

The Mobility of Labor And Capital: A Study In International Investment And Labor Flow

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of his research. Chapter 2 begins with the Wagner Act of 1935 and ends in 1949, a year in which efforts to repeal section 14(b) failed even though the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) had worked to elect the Democratic majority of 1948. Differences are noted between the AFL and the CIO in their strength of concern for the early state laws, their interest in social reform measures, and their support of a state federation's political activities against right to work. The theme of differences continues into Chapter 3 (1950-1956), where there is a discussion of the AFL's hopes of influencing Republicans to modify the Taft-Hartley Act and the efforts by the president of the newly merged AFL-CIO to explain labor's position on union security to representatives of management. By 1956, 17 of the 20 state laws in effect by the closing year of Gall's book had been enacted.

Chapter 4 (1957-1958) details the energizing of the AFL-CIO's political arm, the Committee on Political Education, as a force in state elections by encouraging both voter registration and voting. The importance of the grass roots level emerged in 1957 when Indiana, the first strongly unionized state with a major manufacturing base, enacted a right-to-work law. Also, during 1958 right-to-work activity centered upon referenda rather than legislative decisions.

Chapter 5 examines labor's experience with the Democratic Party from the strong victory in the 1958 elections through the Kennedy era. Labor's hopes to repeal section 14(b) were dashed by Congress' efforts to reform the internal operations of unions which led to passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959. Other difficulties are outlined, including Congress' leadership by conservative Southern Democrats and the attitude of nonlabor progressives toward organized labor. The Johnson years brought an attempt to repeal section 14(b) to the floors of Congress where a bill passed the House but was defeated by filibuster in the Senate. Gall explains President Lyndon Johnson's lack of action to break the filibuster as the price labor paid for adherence to a particular political party whose leaders thought that the AFL-CIO did not have "any realistic alternative to the Democratic party" (p. 156).

Chapter 7 concentrates on the 1970s and returns to discussion at the state level. Labor took the offensive until 1975, but the five attempts at repeal or to make state laws more favorably disposed to union security failed. The continuing interest in outlawing union security was evident by 1979. From 1976 to 1979, legislative proposals came to a vote in 11 states and only two were efforts (unsuccessful) by labor for repeal. All state legislature (1943-1979) and public referenda (1944-1978) vote counts can be readily obtained from a detailed listing in two appendices.

Gall has supplied an important background documentation of "right to work" at the state level for students of the temporal and spatial variation in trade union membership data. He has also ably defended his thesis that the history of "right to work" offers a vehicle for studying the relationship between organized labor and the major political parties. However, the focus may be too narrow. His concentration upon the federation omits the political diversity among the national unions. Also, emphasis upon right to work masks political alliances with either party that develop because other economic issues are of concern to union members such as import restrictions and export promotion.

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The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow. By Saskia Sassen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. xi, 224. \$34.50.

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