittston reveals who is on the side of Pittston and who is on the side of the UMWA miners. The line is drawn between those who support the labor movement and those who do not. On April 5, 1990, the miners successfully negotiate a contract that they are happy with. But the fact that it takes them almost a year of striking shows how difficult it is for labor to win against corporations. Pittston has more power because it has more money than the union and they have the support of the state behind them. Both the state police and judicial system crack down on the strikers. In addition, for the most part the mainstream media does not cover the strike. When they do, they show the miners in a negative light by saying that they are violent. The miners are not only fighting Pittston, they are fighting the government, and they are fighting the media's representation of them ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

Fortunately, they do have some support. They have the support of the UMWA and other unions as well. Without the union, these men would not have been able to organize and gather support as quickly and successfully as they did. The union and the "union" of unions sets up a system of solidarity. The importance of the women's auxiliary, Daughters of Mother Jones, is stressed. They started protesting over a year before the miners went on strike and they notified the community about the upcoming strike well in advance. Therefore the people were galvanized to support the miners from the get go instead of being saturated with the media's point of view ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

#### At the exhibition I will screen the following excerpts:

<u>00:32-14:26:</u> This excerpt shows the historical strike footage, reasons for the Pittston workers strike, the efforts of the Daughters of Mother Jones to galvanize the community, peaceful protesting, oppression by state police and courts, and ends with the UMWA International President stating, "You take the damn treasury, but you won't take us, and you won't break our strike. We won't quit until we win at Pittston" ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

24:47-28:02: This excerpt shows a man talking about the need to change laws so that this doesn't happen again, a woman speaking about how great it is that the people are standing with the miners, and that the UMWA and Pittston agreed on a contract on Feb. 20 1990 ("Drawing the Line at Pittston").

# The Canary Fights Back: Environmental Action & the Labor Movement Pt. Two (1990, 28min)

"Working people around the country are allying with environmentalists in an effort to protect their families, homes and communities. Once again, the enemy of the labor movement is corporate America, the world's worst polluter. Citing movements in Louisiana, Canada and the Silicon Valley, this program shows coalitions being formed nationally between the two movements" (Deep Dish TV 4).

The first half of this episode discusses the problems that chemical plants in Louisiana are causing for their workers and their surrounding communities. A voiceover states "Louisiana. For almost three centuries the people of this state have made their living from the land and from the water that flowed through it. This balance changed after World War Two with the birth of the modern chemical industry. Today 93 chemical plants stretch along the Mississippi River from Baton Rouge to New Orleans. Together they account for one quarter of the nation's petrol chemical production. BASF-AG [...], the second largest chemical company in the world owns and operates the [...] chemical plant at Geismar, LA. [...] Geismar's 260 operators and 110 maintenance workers have been members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 4620. [...] Early in 1984 BASF was in contract negotiations with OCAW. On June 15, 1984, BASF's negotiators abruptly ended bargaining with the announcement that the 370 members of OCAW local 4620 were locked out of the Geismar plant" ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement"). This is a tactic referred to as a company strike ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement").

The second half of this episode highlights several different environmental issues. First, the grape boycott led by Cesar Chavez is discussed. The grape boycott was called for because the pesticides sprayed on grapes are harmful to both workers and consumers because they can cause birth defects and cancer. Next, workers in Silicon Valley discuss how they are exposed to toxic chemicals on the job and a fireman speaks out about the dangers he and other firemen face when responding to fires at chemical plants. Finally, a successful local residential recycling program is examined. Although most residents' seem happy to recycle, concerns still exist because 60-70% of the waste is created by industry ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement").

# At the exhibition I will screen the following excerpt:

31:00-44:42: This excerpt shows the entire first half of the episode about the Geismar plant lockout. I chose to include this excerpt second because it is similar to *Drawing the Line at Pittston* in the sense that it involves workers striking in one community in America. During the lockout, several accidents occur at the plant. In some instances workers are exposed to chemicals and in other instances chemicals are released into the atmosphere. For years throughout the community, people have been coming down with cancer and they believe that it is a direct result of their exposure to toxic chemicals. The fact that the chemicals are seeping into the air that we all breath stresses that labor's problems are our problems too ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement").

This excerpt also highlights the importance of the alliance between the labor movement and environmentalists. If companies ignore laws and put their workers at risk they also put the community, the people, at risk too. The OCAW members team up with environmentalists and take air samples every day at different times of the day. They notice that the level of toxic chemicals is higher at night after state officials have gone home. We need the environmentalists to stand up for both the workers and the community because they are educated about problems such as harmful chemical emissions ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement").

Latinos and Labor Program 3: Four Dollars a Day? No Way! Joining Hands Across Borders:

A program by American Labor Education Center about Mexico, Free Trade, and Runaway

Corporations (1992, 28min)

"This program looks at how "Free Trade" agreements affect workers in Mexico and the United States, with a close up look at the Ford plant" (Deep Dish TV 5).

This video looks at one strike in particular, at a Ford plant in Cuautitlan, Mexico, and the opposition they face from their company, the Mexican government, and Globalization. I have decided to take the audience outside of the United States for the third video, but not too far. In Mexico, the connections between Mexican labor problems and American labor problems are made evident. The audience is able to step back and see some of the bigger underlying issues going on in the international labor community in the 1980s and 1990s ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

First, the effects of Free Trade in Mexico are discussed. The relationship between multinational corporations and Mexican workers is examined. The viewers learn that raw materials are sent to Mexico to be assembled at a low cost because Mexican workers earn 20 times less than American workers. As a result most Mexicans live in poverty. To add insult to injury, most Mexicans can't even afford to purchase the goods they make because the prices are the same as in the United States. The multinational corporations dump toxic waste on land and in water. The workers don't have health and safety standards on the job ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

The audience then learns that The National Labor Federation, the CTM, supports the companies because they are part of the political party that has ruled Mexico for over 60 years. They are often sent in to break up strikes by harassing, beating, and shooting at workers. At the strike in Cuautitlan, Mexico, the CTM is sent in to break up the strike. Workers are shot at and one is fatally wounded. Social security records show that Ford hired these "thugs" two days before the strike, but Ford denies this. Due to pressure, the voters are allowed to vote for a new union. However, voters have to vote out loud either for or against the CTM. Between intimidation and fraud, CTM wins ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

The shooting of striking workers is indeed upsetting, especially to Americans. Yet one can argue that the American laborers are being murdered through different means: chemical emissions and low standards of safety and living that shorten lives. American members of Ford

unions from Minnesota and Kansas City go to show their support and scope out the situation in Cuautitlan. They fear that if they don't support the Mexican workers, the same thing could happen to them in the future. The effects of Free Trade in Canada and the United States are addressed. In Canada, the corporations don't want to fund health care because they say it is the government's responsibility. In the United States, workers are upset about losing jobs to third world countries, like Mexico, where workers are paid much less ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

Other Mexican strikes are highlighted, including the strike of the teachers. In Mexico, teachers earn \$70 a week because the corporations don't pay taxes to support education. The teachers are also upset because the curriculum they are forced to teach encourages obedience, so that the children will grow up to be good workers. This shows that the government is teaching the next generation to be more obedient so that they don't fight for their rights ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

# At the exhibition I will screen the following excerpt:

30:52-45:46: This excerpt shows the Ford Strike in Cuautitlan, background information on free trade, living and working conditions in Mexico, solidarity of Ford workers in Mexico, Canada, and the United States, fraudulent union elections, the fight of teachers for higher pay and better curriculum, national voting fraud, and the Mexican government's violence against protests ("Latinos and Labor Program 3").

### Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle (1999, 28min)

"The Steelworkers' rally/march is met with Police teargas when they venture too close to other protesters. Mary Reeves (National Lawyers Guild) and attorney Amy Kratz examine the legal issues posed by the Police abuse of civil liberties. A segment on Filipino Labor History with Dr. Carol Pagaduan (Araullo-BAYAN) and activist Liza Largoza-Maza Gabriela. A look at Indigenous issues and the WTO with Tom Gold Tooth (Indigenous Environmental Network), Ciprianna Jurapo (Center for Investigation and Worker Solidarity), and Carol Kalafatic (International Indian Treaty Council). A critical look at how the media has covered the protests and a revealing video verite walk with a WTO delegate" (Deep Dish TV 6).

I have chosen to screen *Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle* last because it is the most recent video and in some ways is remembered as one of labor's last great shows of support. Additionally, it revisits a lot of the issues raised in the first three videos. Members of various labor unions, environmentalist organizations, and human rights organizations, from America and the international community come together to protest the WTO ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle").

This video opens with a voiceover saying, "The WTO – "the only international organization dealing with the global rules of trade between nations. Its main function is to ensure that trade flow as smoothly, freely, and predictably as possible. The result is a more peaceful, prosperous, and countable economic world" ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle").

Through interviews with various people, the audience learns about the negative effects that Free Trade and the policies promoted by the WTO have had on workers and the environment. The effects of U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines is explored. There, the minimum wage is \$4.85 a day and the cost of living is \$10.92 a day. Many women leave to become domestic workers or sex slaves. The Philippines is the number one exporter of human labor. It is estimated that 2,000 workers leave every day and that three dead bodies return daily. This shows how we are all connected even more now through Globalization ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle").

The contradiction between mainstream media coverage and the coverage of this video are shown. Showdown shows footage of police using teargas and rubber bullets on the peaceful protestors. Legal observers from the National Lawyer Guild are appalled and say that it was "completely unprovoked." The protestors shout, "The whole world is watching, the whole world

is watching" ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle"). Sadly, the mainstream media in America is only focused on the negative aspects of the protest, i.e. the few people who looted, and doesn't discuss why the people are protesting in the first place. In India, however, the shut down of the WTO is celebrated. This leaves the audience with the idea that they can't believe everything they are told in the media and gets them thinking about the effects of Globalization. Hopefully it will get more people to research these issues and support all those workers who suffer injustices around the world ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle")

## At the exhibition I will screen the following excerpts:

<u>00:31-05:20:</u> This excerpt shows background info on the WTO, the steelworkers and environmentalists protesting together, and protestors looking forward to a peaceful, successful protest ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle").

15:53-24:55: This excerpt shows the peaceful protestors being shot at, tear gassed, and beaten, legal observers express their sadness and anger at the way the protestors are being treated, and the treatment of the protests by the mainstream media is examined ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle").

The labor movement is defined "as an organized attempt by workers to improve their status by united action (particularly via labor unions) or the leaders of this movement" (WordNet 3.0).

A Wall Street Journal article published on Jan 23, 2010 states that in 2009, "Private-sector unions lost 834,000 members, bringing membership down to 7.2% of the private-sector work force, from 7.6% the year before. The broader drop in U.S. employment and a small gain by public-sector unions helped keep the total share of union membership flat at 12.3% in 2009. In the early 1980s, unions represented 20% of workers. [...] The manufacturing sector and construction industries [...] were hit particularly hard in the recession by the credit crisis and global downturn, which damped demand for industrial goods" (Maher).

This is not the first rise and dip in union membership. During World War I, membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) grew to nearly four million, because, "the AFL under President Gompers' leadership worked in close cooperation with President Wilson to ensure industrial peace and a steady flow of military equipment and armaments for the American Expeditionary Force in Europe" (American Labor Studies Center). After the war, wages dropped due to an economic depression. The National Association of Manufacturers worked to bring down unions and the labor movement fell under suspicion during the first Red Scare. Between 1920-1923, unions lost a million members (American Labor Studies Center).

When FDR came to power, "Congress passed the National Recovery Administration; the NRA's Section 7a specifically placed on the statute books the right of unions to exist and to negotiate with employers. [...] The Supreme Court soon declared NRA unconstitutional" (American Labor Studies Center). But in 1936, the Wagner Act was passed. "It went beyond "7a" to establish a legal basis for unions; set collective bargaining as a matter of national policy required by the law; provided for secret ballot elections for the choosing of unions; and protected union members from employer intimidation and coercion" (American Labor Studies Center). Both the AFL and CIO became stronger and "the national social security program, unemployment compensation, workers' compensation, and a federal minimum wage-hour law," were enacted (American Labor Studies Center). In the 1930s, many elected governors and mayors were Democrats who, "refused to send police to evict sit-down strikers who had seized control of factories. This state support allowed the minority of workers who actively supported unionization to use force to overcome the passivity of the majority of workers and the opposition of the employers" (Friedman).

World War Two, "helped unions both by eliminating unemployment and because state officials supported unions to gain support for the war effort. [...] After growing from 3.5 to 10.2 million members between 1935 and 1941, unions added another 4 million members during the war" (Friedman). But once the war ended, union membership began to drop. In 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act was passed. It gave, "employers and state officials new powers against strikers and unions. The law also required union leaders to sign a non-Communist affidavit as a condition for union participation in NLRB-sponsored elections. This loyalty oath divided labor during a time of weakness. With its roots in radical politics and an alliance of convenience between Lewis and the Communists, the CIO was torn by the new Red Scare. Hoping to appease the political right, the CIO majority in 1949 expelled ten Communist-led unions with nearly a third of the organization's members. [...] In 1955 it merged with the AFL to form the AFL-CIO" (Friedman).

During the 1950s and early 1960s, "Wages rose steadily, by over 2 percent per year and union workers earned a comfortable 20 percent more than nonunion workers of similar age, experience and education. [...] Unions also won a growing list of benefit programs, medical and dental insurance, paid holidays and vacations, supplemental unemployment insurance, and pensions" (Friedman).

This period did not last for long. "In the 1970s, rising unemployment, increasing international competition, and the movement of industry to the nonunion South and to rural areas undermined the bargaining position of many American unions leaving them vulnerable to a renewed management offensive. [...] By the early 1980s, union avoidance had become an industry. Anti-union consultants and lawyers openly counseled employers how to use labor law to evade unions. [...] By the 1990s, the unionization rate in the United States fell to under 14 percent, including only 9 percent of the private sector workers and 37 percent of those in the public sector" (Friedman).

#### The Decline of the American Labor Movement

The U.S. Department of State, in its Outline of the U.S. Economy by Christopher Conte and Albert R. Karr, states that the following reasons led to the decline of labor unions in the 1980s and 1990s:

- "Court decisions and NLRB rulings allowing workers to withhold the portion of their union dues used to back, or oppose, political candidates" were passed (Conte, and Karr 9).
- Management became more "aggressive" because companies began "feeling the heat of foreign and domestic competition" (Conte, and Karr 9).
- Automation in factories (Conte, and Karr 9).
- More workers were employed in the service industry, "where unions traditionally have been weaker" (Conte, and Karr 9).
- "Industry has migrated to the southern and western parts of the United States, regions that have a weaker union tradition" (Conte, and Karr 9).
- "Negative publicity about corruption in the big Teamsters Union and other unions" (Conte, and Karr 9).
- The "strength of the economy [...] in the late 1990s" (Conte, and Karr 9).

The fact that, "many U.S.-based multinational firms began moving production facilities overseas during this period" (Conte, and Karr 10) is addressed in the article as well. But in the end the article states that, "The decline in jobs in traditional manufacturing industries, for instance, has been offset by rapidly rising employment in high-technology industries such as computers and biotechnology and in rapidly expanding service industries such as health care and computer software" (Conte, and Karr 11).

Robert E. Scott, Senior International Economist and Director of International Programs at the Economic Policy Institute, disagrees. In one article he states, "Since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed in 1993, the rise in the U.S. trade deficit with Canada and Mexico through 2002 has caused the displacement of production that supported 879,280 U.S. jobs. Most of those lost jobs were high-wage positions in manufacturing industries. [...] NAFTA has also contributed to rising income inequality, suppressed real wages for production workers, weakened workers' collective bargaining powers and ability to organize unions, and reduced fringe benefits. [...] Furthermore, no protections were contained in the core of the agreement to maintain labor or environmental standards. As a result, NAFTA tilted the economic

playing field in favor of investors, and against workers and the environment, resulting in a hemispheric "race to the bottom" in wages and environmental quality [...] Most displaced workers [in the U.S.] find jobs in other sectors where wages are much lower, which in turn leads to lower average wages for all U.S. workers" (Scott). Whereas the U.S. Department of State suggests that the loss of manufacturing jobs will be solved by the increase of jobs in the service sector, Scott argues that this does not solve the problem because the service sector jobs do not pay as much as the manufacturing ones.

On April 21, 2006, the AFL-CIO hosted a "forum sponsored by Labor and Working-Class History Association/Organization of American Historians" (McCartin, Lichtenstein, and Acuff). Even amongst like-minded labor supporters and historians, there is a debate on why the power of labor has declined in recent years. Joseph A. McCartin, a professor from Georgetown University argues, that "labor's main problems run much deeper than workers' poorly protected right to organize or labor's failure to mobilize more resources for organizing. [...] A vast economic reorganization more fundamental than anything experienced since late 19th century industrialization—driven by container ships, computers, collapsing regulatory regimes, a crumbling industrial base, rising service economies, and changing corporate structures—is a fundamental problem for labor. [...] Union movements in advanced industrial nations are declining across the board. [...] Strengthening workers' rights to organize will not be enough to meet the present crisis. We must also strengthen their ability to employ their collective power" (McCartin, Lichtenstein, and Acuff).

Nelson Lichtenstein, a professor at University of California, Santa Barbara, disagrees with McCartin on two points. He states, "In France, union density is actually lower than in the United States. But the recent successful demonstrations there over a government effort to erode employee layoff protections demonstrated that when labor allies itself with other sectors of society [...] the unions can speak for a large slice of civil society" (McCartin, Lichtenstein, and Acuff). Therefore a drop in union membership does not necessarily equal a drop in union power. Lichtenstein also doesn't see Globalization as major problem. He states, "there's always been change in the political economy. The great upsurges of the 1930s were based on a new configuration of the political economy, a new structure of industry, which had only come into being between 1890 and 1910. That was a shift which made some forms of unionism, some

forms of popular struggle, obsolete. Craft unionism in the basic industries, for example" (McCartin, Lichtenstein, and Acuff).

And Stewart Acuff of the AFL-CIO argues that, "The number one obstacle to growth in the labor movement is vicious employer opposition. [...] Organizing is about power. It is always about power and always has been about power" (McCartin, Lichtenstein, and Acuff).

After viewing these various opinions I am inclined to conclude that the loss of manufacturing jobs equaled the loss of some of the most powerful members of the AFL-CIO. Therefore in America's case, a loss in union members equaled a loss in power. The U.S. Department of Justice, Scott, McCartin, and Liechtenstein all seem to agree that globalization has led to the loss of jobs in certain sectors, particularly manufacturing, because many jobs have gone overseas. The U.S. Department of Justice states that new jobs in different industries will replace those that are lost and Liechtenstein seems to think that Globalization is not that bad, it's just a big change for labor. But Scott and McCartin both see Globalization as something that needs to be addressed as a serious problem. Time will tell whether Globalization is good or bad. After studying the labor movement and watching the videos I am inclined to believe that the situation isn't going to improve for a long time.

#### **Permission**

When asked to describe the process of securing permission from the individual producers, Brian Drolet first described the process of producing a series. When producing a series, Deep Dish TV first comes up with a theme. Then, efforts are made to raise funds and a series producer is hired. The series producer hires several producers to work on individual programs within the series. These producers contact videographers who might have content that relates to the program they are producing. The producers then select the videos best suited to the program. In a series of twelve programs there is an average of 35-60 videographers, 12 program producers, 5 or 6 editors, and a series level editor contributing. The production of one series can involve over 100 people.

The Series Producer is an employee of Deep Dish, and therefore Deep Dish has the nonexclusive rights to distribute the series. If the individual Program Producers are commissioned by Deep Dish, then Deep Dish has the nonexclusive rights to distribute the program. If the program is submitted, then the producer holds the rights and they have to sign over nonexclusive distribution rights to Deep Dish or try to construct a shared payment aspect. The videographers own their work, but when they contribute to a series, they agree that segments will become part of a program for which Deep Dish has the nonexclusive distribution rights. The DIY Series essentially re-packages programs that Deep Dish already has the rights to distribute.

When it comes to the screener excerpts, the best thing to do is write the producers and let them know what is happening and ask them to grant permission.

Here is a chart that shows the four videos selected for this episode. I am in the process of reaching out to the American Labor Education Center to receive their permission to screen and distribute *Four Dollars A Day? No Way! Joining Hands Across Borders*. I will also contact Paper Tiger TV and Jesse Drew to let them know about the exhibition and to ask their approval to screen the excerpts.

Video	Producer	Permission	Contact Info
Drawing the Line at Pittston	Paper Tiger TV	Yes, verbal	339 Lafayette St. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Floor New York, NY 10012 (212)-420-9045
Environmental Action and the Labor Movement The Canary Fights Back	Jesse Drew	Yes, contract	jdrew@ucdavis.edu
Latinos and Labor Program 3 Four Dollars A Day? No Way! Joining Hands Across Borders	American Labor Education Center	None	Karen Ohmans 2000 P Street N.W., Room 300 Washington D.C. 20036 (202)-828-5170
Showdown in Seattle: Part 3: Occupied Seattle	Produced for Deep Dish TV by Independent Media Center-Seattle, Big Noise Films, Changing America, FreeSpeech TV, Headwaters Action Video Collective, Paper Tiger TV, Whispered Media, VideoActive, and scores of media activists  Series Coordinators are Michael Eisenmenger and Jill Friedberg	"As one of the producers of Showdown, we have distribution rights for that material." – Mark Read	

#### The Exhibition

Mark Read has sent in a request to the Community Learning Initiative scheduling committee at NYU's Gallatin School, to see what dates the Jerry H. Labowitz Theater is available in midlate February and to secure some funding. Mark Read said that there are no special projection requirements. The videos are "mastered" onto ¾ videotape, have been dubbed to mini-DV and from there have been digitized as .mov files. Therefore, the screener will be on a DVD. I also asked Mark about having the panel discussion taped. He said that no permission is necessary from Gallatin (he has held the past five episodes at Gallatin) and that the only thing needed is money to hire professionals.

# **Guest Speakers**

The following chart shows the guest speakers that Brian Drolet and I have reached out to in the last few weeks. Most of them are friends of Brian Drolet and Mark Read or friends of their friends. Rachel Bernstein is an NYU professor that I reached out to on my own. My goal is to have three to five panelists.

Speaker	What Do They Do?	Phone #	E-mail	Contacted	Yes/No
Simin Farkhondeh	"Since 1995 she has been directing and producing Labor at the Crossroads (LaborX), a television program for and about working people, which aired on cable in New York City. She has produced over 25 half-hour programs for LaborX. In 1999 she produced Adjunct Agony, a short dramatic piece about the plight of adjunct faculty in US universities and in 2002 she produced Salt Peanuts, a short piece about the plight of airline workers after September 11" ("City College of New York").	917-805-3857 (cell) 212-673-0732 (home)	siminminou@hotmail.com	E-mailed by Kathryn 11/23 Phone Message Left by Kathryn 12/3	
Juan Gonzalez	"An American progressive broadcast journalist and investigative reporter. He has also been a columnist for the New York Daily News since 1987. He co-hosts the radio and television program Democracy Now! with Amy Goodman" (Wikipedia Contributors).	212-210-2100		Phone Message Left by Brian 11/30	
Nell Geiser	According to Brian Drolet, she negotiated a contract with CVS workers. But instead of bringing workers out to strike she filed a lawsuit against CVS Caremark.	646-296-5927		Phone Message Left by Brian 11/30 Phone Message Left by Kathryn 12/3	
Anthony Arnove	According to Brian Drolet, he is a Publisher at Haymarket Books; possibly have Paul Mason, author of <i>Live Working or Die Fighting</i> on the panel or another writer	347-613-2513		Phone Message Left by Brian 11/30	Called back and had a couple suggestions from the Haymarket books list of authors. He said to call him when we have an idea of date for the event and he'll give us the contacts.
Michael Zweig	According to Brian Drolet he is Professor and Director of Study of Working Class Life www.stonybrook.edu/workingclass	631-632-7536	michael.zweig@stonybrook.	E-mailed by Kathryn 12/3	
Greg DeFreitas	An attorney and a professor of labor studies at Hofstra University, recommended by Mary Elizabeth Bartholomew, an Irish radical lawyer (917-518-2658)	646-325- 4622	Gregory.E.DeFreitas@hofstr a.edu	E-mailed by Kathryn 12/3	Yes!
Daniel Gross	Radical Lawyer for Retail Food Employees; recommended by Michael Smith (radical lawyer from Detroit) Michael Smith (radical lawyer from Detroit)		dgross@brandworkers.org	E-mailed by Kathryn 12/3	Yes!
Rachel Bernstein	History Professor at NYU; member of American Labor Studies Center; oral history projects for a wide variety of labor and community organizations ("Department of History").		rachel.bernstein@nyu.edu	E-mailed by Kathryn 12/3	

#### **Questions for the Panelists**

- **1.)** What has been the role of independent, grassroots media within the movement for labor justice?
- 2.) Why is the labor movement shrinking and what's been the cause of its demise?
- **3.)** What role has Globalization played in the demise of the labor movement? Is it merely a restructuring of the world economy that will eventually balance out or will the situation keep getting worse for workers?
- **4.)** What is needed for the labor movement to become strong again? More union members?
- **5.)** What has been the traditional AFL-CIO stance towards America's foreign policy and how has that changed in recent years?
- **6.)** During the Great Depression, unions became strong and had millions of members. Why is it that now, while we are in a midst of a recession, the number of union members is dropping?
- **7.)** What does the collapse of the labor movement reveal about the greater economic collapse we are experiencing, and vice versa?
- **8.)** Is it still possible for labor unions to experience the kind of victory we see in *Drawing the Line at Pittston* or was that one of the last great achievements?
- **9.)** The WTO protests seem to indicate that the labor movement was strong in 1999. Was this the case or was that just how it appeared? What has happened between then and now?

#### What is Left to Do?

- Reach out to producers and secure permission.
- Arrange a date to hold the exhibition with Gallatin.
- Secure the guest speakers for the panel discussion.
- Make the screener DVD.
- Arrange for the panel discussion to be taped.
- Publicity campaign: see appendices.

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**Appendix 1: Program Guide** – to be distributed as a pamphlet at the exhibition and will also be posted on Deep Dish TV's website.

#### The Labor Movement in the 1980s & 1990s:

#### The Decline in American Union Power & The Rise of Globalization

This exhibition examines the recent history of the labor movement in the 1980s and 1990s, both in the United States and the international community. Laborers in the videos face problems such as wage cuts, unfair wages, lack of safety on the job, exposure to pesticides and other toxic chemicals, and exploitation by corporations. Labor strikes in the United States are discussed in relation to international labor problems, particularly Free Trade, underscoring why workers from around the world have to fight together. Tactics such as civil disobedience, boycotting, and joining forces with communities, environmentalists, and consumers are utilized and stressed. The panelists will discuss how these videos fit into the greater historical context of the American labor movement, how they relate to the labor movement in America and around the world today, what the current state of the labor movement is, and if the labor movement is effective anymore.

#### Drawing the Line at Pittston (1990)

Drawing the Line at Pittston chronicles the yearlong miners strike against the Pittston Mine Company in Virginia, West Virginia and eastern Kentucky in 1989. Though a landmark event in the history of labor (one of the largest labor disputes in the last fifty years), this working people's strike garnered little attention in the mainstream media. ("Drawing the Line at Pittston")

# The Canary Fights Back: Environmental Action & the Labor Movement Pt. Two (1990)

Working people around the country are allying with environmentalists in an effort to protect their families, homes and communities. Once again, the enemy of the labor movement is corporate America, the world's worst polluter. Citing movements in Louisiana, Canada and the Silicon Valley, this program shows coalitions being formed nationally between the two movements. ("Environmental Action and the Labor Movement")

# Latinos and Labor Program 3: Four Dollars a Day? No Way! Joining Hands Across Borders: (1992)

This program looks at how "Free Trade" agreements affect workers in Mexico and the United States, with a close up look at the Ford plant. ("Latinos and Labor Program 3")

# Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle (1999)

The Steelworkers' rally/march is met with Police teargas when they venture too close to other protesters. Mary Reeves (National Lawyers Guild) and attorney Amy Kratz examine the legal issues posed by the Police abuse of civil liberties. A segment on Filipino Labor History with Dr. Carol Pagaduan (Araullo-BAYAN) and activist Liza Largoza-Maza Gabriela. A look at Indigenous issues and the WTO with Tom Gold Tooth (Indigenous Environmental Network), Ciprianna Jurapo (Center for Investigation and Worker Solidarity), and Carol Kalafatic (International Indian Treaty Council). A critical look at how the media has covered the protests. ("Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle")

**Appendix 2: Press Release** – to be distributed via e-mail, Facebook, on Gallatin's website, Deep Dish TV's website, and fliers. Graphics and visuals to be added.

#### The Labor Movement in the 1980s & 1990s:

#### The Decline in American Union Power & The Rise of Globalization

An exhibition of labor movement videos from the archive of Deep Dish TV will be held at the Gallatin theater on \_\_\_\_\_\_. This exhibition examines the recent history of the labor movement in the 1980s and 1990s, both in the United States and the international community. Excerpts from Drawing the Line at Pittston, The Canary Fights Back, Four Dollars a Day? Now Way?, and Showdown in Seattle Part 3: Occupied Seattle will be screened. Laborers in the videos face problems such as wage cuts, unfair wages, lack of safety on the job, exposure to pesticides and other toxic chemicals, and exploitation by corporations. Labor strikes in the United States are discussed in relation to international labor problems, particularly Free Trade, underscoring why workers from around the world have to fight together. Tactics such as civil disobedience, boycotting, and joining forces with communities, environmentalists, and consumers are utilized and stressed. The panelists will discuss how these videos fit into the greater historical context of the American labor movement, how they relate to the labor movement in America and around the world today, what the current state of the labor movement is, and if the labor movement is effective anymore.

#### **Appendix 3: License Agreement with Jesse Drew**

#### Deep Dish TV License Agreement

The following describes the terms and updates the agreement reached between Deep Dish TV, Inc. ('DDTV') located at 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 and Jesse Drew (the 'Producer') concerning our mutual rights and obligations relating to the video(s) Environmental Action and the Labor Movement and Biting the Hand That Leads Us: Humor and Social Change (the 'Program') distributed by Deep Dish TV as part of the television series Green Screen and Deep Dish Cooks Up A Second Season (The Series).

Whereas: Deep Dish TV intends to provide the widest possible circulation and viewership for the Programs in its archives; and

Whereas: Many of the original contracts between the Producers and Deep Dish TV for production and distribution of the Programs did not include recent technological developments in digital formats and delivery mechanisms; and

Whereas Deep Dish TV wishes to license and sell the Programs in order to sustain its ongoing operations, providing an equitable income sharing with the Producers;

#### Therefore:

- 1) In addition to the original unlimited and non-exclusive right to include the Program in the Series, the Producer hereby grants DDTV the global unlimited and nonexclusive rights to distribute the program in the following ways: (Please initial.)
  - a. On non-commercial Public Interest satellite and Public Access cable felevision channels

  - On non-commercial Public Television channels.

    As a streaming file on the Internet using multiple formats

  - As a downloadable file on the Internet using multiple formats;

    On DVD as part of the Series package or as part of a new thematic DVD e. package.

    As digital files directly to university or school servers.
- 2) The Producer also grants DDTV the right to use excerpts and images from the Program for publicity and promotion purposes for the venues described in #1, in all ways and mediums consistent with the content of the Program and intentions of the Producer.
  - 3) DDTV agrees and stipulates that it will not use the Program in any venue or in any manner that is inconsistent with or contradictory to the intentions of the Producer and the content of the Program.
  - In addition to the financial agreement specified in the initial contract between DDTV and the Producer for the distribution of the Program on Public Access and Public Interest television, DDTV agrees to further compensate the Producer according to the following specific schedule:
    - a. 30% of the gross sale price of any DVD package (exclusive of any shipping or postage charges), divided by the number of programs in the package. (Each Producer of a Program included in the DVD package will receive a pro-rated equal share of 30% of the sale price;
    - 40% of the gross sale price of any individual copies of the program sold on DVD. Deep Dish TV may, but does not have the obligation to, make individual DVD copies of the Program available for sale on DVD.

- c. 30% of the gross sale price of each and every file of the Program downloaded from the Internet or distributed directly by Deep Dish TV as a digital file to individuals or institutions. Deep Dish TV may provide free download of digital files from the Internet for individual use.
- d. DDTV shall have the right (but not the obligation) to make this Program available through third party distributors. Any revenue gained by DDTV from such third party distributors will be remitted to the Producer according to the specific schedule listed above.
- 5) The Producer, by signing here agrees to forego any and all payments from Deep Dish TV in order to support its ongoing operations.
- 6) Any payments due from DDTV to the Producer shall be made once a year on a date to be determined by DDTV. DDTV also agrees to provide the Producer with documentation of the number of DVD packages, individual DVD copies, and downloaded files of the program distributed.
- 7) The Producer warrants and represents:
  - a. That the performing rights in and to any and all music contained in the Program are in the public domain, or controlled by the Producer, to the extent necessary to permit distribution pursuant to this agreement.
  - b. That the Producer has the right to enter into this agreement and to grant to DDTV the rights granted in this agreement.
  - c. That the Program is not libelous, does not infringe upon any statutory or common law copyright, and does not constitute a slander or defamation and that the Producer has obtained and cleared all necessary rights and releases, including but not limited to talent, graphics, and photographs needed for the uses of the Program covered in this agreement.
  - d. The Producer agrees to indemnity and holds Deep Dish harmless from and against any and all claims, liabilities, damages, losses and expenses arising out or relating to any breach of the foregoing representations and warranties.

This license agreement shall remain in effect for five (5) years, after which it will remain in effect unless either party notifies the other by registered mail, return receipt requested. This license agreement will then be terminated thirty (30) days from the date of notification.

Signed and Agreed to by:

By:

Brian Drolet Acting Director Deep Dish TV

Ву: