

THE GUILD Reporter

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the Couch,
Part I
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VIRTUAL EMPLOYEES

Hard times at Microsoft

The vast wastelands of the far north are made barren by permafrost, the permanently frozen soil that prevents roots from taking hold. In the brave new world of cyberspace, the parallel phenomenon is known as permatemps.

Hired by the thousands by the high-tech high fliers of Silicon Valley and Microsoft's Seattle-based empire, the permatemps are a growing army of programmers, technicians, engineers and other computer jockeys who roam from one work assignment to another. The jobs are temporary; the roaming is permanent, a nomadic twist on the economic promise of the high-tech revolution.

Although they work for months at a time alongside full-time employees with health plans, paid vacations and stock options, the permatemps' employers technically are temporary agencies offering few, if any, benefits. Job security is non-existent, and as fragile as the next illness or accident.

And although many permatemps have been specifically recruited by their high-tech employers—to such an extent that some fresh job applicants are referred to a temp agency that will then assign them to the referring employer—and are trained and supervised by them, repeated requests by permatemps for full-time employment are routinely rejected.

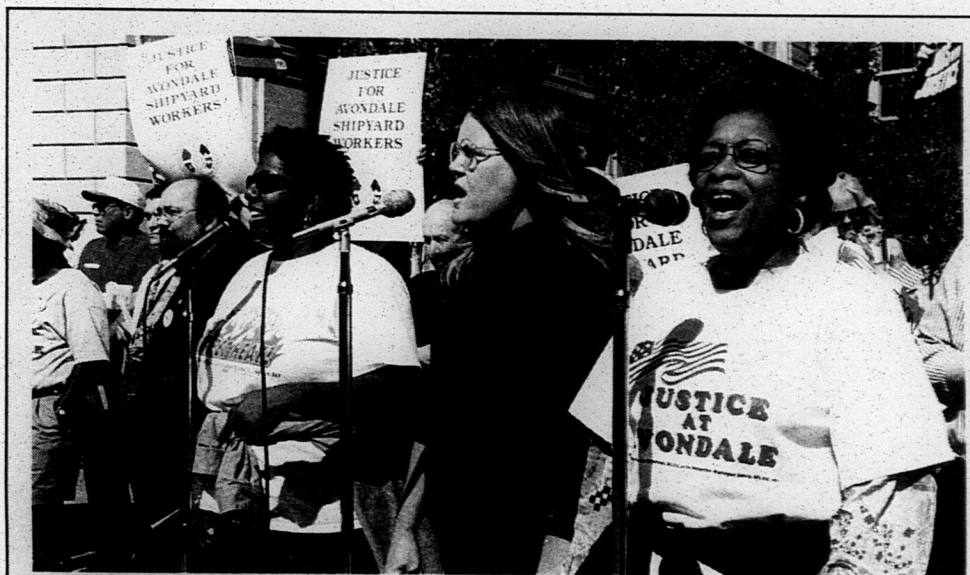
Which, come to think of it, sounds like an invitation for a union organizing drive.

Enter Marcus Courtney, who despite four years of working for employers like Adobe and Microsoft on blue-chip products like Office 2000 and Windows 98 could never get a full-time position. Together with Mike Blain, another disaffected permatemp, and with the support of TNG-CWA organizer Andrea De Majewski, Courtney spearheaded the creation of TNG-CWA Local 37083 this past July.

Otherwise known as the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers, or WashTech for short, the Seattle-based local has set its sights on the region's biggest offender as its first organizing target. Of roughly 19,000 workers at the Microsoft campus, Courtney says, perhaps 6,100 are agency employees. Add the company's subcontractors and other forms of contingent workers and an estimated 40% of the workforce is non-permanent.

"We believe that amounts to a critical mass of workers who are doing exactly the same jobs as the people next to them but are getting the short end of the stick," he observes. "And we're getting a very positive response from them, with people really excited that someone is paying attention to their concerns."

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Lifting their voices

Several hundred union members protest labor law violations at the Avondale Shipyard, at a Sept. 24 demonstration at the Navy Memorial, Washington. Setting the tone is the D.C. Labor Chorus—including, from right to left, TNG-

CWA's Deborah Thomas, collective bargaining and research associate; Elise Bryant, of the George Meany Labor Education Center; and Julie McCall, of the Labor Heritage Foundation. For more on Avondale, see page 3.

NLRB orders Knight Ridder to boost Monterey wages

Employees at the Monterey County Herald, whose ranks were gutted when Knight Ridder acquired the paper more than a year ago, finally have something to cheer about: an order that Knight Ridder's new hires be paid at Guild scales.

The decision, delivered Sept. 30 by William Schmidt, a National Labor Relations Board administrative law judge, also requires the publisher to reimburse employees "for any difference in pay, with interest," from their date of hire. Guild officials say the arrears

could be substantial: for example, the Herald's new mailroom employees are paid as little as \$7.50 an hour, vs. a Guild scale of \$10.03 an hour.

"This is a great victory for all Herald employees," said a jubilant Luther Jackson, executive officer of the San Jose Guild.

Separately, Schmidt ruled the Herald had not violated federal law when it refused to continue paying overtime to some of the newspaper's circulation department employees. Both decisions were in response to unfair labor

practice charges filed by the Guild after Knight Ridder imposed new wages for employees hired after its Aug. 24, 1997 purchase of the Herald from Scripps-Howard.

While the Guild awaits a possible Knight Ridder appeal of the decision, contract negotiations between the two sides are sputtering. Overshadowing the talks are Knight Ridder's sweeping attempt to rewrite the entire collective bargaining agreement, as well as the two-dozen Guild-represented employees it fired or refused to rehire when it took control.

Lessons of Detroit apply to San Jose

By Kate DeSmet
Detroit Guild

As a reporter for the Detroit News, I covered some incredible stories—from the religious cult persecuted for enslaving and physically abusing its youngest members to the fiery, fatal crash of a Northwest airliner just moments after takeoff.

Yet nothing ever affected me like the story in which I found myself playing a personal role:

The strike by some 2,000 of my fellow workers at the News, owned by Gannett, and Knight Ridder's Detroit Free Press. In the three years that have passed since we first went on strike, the stories we can report from the frontlines are shattering to those of us who believed journalism represented some form of "higher calling."

We've watched the newspapers deliberately slant news coverage of the strike against us; hire security goons who physically assaulted

members (some have been physically disabled), and hire workers to "permanently" replace us.

It's true Gannett and Knight Ridder have been found guilty of provoking the strike. It is also true that the companies refuse to obey the National Labor Relations Board's order to return us all to our jobs. More than 1,000 of us remain illegally locked out, despite our offer to return to work unconditionally in February 1997. Only just recently have the companies—still

losing circulation and millions of dollars in ad revenue—been willing to restart negotiations.

The story of the Detroit newspaper strike and lockout is personal for every member of the newspaper business. It's personal because many of us work for newspapers owned by Gannett or Knight Ridder, the two largest newspaper companies in the country. It's personal because those companies made no secret of their willingness to use violence, lies,

money and headlines to get what they wanted—a union-free newspaper where workers do as they're told and have no recourse, no voice in the workplace.

In Monterey, Knight Ridder's actions at the Herald merely emphasize its strong anti-union position made so clear in Detroit. And now Knight Ridder gets ready to negotiate contracts for more than 800 members of the Guild in San Jose, as well as fellow union workers who are pressmen, mailers, drivers and printers.

Obviously, one question is: Will Knight Ridder give up the bully tactics and bargain contracts fairly for the chain's so-called "cash cow"? And will Knight Ridder recognize that it won't do them much good to act like turn-

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Erie gets 3% retro as talks continue

In an unprecedented move, the Erie Newspaper Guild and the Times Publishing Company have agreed to a 3% pay hike retroactive to March 2 while the parties continue negotiating a new contract through so-called "mutual gains" bargaining. The interim wage agreement was overwhelmingly ratified by unit members in August and the pay hike, as well as the retroactive pay, has already been implemented.

Under the agreement, all TNG-CWA members received a 1.5% raise. Separately, a pool of money equivalent to an across-the-board 1.5% raise was distributed evenly among all members, raising each salary by \$10.64 a week at the top experience rating regardless of job classification. The combination of raises means, for example, that reporters received a \$22 increase, while clerk-typists received a \$17 increase. Before negotiations started, members of Local 187 had

strongly urged the bargaining committee to seek some across-the-board raises.

The interim pact was negotiated in two sessions in late July.

Erie Guild President Carol Przybyszewski said the agreement was reached to ensure employees get a raise while the Guild and Times Publishing negotiate over numerous, complex issues. All other terms of the contract remain in effect while the two sides participate in mutual gains bargaining, which places more emphasis on resolving problems than on attaining pre-determined outcomes.

"We're pleased that the parties, working together, were able to agree on immediate raises," said Przybyszewski. "Because of all the restructuring at the paper, we can now bargain those issues at a comfortable pace and give each issue careful consideration. Both our members and the company will benefit with this agreement."

Portland Guild extends 90-day olive branch

In a move designed to ensure a smooth ownership transition—and establish an atmosphere of good will—the Portland (Maine) Newspaper Guild has agreed to an unconditional, three-month extension of its collective bargaining agreements at the Portland Press Herald and the Maine Sunday Telegram. The contracts were due to expire Nov. 30.

Both papers have been bought by the Blethen family, majority owners of the Seattle Times, as part of its purchase of the Guy Gannett newspaper chain in Maine. The Gannett family—no relation to the other Gannetts—has been in newspapers since 1890 but is getting out of the business; the Blethens are almost as long-lived, buying what was then the

Seattle Press-Times in 1896.

For the Blethens, buying Maine's largest newspapers marks a return to the family's geographical roots. For Guild employees, it means a continuation of an ownership style that views newspapers more as a civic trust than as a cash-generating machine. The Seattle Times, for example, is believed to be significantly less profitable than the industry norm—no doubt to the dismay of Knight Ridder, which holds a 49.5% stake.

Less pressure to boost profit margins translates into less pressure on employees' wages and benefits—which, in turn, encouraged the Guild to adopt its conciliatory stand. The sale is expected to close Nov. 1.

Weekend convention gives Canadians "inside view"

Nearly one hundred members of the Canadian Media Guild gathered near Toronto late last month for a weekend convention that focused on hands-on training and featured a speech by newly elected CWA executive vice president Larry Cohen.

The convention is a rare chance for members of the CMG, which has 4,000 members in four branches across Canada, to get together. For many delegates, it was their first "inside" view of the union. In June, CMG absorbed about 750 members at the CBC who were formerly members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE).

"CMG is so diverse now that the convention has become an important time for us as a group to focus on the major issues, a time to create our history as a local and

as a union," explained CMG President Lise Lareau.

Delegates could choose among workshops on organizing, dealing with member-to-member conflict, mobilizing, combating excessive workload and a session designed specifically to deal with freelancers' issues.

At the plenary session the following day, delegates decided to create a national committee to oppose Bill C-44, federal legislation that would make the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation president and chair of the board more accountable to the government than they are now.

Awards were presented to Andrew Borkowski and Gerald Hannon, former editor and designer of SCAN magazine, CMG's award-winning publication.

In brief . . .

Heart attack fells Detroit supporter

Charles G. "Chuck" Ellington, an international vice president of the Graphics Communications International Union, died of a heart attack Sept. 29 at age 62. Ellington was participating in the recently revived negotiations with Knight-Ridder and Gannett and had played a key role in organizing support among international unions for Detroit's newspaper strikers. He is survived by his wife, Yvonne, and daughters Lee and Cali.

Philly workers to vote on TNG-CWA

Ballots are to be mailed Oct. 20 to seven employees in the returns department of Philadelphia Newspapers Inc.—believed to be the only non-represented employees left at PNI, publisher of the Inquirer and Daily News. Ballots must be returned by Nov. 6.

TNG staffer recruits . . . prison guards

Nobody can say TNG-CWA doesn't have a talented staff. When the members of the Fraternal Order of the Anne Arundel County Detention Center Officers and Personnel voted overwhelmingly—by a

margin of 78 to 4—to affiliate with CWA, the Aug. 25 victory was largely due to the efforts of TNG staffer Kathy Mulvey. Affiliation talks started nearly a year ago. Mulvey worked at the detention center before coming to TNG-CWA.

North Bay averts strike—just barely

Eight months of tough negotiations ended just hours ahead of a strike deadline Aug. 20, when the North Bay Guild reached a tentative agreement on a new three-year contract with The North Bay Nugget. The membership ratified the agreement by an overwhelming margin Aug. 30. Strike authorization had been granted by TNG and CWA earlier in the month.

Reuters talks force innovative tactics

Reuters employees in New York have been wearing black New York Newspaper Guild hats to work on Wednesdays and printing pro-Guild messages on their screen savers to show support for their negotiating team, reports the local's newspaper. Talks began last fall with Reuters placing 104 giveback demands on the table, signaling a long, tough slog for an equitable agreement.

At El Diario, ready to hit the streets

Guild members at the 117-worker El Diario/La Prensa unit have voted 95-2 to authorize a strike if the publisher continues insisting on wide-ranging cutbacks in their contract. Talks that began with a modest agenda in the summer of 1996 bogged down when management changed its bargaining team—and replaced its original limited proposals with 14 pages of giveback demands.

Merc News agenda signals hard times

The TNG-CWA bargaining team in San Jose is forecasting a hot winter. While the union is proposing modest increases in attrition benefits and provisions for short-term sick leave, management at Knight Ridder's Mercury News has presented 13 pages of changes to the Master and Supplemental Agreements. Among the highlights: no job security for current or future employees, a reduction in vacation and sick leave benefits and establishment of a two-tier wage classification. The proposal also deletes protection against the sale of the paper and imposes strict time limits on grievance procedures.

SUNSHINE PATRIOTS

"Honest, gang, we could have won—but who has the time?"

The old cliché has it that the victors get to write the history books—but that hasn't prevented the Patriot-News in Harrisburg, Penn. from trying a little spin control.

Threatened by the National Labor Relations Board with a hearing into charges it had unilaterally imposed terms and conditions of employment in the midst of bargaining, the Patriot-News agreed to rescind the changes and post the appropriate notice to employees. But that didn't mean it couldn't have the last word. . . .

And so, on Oct. 2, management posted the official announcement that it had erred by bargaining to impasse on permissive subjects of bargaining—a no-no under federal

law. It promised not to mess up again, and further promised not to refuse to bargain collectively with Local 16 "as the exclusive bargaining representative of our employees." And it publicly reversed the actions it took March 13, when it:

- ▶ Removed two full-time positions from the unit;
- ▶ Declared on-line classifications to be outside Guild jurisdiction;
- ▶ Said it would hire as many part-timers as it wanted;
- ▶ Announced it would subcontract any and all work in the editorial department, subject only to a no-layoff restriction;
- ▶ Claimed ownership of all work submitted by employees, even if performed on personal time.

But that's not all. Egregious though its actions were, the Patriot-News is so convinced they were proper it posted a letter from publisher John Kirkpatrick next to the NLRB notice. "Even though we are convinced that we did not violate the act, we decided not to engage in lengthy litigation," Kirkpatrick wrote, promising to continue to meet with the Guild "to resolve the negotiations and disputed issues."

Which, after more than three years of inconclusive bargaining, would be a good start indeed.

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Labor round-up

More globalization blues

While high-tech workers in the U.S. scramble for full-time employment (see lead story, page 1), their employers have been complaining that there simply isn't enough U.S. talent to go around. So late last month Congress passed—and the White House accepted—legislation that raises the cap on work visas for highly-skilled immigrants, allowing a near doubling of such hiring over the next three years. The AFL-CIO contends the move is simply an effort to find cheaper labor and that any shortages, if they really exist, could be filled through better training of the existing U.S. workforce.

CWA organizers reaching for the sky

The CWA filed a representation petition at the National Mediation Board Oct. 8 on behalf of 15,000 passenger service employees at American Airlines. A mail-ballot election will be scheduled after the board holds hearings to determine the appropriate unit; a majority of the unit—not of votes cast—will be needed for the election to succeed.

Chiquita whistleblower pleads guilty

Mike Gallagher, the Cincinnati Enquirer investigative reporter who blew the whistle on Chiquita Brands and its extra-legal behavior, has pleaded guilty to two felony charges of tapping into the company's phone messaging system. Sentencing has been set for March 19, with Gallagher facing up to two-and-a-half years in jail and a \$7,500 fine. No word on what penalties—if any—await Chiquita for its unrefuted practices.

Nineteen months later, history undone

It took more than a year and a half, but CWA Local 14408 reached agreement on a first contract with the Waukegan News-Sun—67 years after the International Typographical Union lost the unit in the wake of a prolonged strike. The four-year pact provides the printers with 3% annual increases and an extra 5% for non-journeymen, as well as no-layoff provisions for many workers.

Proud as a peacock for good reason

A second round of talks between NBC and NABET-CWA is scheduled to start Oct. 14, even though the contract doesn't expire until next March 31. Union officials describe themselves as "cautiously optimistic," which is in marked contrast to the ongoing stalemate at Disney/ABC: eighteen months after the contract expiration date, both sides have declared a news blackout on the often contentious talks.

Another setback for RSI victims

While U.S. journalists struggle with RSI and other ergonomic problems (see page 6 for related story), Britain's National Union of Journalists has suffered a major setback by losing an RSI case brought by four Financial Times employees. While financially crippling to the union—NUJ estimates total bills in excess of \$1 million—the outcome is even more disappointing because the judge ruled the plaintiffs had failed to prove they were injured, much less that their injuries were caused by working conditions.

SNET strike settled after 26 days

Members of CWA Local 1298 ratified a new, 32-month contract by a margin of more than three-to-one, ending a strike against Southern New England Telephone that had started Aug. 23. Aside from a compounded general wage increase of 11.4% and wage upgrades in several job classifications, the pact eliminates all health care premiums, limits overtime hours and substantially improves the retirement plan.

Election season is at hand: vote!

With 435 House and 34 Senate seats up for grabs—not to mention 36 governorships—unions nationwide are beating the drums to get their members out to the polls. A swing of only 11 seats in the House, for example, could change the kind of worker-hostile atmosphere that threatens to flood Silicon Valley with low-wage foreign workers. And there are more than a dozen states, such as Texas, where the turnover in a relative handful of seats would similarly change control of the legislature, at a time when more and more of the nation's business is conducted at the state level.

Not only that, they should be flogged

College students who often view themselves as slave laborers are getting another reason to think so in Berkeley, where the Daily Californian, an independent student newspaper, has petitioned the NLRB to decertify the Northern California Guild. "I don't think a union belongs in a college newspaper," explained the newspaper's (paid) general manager. The Guild has filed charges of unfair labor practices.



TNG sector rep Leo Ducharme, center, beams as Woonsocket Guild vice president Larry O'Brien congratulates district manager Cindy Ericksson on a successful union election.

Swooning in Woonsocket

In: circulation dept. Out: third publisher in 3 years

Notching the Guild's second organizing victory in four months at the Woonsocket (R.I.) Call, employees of the newspaper's circulation department voted 8-1 on Sept. 30 to join the union. The next day, employees were told Call publisher T. Paul Mahony had quit—the third publisher to leave the paper in less than three years.

Guild negotiators could not say whether the two developments were related, and company officials wouldn't comment. But local negotiator Tim Schick

reported that an amicable bargaining session the evening of Sept. 30 turned ugly after Mahony was paged for a phone call, forcing a 35-minute recess. On his return, Schick said, Mahony's entire demeanor changed as he went on the attack, calling Guild proposals "ludicrous and idiotic."

The Woonsocket win follows a June election in which the newspaper's six business office employees voted to join the Guild—and, apparently, convinced the Call's parent company, the Journal-Register Co. to take a much harder line against subsequent organizing

efforts. But even firing 40% of the circulation department prior to the election couldn't deter the underpaid, over-worked staff.

"They're paid \$400 a week to work 60 hours with no over-time," Schick observed. Added Scott Cole, president of TNG-CWA Local 31182: "They have one who, on Labor Day, had gone a full year without a day off."

Guild officials are preparing to file unfair labor practice charges against the Call, including complaints of discharges for union activity and unilateral changes in working conditions.

Unions rally for Avondale

Union members from all walks of life rallied Sept. 24 at the Navy Memorial in Washington, D.C. to protest continued federal spending at the Avondale Shipyard in Louisiana.

Waving signs and wearing caps, t-shirts and buttons that identified them as belonging to the UAW, AFT, AFSCME, CWA, IBEW, IUE, SEIU and a score of other unions, the crowd of about 500 sang, chanted and heard speeches castigating a company described as one of the worst union-busting employers in the country.

Although Avondale workers

voted five years ago to join the New Orleans Metal Trades Council, Avondale Inc. claimed voter fraud and has refused to recognize the union despite a series of unfavorable decisions by the courts and the National Labor Relations Board. A 700-page decision earlier this year, for example, found that Avondale committed 73 unfair labor practices both before and after the election and order the reinstatement, with back pay, of 28 fired workers. Avondale has refused.

Yet while one branch of the federal government continues to lash Avondale for flouting the law and trampling its employees' rights, another branch—the U.S. Navy—

continues to reward the shipbuilder with new contracts. More than \$2.7 billion in Navy contracts has been awarded to Avondale since the June, 1993 union election.

"I fought for democracy [in Vietnam]," pipefitter Harry Thomson told the crowd, describing his three-year tour. "But there's no democracy at Avondale." Added an irate John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO: "Avondale is a corporate pirate, and the U.S. Navy is providing them safe passage."

Oral arguments in yet another of Avondale's appeals is scheduled for later this month in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Help wanted

TNG-CWA is seeking an organizer to work in Southern California for a minimum of two years. Continuation of position beyond two years is contingent on successful organizing and mobilizing.

The successful candidate will work with guidance from TNG staff to develop and implement projects for organizing nonmembers and new organizing targets. Organizer will divide time between Los Angeles and San Diego. The job requires irregular hours and may require weekend work. Organizer must have ability to work with minimal supervision. Candidates must have outstanding oral and written communication skills, leadership skills and ability to use word processing and spreadsheet programs. Additional helpful qualifications include database knowledge, knowledge of communications industry, experience leading organizing drives, experience in organizing open shops and experience developing organizing contacts.

Competitive salary and benefits. Application deadline: October 30, 1998. Apply to Eric D. Geist, Director of Field Operations, 501 3rd St., NW, Washington, DC 20001

Journalism on the Couch

American journalism is going through a period of self-analysis and conscience-searching that is comparable only to the period of the 1950's when Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy was able to manipulate the press in a fashion that brought shame and shock to the entire country.

Now, the news industry from traditional newspapers to the rapidly-expanding Internet is reexamining how we practice journalism. This concern is driven from within by concerned journalists and from without by interested academics and citizens. We are acting in a unique, stormy environment in which the general public is criticizing our performance and sometimes challenging the legal and Constitutional basis on which our craft is constructed. Across the industry we are all concerned with the loss of public respect for and trust in the public interest media and journalists.

The current examination of the media is part of a wider discussion about the status of all America's democratic institutions. The loss of status and esteem for journalists and the organs of the media has occurred at the same time that the public has expressed disdain and lack of confidence in government and politics. While there are many different voices discussing these immense issues, the atmosphere was well described recently by

James Carey, CBS professor of international journalism at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism:

Our political institutions have been in a slow-motion free-fall for a couple of decades, their authority, vitality, in a word, their legitimacy slowly being eroded. A strong presidency, an independent judiciary, a self-governing Congress, and a free press are our most precious institutions. The republican ideals embedded in them provide the foundation for a democratic state and free public life . . . These institutions are now taken for granted as if they were indestructible. Journalists seem to believe that democratic politics, which alone underwrites their craft, is a self-perpetuating machine that can withstand any amount of undermining. They are wrong.

In order to assure that working men and women in our business have a full voice in this far-reaching, evolving discussion, The Newspaper Guild has formed its "Committee on the Future of Journalism." We will analyze the causes for the public loss of confidence in journalism and seek ways to restore it. While we jealously guard our rights under the First Amendment, we understand that those who shelter under the title of "journalist" must always act in a

responsible fashion or we will lose that Constitutional protection. That rubric requires us to make a thorough examination of our industry to make sure it lives up to this mandate as an irreplaceable agent in the functioning of our representative democracy.

Voices expressing concern for the state of journalism emanate from all of the public media. There is also an unprecedented wave of outside opinion bombarding the practitioners. Within this cacophony of debate, there are common elements of concern and suggestions for action that could lead to elevating the general performance of journalism without altering the Constitutional freedoms or legal responsibilities that undergird our industry. There is no clear goal expressed among the many articulate spokesmen for change. And, given the very nature of American journalism, there can be no central authority dictating or managing change.

Still, there is a clear mandate for engaging in a wide-ranging, open discussion of the issues in which all concerned parties can be heard with general respect. If improvements are to be made, they must come from within the industry and have broad support by those who are employed in it. We recognize there are many contrasting points of view in this debate, but we believe it is possible to find consensus conclusions between men and women who

advocate the higher interests of good journalism.

The Newspaper Guild has been concerned with these questions since its founding. Providing good wages and benefits is concomitant with attracting and holding the best available talent. The Guild also offers a forum for its members to discuss the broader issues that we are all concerned with. In that spirit, the Committee on the Future of Journalism includes all segments of the membership in the United States and Canada where many of the same industry issues are under examination. It is important to have this broad representation because of the unique relationship of different departments in a publishing or broadcasting house and because of the cross-border nature of contemporary corporate ownership. As the largest representative group of workers in the publishing industry, this committee will assure that their points of view are expressed in the ongoing debate with all interested parties. We will examine the information gathered and proposals made by all others in this dialogue. We hope that this process will produce conclusions and proposals that we can support and help put into practice with the goal of regaining public confidence in American journalism and assuring the future of this industry and its vital position in our democratic society.

The Hutchins Commission

It is just over 50 years since the last full-voiced examination of the American press was published. "A Free and Responsible Press" was the report of The Commission on Freedom of the Press that conducted four years of public meetings and discussions and research. Best known as the Hutchins' Commission for its chairman, Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, this body originated with a suggestion by Henry R. Luce, chairman of Time, Inc., to make "an inquiry into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press."

While financed by industry money, the 13-member commission was dominated by academics; it included no representatives of the press. The commission in 1947 made a series of recommendations for reforming the mass media of the day, newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures and books. One recommendation, the formation of an "independent agency to appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press," led to attempts to form news councils at national and local levels. Other proposals that had better success included more self-criticism by the press, the printing of corrections and the development of more mid-career educational programs for working journalists.

The commission's greatest value was in its analysis of the industry; many of its conclusions are still relevant. Freedom of the press was endangered, the commission found, because of concentrated ownership, failure to provide "a service adequate to the needs of society" and because "those who direct the machinery of the press" engaged in practices "which the society condemns . . ."

"This danger, in the case of the freedom of the press, is in part the consequence of the economic structure of the press, in part the consequence of the industrial organization of modern society, and in part the result of the failure of the directors of the press to recognize the press needs of a modern nation and to estimate and accept the responsibilities which those needs impose upon them."

The Hutchins' Commission concluded that improvements in the performance of the instruments of mass communication were almost entirely the responsibility of those who own and manage them. While there were few specific improvements made in the performance of the press through the commission's work, a spirited national conversation on the press did take place. It is possible the current debate will lead to the formation of a new national citizens' committee to make a comparable, contemporary examination of the industry.

This is the first in a two-part presentation of a statement prepared by The Newspaper Guild/CWA Committee on the Future of Journalism, which was created earlier this year to address issues of professional concern to all Guild members.

Chairing the 20-member committee is TNG-CWA president Linda Foley; the committee's executive director is Murray Seeger, a veteran Guild member and journalist in the U.S. and abroad.

Part two of the statement, which includes sections subtitled "Where We Are" and "What to Do?" will be published in the November issue of The Guild Reporter. Readers' responses are solicited.

1950's

The ensuing McCarthy Era found journalists manipulated by a clever, unprincipled senator who understood very well the workings of the mass media. With television rapidly becoming a major means of communication, McCarthy was able to disseminate unsupported inflammatory accusations against innocent individuals and agencies. His statements were often made close to afternoon deadline times so that they were broadcast widely while responsible newspapers struggled to investigate their veracity before going to press. Of course, the same organs that were manipulated by

McCarthy were instrumental in bringing his political demise.

While "McCarthyism" entered dictionaries as a pejorative noun, the Washington press corps, especially, reexamined its practices and attempted to exorcise the guilt it shared for disseminating the senator's poison. Reporters became more cautious of writing or broadcasting accusations without getting support from other sources and responses from the accused. Journalism schools used the McCarthy experience to teach a strong sense of ethics for those entering the trade.

1960's

The next defining moment for modern journalism came in 1964 with the landmark case of Sullivan versus The New York Times that loosened the bonds of libel law protecting public officials. In the last decades, reporters have felt less restraint in making investigations and writing critical stories about office holders and a wide reach of individuals who are so much in the public eye that they have little recourse against being scrutinized by the press. This broad umbrella of protection has emboldened many who call themselves journalists to ignore historic standards of investigatory journalism.

This decade also saw a massive wave of newspaper consolidation and closings. The 1958 recession set off massive layoffs and plant shutdowns in older industrial cities where afternoon newspapers had

been strong market competitors. Fewer men came home from the mills in late afternoon to read their newspaper; instead, they watched the "free" evening news. City residents moved into expanding suburbs, making it difficult for publishers to deliver a timely product to the new doorsteps. More and more, the U.S. became a 9-5-nation and more and more women left the house to work.

The surviving morning newspapers took market dominance, but picked up only a portion of the circulation of the closed papers. Mergers and closings of afternoon newspapers sent many news customers out of the print market entirely. Daily circulation figures have been virtually static since this decade. Television stations, many owned by newspaper companies, took a growing share of advertising spending.

1970's

From the 1970's we witnessed an expansion of investigative journalism of varying quality following the remarkable work of reporters who tore open the secrets of the Nixon White House and the Watergate scandal. Enrollments in journalism schools soared as young people sought to emulate Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, whose names will forever be associated with the Watergate stories, the ensuing books and movies, and

unusual financial success. Protected by Sullivan v. NYTimes and encouraged by the success of "Woodstein," some journalists engaged in reckless reporting in the guise of investigations. For many, there was no other kind of journalism; there was no other route to success. Potential big money deals for this kind of journalism, especially when combined with book and movie deals, for the first time became a major incentive for some reporters.

1980's and '90s

The last 20 years have been marked by even greater concentration in the industry and a widespread breakdown of traditional standards of reporting. Journalists were absorbed into the amorphous world of "mass media" or just "the media." No longer reporters, photographers and camera operators, journalists became "members of the media." The distinction between entertainers and journalists was lost on much of television and talk radio. "Infotainment" became a product for the electronic media and worked its way into print. Massive quantities of opinion were dispensed in place of news, information and qualified commentary.

Old rules that personal behavior of public figures was rarely news unless public policy was somehow affected were pushed aside by concern over issues of personal character. The difference between "tabloid" stories and mainstream reporting was erased. The definition of scandal was broadened; more conjecture and gossip entered general public discourse. The intrusive personal behavior of "members of the media" at news scenes, displayed broadly on television, aggravated the growing public distrust and anger toward all journalists. Members of the print and electronic media exempted themselves from the standards of personal and professional behavior they demanded of others.

These developments were accelerated by the development of new forms of mass communication and the entry into the business of entrepreneurs who have no tradition or history in journalism. Most of the old publishing families have been supplanted by faceless large chains and merchants who see huge profits in operating monopoly businesses that generate profits much larger than those gained in other enterprises. The new media moguls revel in the prestige and power that accompany positions of power in publishing and broadcasting. Along the way, the sense of exercising public responsibility and generating public trust within individual communities, implicit in the practice of responsible journalism, has been lost.

Managers of the traditional print and electronic media saw competition emanating from new, mysterious sources such as the Internet and cable and satellite television. Many of the gatekeepers of this remarkable system of communication have no experience in journalism and have no traditions or rules to guide them. Many simply peddle words in the mixed forms of information and propaganda as a commodity needed to attract paying customers—anything that sells. In this new world, speed has again gained premium status at the expense of quality. The traditional news cycle was broken.

Next month: Where we are—and what can be done.

A birdie told us: Some things never change

[Editor's note: the following article, art and all—but without a byline or other credit—first appeared in the May 23, 1958 issue of *The Guild Reporter*. Forty years later, it seems as fresh as this morning's headlines.]

With the mating season well advanced, the Indoor Manager Watchers' Association feels that this is as good a time as any to brush up on our identification of this canny, elusive tribe.

The association has accordingly sent along for the benefit of TNG members in general, and those on bargaining teams in particular, this condensed Handy Dandy Field Guide from its forthcoming manual, "Management Types, their Recognition and Control." (Boots, Toots, Koots and Waffle, \$4.50)

THE BLUE-BILLED BACK-SLAPPER

Characteristics: A friendly, warm-hearted bird, this species appears to have a natural affinity for union men. It is frequently observed patting members of organized labor groups on the head, chanting "I get along fine with unions." Of zoological interest is the fact the patting hand was in every instance clutching a fair-sized club.

Plumage: Lily-white.

Song: You can leave the security clause in my hands.



THE FEARSOME FOURFLUSHER

Characteristics: This type is given to sweeping statements, delivered with one wing folded over the breast in a reverent attitude. Remarkably, this species has its toes turned backwards, thus permitting it to move backwards with even greater rapidity than it moves forward.

Plumage: Green.

Song: Strike and be Damned!



THE RED-FACED SQUAWK

Characteristics: This species will be found at most negotiating meetings or other low shrubbery. It will be easily recognized by its extraordinary bright red plumage, and its strident voice. When any object new or unfamiliar is placed near this bird, it will swell to almost twice its normal size. It then customarily hops, first on one foot and then the other, in what is known as its Dance of Disapproval. The species is especially sensitive in the pocketbook area.

Plumage: Bright red, dotted with beads of perspiration.



Song: What What What What Whatwhatwhatwhat WHAT! (on a rising note).

THE WINSOME GROUSE

Characteristics: This bird represents a zoological rarity. Its temporal coordinates appear to be reversed, with the result that its mentality is tuned to a period referred to nostalgically as The Good Old Days. Continuous reference will be noted to The Grave Situation, The Present Difficulties, All Pulling Together, The Crisis Facing the Company, etc.

Plumage: Jaundice.

Song: Ree-sonable Ppprofit.



DOUBLE-HEADED HAIR-SPLITTER

Characteristics: The diet of this unusual bird is composed entirely of subsections, subordinate clauses, and fine print. Frequently observed in the vicinity of molehills.

Plumage: Mauve.

Song: My hands are tied.



Yes, Virginia, there really is RSI

National Academy says evidence is "clear"; OSHA readies rules

The battle over ergonomics—the science of fitting jobs to meet workers' physical needs and abilities, rather than the other way around—is heating up again. And that could mean relief for thousands of VDT users at risk of tendinitis and other repetitive stress injuries.

Flash-point was reached Oct. 1, when the National Academy of Sciences confirmed what many copy editors, reporters and ad takers already know to be true: that repetitive tasks in the workplace, like constant and rapid typing, often contribute to muscle and skeleton disorders. The NAS report, based on the work of 66 scientists, found that "the positive relationship between the occur-

rence of musculoskeletal disorders and the conduct of work is clear."

More tellingly, the report concluded that repetitive stress injuries can be reduced through numerous safety-related measures.

Ironically, the academy's study was sought by Congressional Republicans seeking to derail mandatory imposition of such measures, long sought by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Despite years of accumulating evidence, business interests have argued that more study of ergonomic issues is needed and that proposed remedies are needlessly expensive and of dubious value.

Barred by Congress from publishing a draft proposal before

September 30, OSHA now has what amounts to a green light to move ahead despite continued industry opposition. David Cochran, of OSHA's standard-writing team, says the agency will publish a draft for public comment this fall and has targeted next summer for final publication—unless, of course, Congress throws up new roadblocks.

The proposed standard likely will be "programmatic"—rather than a strictly prescriptive formula—with employers required to follow several steps, including job assessment, intervention for injured workers and injury-avoidance training. OSHA has been seeking advice at public hearings across the U.S. on what threshold

levels should trigger the program. For example, should job assessments be triggered by a single injury, several injuries, or should assessments be done whenever a new job is created even though no injuries have been reported?

Paralleling OSHA's efforts are those of the mysteriously named Z365 Committee, which is administered by the National Safety Council and made up of representatives of industry, health practitioners, government agencies and organized labor. Although lacking OSHA's rule-making heft, the committee is reviewing a voluntary ergonomic standard proposed by the American National Standards Institute. Any such standard would influence legislation

and other rule-setting agencies.

The committee's next meeting, Oct. 28, will review public comments on the ANSI draft proposal. Committee members include Larkie Gildersleeve, TNG-CWA Director of Research, Information and Technology, and David LeGrande, CWA Occupational Safety and Health Director.

Retired TNG Research and Information Director David Eisen also will attend the October meeting. Eisen has been recruited by the National Safety Council as one of three members of an oversight committee, created at the request of industry representatives who have complained that the Z365 committee has violated ANSI rules.

Wanted: Canadian TV for Canadians

By Lise Lareau
President, Canadian Media Guild

The Canadian Media Guild has proposed that the government give funding support to public and private broadcasters—not just to independent producers—to develop high quality drama, variety and long-format documentary programs.

There's just one hitch: in exchange for access to taxpayer money, the Canadian private sector would have to air more Canadian programming.

That's one of the ideas in a recent CMG brief submitted to the Canadian Television and Radio Commission, following an invitation to the Guild to address the commissioners October 3. TNG Canada director Arnold Amber and Newsworld anchor and CMG member Kathleen Petty made the Guild's presentation in Ottawa.

The quest for good Canadian programming has been an age-old dilemma in Canada, because it is cheaper for private broadcasters to buy American programs than to invest in home-grown—but more expensive—domestic productions. But the Guild's brief notes that the situation has grown more extreme with the dramatic increase in the number of TV channels, leaving Canadian broadcasters—and especially the CBC—in even greater

need of help.

"We must find a way to make Canadian TV indispensable to Canadians," Amber told the CRTC panel.

The Guild also noted the irony of the CBC investing in broadcast projects and working with producers to get their programs to air—yet not owning a piece of the final product. That remains a prerogative of producers, many of whom get partial taxpayer funding through a special production fund, then reap additional profits by reselling their products abroad or to Canadian specialty channels—a market CBC is not allowed to tap.

The Guild also called for a funding credit system for programs based on how "Canadian" they really are.

For example, "Industrial-Canadian" programs, the Hollywood-style series made in Canada but with no apparent Canadian character or reference, would receive no credit for their content in any funding formula. On the other hand, programs that are identifiably Canadian in their locale and story would receive full credit.

Newscasts shouldn't be exempt from this principle, says Amber, who believes news organizations should be credited for spending resources on telling Canadians' stories, instead of airing American-produced items.

Permatemps say 'enough'

Continued from page 1

Because the WashTech local is reaching out to an essentially rootless workforce, Courtney adds, "the first thing we need to do is get together as a community of shared interests and build a sense of solidarity." One obvious organizing tool: a new Washington state law, implemented this past January after heavy lobbying by the Washington Software Alliance,

that exempts any high-tech employee paid more than \$27.63 an hour from overtime pay.

"As workers we've had absolutely no voice in the public policy process," Courtney laments, "and that's got to change. Here we have people working 50, 60 hours a week without benefits and no job security, and what did Microsoft do? It took away our overtime pay, too. That's not right."



Storm signals posted as Black does a Gannett

It's post time in Canada—as in the National Post, Conrad Black's answer to USA Today.

With Canada's Competition Bureau giving a thumbs-up last month to Black's purchase of the 20% of the Financial Post he didn't already own, the man inevitably titled Canada's newspaper baron says his new, nationwide newspaper will make its debut Oct. 27. The Financial Post will be wrapped into the larger National Post to give it more of a business edge and, Black hopes, attract a more affluent readership.

Black, through his control of Southam Inc., already owns 59 of Canada's 106 dailies, but that didn't dim the Competition Bureau's outlook. "We have concluded that the combination of the new daily with the Financial Post will not prevent competition substantially in the marketplace and that it may, in fact, result in even more vigorous competition," Konrad von Finckenstein, director of the

bureau's investigation and research, told Editor & Publisher.

Employees of Black's papers, on the other hand, can cast an uneasy eye at Gannett's history in the U.S. for a less sunny perspective. As with the start-up of USA Today in 1982, Southam plans to build its national broadsheet to a circulation of at least 300,000 through "synergistic use of local resources." That includes not only piggy-backing on local printing plants and distribution systems, creating additional work at smaller, existing dailies, but in some cases swiping staff.

Newsrooms may be especially hard-hit, with some Southam newspapers already losing talent to the upstart: the Ottawa Citizen's Roy MacGregor, for example, considered a star columnist. While the chain's management argues that such transfers simply open opportunities for fresh talent, they also risk draining away a local newspaper's distinctive voices and

community-based personality.

Moreover, given the USA Today precedent, it's entirely likely the National Post will get a disproportionate share of resources while other papers in the empire struggle with a bigger workload and smaller budgets.

And then there's Conrad Black himself, tellingly revealed in his 1993 autobiography, in which he approvingly describes an early 19th century manual on industrial relations that began with the premise "that all employees are slothful, incompetent and dishonest." It comes as no surprise, therefore, that at last year's annual meeting of Southam shareholders, Black informed his audience that "unions contributed importantly to all of the problems that the newspaper industry has had in this country."

Add many analysts' beliefs that Black greatly overpaid for the Financial Post, and the forecast is for a long, cold winter.



LOOKING AHEAD

High crimes in glass houses

By Linda K. Foley, President

The rather imposing steel complex that constitutes Gannett Co. and USA Today headquarters in Arlington, Va., could hardly be described as a glass house. Nevertheless, clichés about hypocrisy do come to mind as Gannett newspapers around the country heave editorial salvos at Bill Clinton.

Several prominent Gannett papers, including USA Today, as well as more than 80 other U.S. dailies have urged the President to resign or called for his impeachment. The editorials have cited law-breaking, obstruction of justice, witness-tampering, lost credibility and abuse of power to justify these extreme actions.

But not one U.S. newspaper has invoked the same kind of outrage about the illegal and immoral conduct of the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press in their three-year effort to destroy employees' unions, their families and their morale.

On Aug. 27, the National Labor Relations Board found the Gannett-owned Detroit News and Knight-Ridder's Detroit Free Press guilty of illegally forcing a strike in July 1995 and subsequently (and more egregiously) illegally replacing the strikers with a scab workforce. As a result of their illegal acts, the papers have lost credibility and circulation. The City of Detroit has lost faith in them. And 2,400 families have suffered millions of dollars in lost wages, health care and pensions.

Gannett's flagship USA Today called for Clinton's resignation on Sept. 14. The editorial said, "Broken trust with the public cannot be repaired with a few acts of contrition."

Unlike Clinton, Gannett and Knight-Ridder have never apologized for their actions. Instead, they continue to flaunt the law and deny culpability. They have not complied with the NLRB's order that they reinstate the illegally replaced strikers. Instead, the papers have vowed to continue disobeying the law until they are made—presumably by threat of fine or jail—to comply.

On Sept. 27, the Detroit News wrote in support of an impeachment inquiry of Clinton's actions: "Given the nature of the charges in the Starr report, [it's] fully justified. Mr. Clinton's sly defense[s] that he never really lied in his sworn deposition or tried to hush up Ms. Lewinsky are absurd.

And they strike directly at the rule of law, which is what America is all about."

Yet for some reason, the News doesn't believe the "rule of law" applies to the Detroit Newspapers. While the News, USA Today and other newspapers have blasted Clinton for his "technically accurate" but "patently absurd" denials of a sexual affair, they tolerate purported news stories in the Detroit papers that indicate the NLRB actually dismissed charges it upheld against them. (The NLRB dismissed one of 11 counts previously upheld by an administrative law judge.)

The Detroit News decries the White House's "stonewalling and obfuscation," but promises endless appeals and objections to avoid complying with the labor laws it has violated. It dismisses charges of Republican partisanship in the impeachment debate, but accuses the NLRB of being "political"—even though a board comprising three Democrats and two Republicans delivered a unanimous decision against the Detroit papers.

Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.), the ranking member of the House Judiciary Committee, has been an outspoken supporter of striking newspaper workers in Detroit. If he were considering how to proceed with an impeachment inquiry of the Detroit News and Free Press, his course of action would be clear.

Did the papers break the law? Yes.

Are they obstructing justice? Yes, by refusing to implement the NLRB order and filing lengthy appeals.

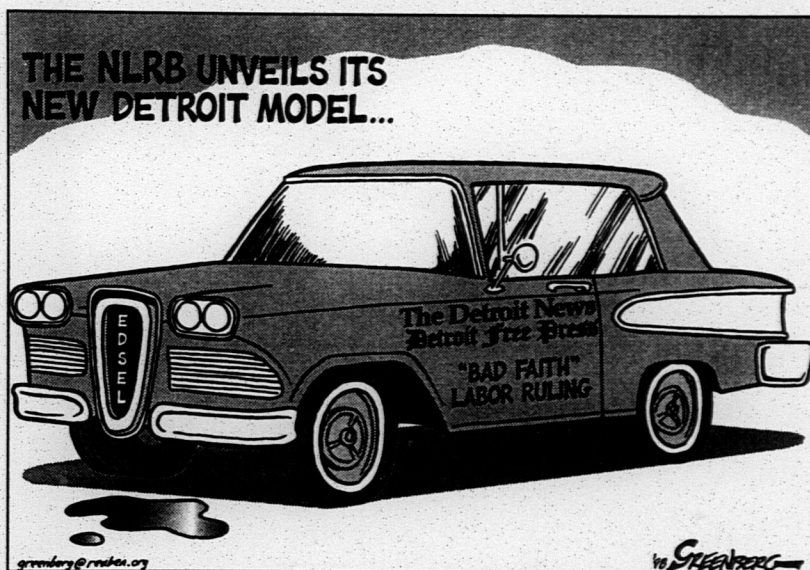
Have they lost credibility? Yes, both with their employees and with the public they're supposed to serve.

Have they abused the power of the press? Yes, by running misleading stories that obfuscate the consequences of their illegal actions.

If "broken trust" and "striking at the rule of law" are reason enough to impeach a U.S. President or call for his resignation, what should be done to rectify three years of "high crimes and misdemeanors" by the Detroit newspapers?

Reinstate the strikers, pay their back wages and benefits, bargain in good faith and tell the truth. In short, obey the law.

And that's not legal hair-splitting.



Mamas, don't let your babies grow up to be columnist scabs

By Tom Brown
United Auto Workers

In 1970, Decca Records released a record by country artist Bill Anderson entitled, "Where Have All Our Heroes Gone?"

Released as a single, the song's lyrics were spoken, not sung—call it country rap—and it became such a surprise hit that it was the title of Anderson's next album.

Five years later, author Dorothy Horstman considered the song significant enough to include in her book, "Sing Your Heart Out, Country Boy," a collection of country music lyrics grouped into fifteen categories. "Where Have All Our Heroes Gone?" is the last song in chapter nine, Social Commentary.

What makes Horstman's book interesting is that every song's lyrics are preceded by comments about it, usually by the writer or performer. Anderson comments that his job was to "condense a three-page, single-spaced typewritten letter" from his collaborator into "what I thought was a commercial song." This letter followed an earlier conversation with that person, whose question, "Where have all the heroes gone?" led to the letter and resulted in his being credited as co-writer, with Bill Anderson, of a hit song.

Who was this person so concerned with a lack of heroes that he wrote a song about it?

If you look closely at the record label (Decca DL 75254) you'll see his name: Bob Talbert, Detroit Free Press columnist, then as now. Bob Talbert, collaborator.

Bob Talbert, scab.

So: where have all the heroes gone? One thing's for sure, they didn't go where Bob Talbert did. They didn't cross a union picket line during a strike and become scabs. Maybe that's why you think heroes are in such short supply: you've been looking for them in all the wrong places.

Looking for heroes at Gannett and

Knight Ridder is like looking for gazelles in Greenland—ain't gonna happen. So, since you seem so mystified as to where all the heroes have gone, I've got some good news for you.

Found 'em!

They're the locked-out newspaper workers who were forced out on a strike they didn't want by an employer found guilty by a federal judge of nearly a dozen violations of labor law. They're the men and women who put out that weekly minor miracle, The Detroit Sunday Journal, the little newspaper that could. And did. And does, and has for nearly three years now.

They're the people who buy the Sunday Journal every week. They're the individuals, organizations and businesses that advertise in the Sunday Journal because they know they'll reach thousands of readers the Detroit dailies won't. They're the businesses that carry the Sunday Journal for their customers, even if they hadn't sold newspapers previously.

There are also the thousands—the tens of thousands—of heroes who don't do something: they don't buy the News, Free Press or USA Today. They understand very clearly the motives behind—and are so repelled by the behavior of—the Detroit dailies that they have told Gannett and Knight Ridder, "You are no longer welcome in our homes, and we will not finance for you the cost of your repeatedly violating the law."

There they are, Bob Talbert. People who have said, "No, we will not be a party to this," and whose actions speak as loudly as their words. People with both a conscience and a backbone. People who give kids someone to look up to.

So where have all the heroes gone, Bob Talbert?

Right here.

[Reprinted from the Sept. 6 Detroit Sunday Journal.]

Sometimes, the wrong folks do the organizing

Many of you are familiar with The Newspaper Guild's Bargaining Program and the language drafted to support it contained in the Model Contract. It is part of our fine, 65-year heritage as a union. Guild leaders have often joked—and not completely kidding—that the publishers' associations (first the American Newspaper Publishers Association and, now, the Newspaper Association of America) also have a model contract.

It would be easy to make the argument. If you run into Guild members from Manchester to Monterey, from Milwaukee to Memphis, you'll find the publishers in these towns have "dreamed up" strikingly similar assaults on our jurisdiction, wages, and ben-

efits. Are any of us surprised to find a wave of proposals for merit pay sweeping the country one year or "job-sharing" with printers the next? Can anyone truly believe that "outsourcing" is the brainchild of several corporate minds all conceiving it separately and at once? And aren't there anti-union lawyers who flit from one town to another like so many killer butterflies to drop hints of big financial gains "if you just do this" into the ears of eager publishers while sucking up the sweet nectar of a newspaper's free-flowing corporate dollars?...

[Excerpted from the current issue of Guild Forum, published by the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild.]

LETTERS

Editor:

We are writing to you on behalf of the 6,500 members of CWA 1298 that are currently on strike against SNET.

It is with great appreciation that we extend our thanks for your letter of support, and your generous donation to our defense fund.

These monies will be used directly by our members for immediate relief from hardships such as rent relief, child-care, and other issues that need immediate attention. It will go a long way

toward helping individuals and families during these difficult times.

Once again, our heartfelt thanks.

—CWA Local 1298

By TNG Convention action, letters shall be limited to 200 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

Deadline: Friday before publication. (Next deadline: November 6.)

Like it or not, it's all about power

By Paul F. McCarthy
Collective Bargaining Associates

When we play games for our amusement or relaxation we know what to expect and what is expected of us as players. One of the reasons that games are fun is that the playing field is level and the rules are followed by all the participants. The collective bargaining process also has certain rules that need to be understood before it can be successfully "played." Management negotiators fully understand these rules because their jobs depend on how well they perform in this arena. It is incumbent upon union negotiators to know the rules, too, and to make certain the negotiations team and the union membership clearly understand them.

The following rules have served me well in my 30 years as a union negotiator, activist and organizer. I pass them on to you because I know them to be true, appropriate and effective.

Rule #1: We do our business in a power arena.

The most important rule to remember is that the collective bargaining process is a power process. It is not a debating society where reason and logic will win the day. In fact, the corollary to this rule is that collective bargaining is an illogical and irrational process. Because power, or the ability to act or produce an effect, needs no rational explanation, one who has the power to do something needs no one else's approval, nor does he or she have to explain the why of their actions. Rightly or wrongly, one who has the power can do what he or she pleases.

Rule #2: To compete in this game, the employer must perceive that our union has power.

Perception is everything in the labor/management relationship. Saul Alinsky, the famous activist and community organizer, said it well: "Power is not what you have, but what your enemy thinks you have." If a local union is perceived

as a helpless victim, unable to fend for itself, it will be victimized. This is an immutable certainty in our business.

Rule #3: Before engaging the employer in negotiations, a union must first build its power.

The employer will perceive our union as having power or effectiveness and looking more like a "player" than a victim if the union leadership works toward achieving four conditions:

► Build a two-way communication system between the leadership and the membership. The union leadership cannot be satisfied with just getting information out to the members. It must actively weed out the members' opinions and input, involving them in the process of solving the problems that beset them.

► The leadership must build a consensus about the issues that affect the body. Consensus does not mean unanimity. What it does mean is that every effort has been made to make certain that all opin-

ions are heard, discussed and respected. If the members are to fight effectively for an issue, then that issue has to be theirs and not just the leaders'.

► The leaders and members must work together to maintain this internal union coalition. The membership must be empowered and made aware that participation in the local union is not an option but an obligation. Using one of Alinsky's concepts, we can keep our local union organized internally using the concept of "small successes." We must communicate to our members every grievance settlement and problem solved through the advocacy of the stewards. If a contract campaign is underway, the membership must be told of each small success along the way. No success is too small to report and explain.

► The leadership and the members must work to build coalitions within the community-at-large. Former House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill's political credo stated, "All politics is local." Union leaders cannot lose sight of this important truth. Corporate America is well aware of this latent power and does its best to co-opt and neutralize it.

Rule #4: Union leaders must avoid becoming "Messiahs."

It is not the role of a union leader to take on the entire burden of the union. Therefore, the members must be educated and empowered to the reality of this power arena. The membership must fully understand the roles of staff, officers and stewards.

Your union's success in collective bargaining is directly propor-

tionate to the commitment of the union membership to the goals of what is being sought at the table. If the members have no connection to the bargaining process, and no ownership of being part of the overall solution to a problem, then we cannot expect the employer to take us seriously at the table. John Wayne's characterizations were fictional. In real life there are no one-man shows where the man or woman in the white hat rides into town and single-handedly makes things right for the downtrodden.

Rule #5: The membership must be educated to be responsible to itself and the union.

Members must be made aware of all realities. The union leadership should never be fearful of being truthful with the members. If a goal, desired by the members, cannot be reached because of their lack of involvement, then the leader must make them aware of that reality. The members have to make some effort. Without that effort, the desired result will not be attained.

Union leaders must not enable the members to avoid their responsibility. If the membership is not focusing itself on its responsibility, then the leader must educate the members to that responsibility. The leader must work to empower the members. A union leader who is resigned to accept the non-involvement of the membership is a leader doomed to unnecessary stress and inevitable failure.

[Condensed from the August-September issue of *UWUA Light*, published by the Utility Workers.]

\$10,000 scholarship available

See, you may be thinking: All that stuff about learning the rules of the game certainly is charming—but let's get real. In a workaday world of deadlines, paychecks and mortgage payments, who has time to play "games"? And what's all this *Sturm und Drang* about "power"?

Fair enough. It's a tough, demanding world out there, and Guild activists have enough additional responsibility heaped onto their plates without worrying about fuzzy-minded notions of theoretical groundings and historical frameworks.

On the other hand, it's also true that an educated Guild activist is a more effective activist—and, from management's point of view, a more dangerous one. That's why Guild officers and staffers should

consider the possibility of taking a time-out by applying for the annual Irving Leuchter Memorial Scholarship, a \$10,000 stipend that underwrites a 10-week residential seminar at Harvard University. If time is money, here's a great way to convert one into the other—and to come out the better for it.

The Harvard Trade Union program comprises core courses in economic analysis, labor law, union administration, long-range planning, labor history and arbitration and dispute resolution. It also provides a series of elective courses and special topic seminars.

Designated by the 1973 Convention as the Guild's continuing memorial to attorney Irving Leuchter, whose "lifelong dedication to enlightened trade unionism

was evident to all who knew him," the scholarship is open only to top local and international officers (paid and unpaid) and staff. It is administered by Harvard, which processes all applications, evaluates candidates' qualifications and selects each year's recipient.

Application forms may be obtained from: Dr. Elaine Bernard, Executive Director, Harvard Trade Union Program, 1350 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 731, Cambridge, MA 02138; or by fax to 617/496-7354. Scholarship applicants need not be nominated by their locals, but must be members in good standing.

Deadline for applications is Dec. 1, which is coming up fast. The seminar itself is scheduled to start Jan. 4 and runs through March 12, 1999.

Detroit lesson is clear for San Jose talks

Continued from page 1

of-the-century robber barons in the very town that soon becomes their highly publicized corporate home?

The Newspaper Guild, which assigned me to help the San Jose unit get ready for these important negotiations, understands that the power of a union resides in a strong, informed membership. It is ironic that in newspapers, where information is our business, we are often the least informed about the nuts and bolts of our contracts that govern everything from overtime pay to jury duty.

But as I've learned in Detroit firsthand, there is power in a union that knows what it is talking about—and where members are talking to each other. Power, on the part of the workers, is the only thing that keeps negotiations fair when the other party so obviously owns and runs everything. So in the San Jose Guild we're going to start talking to each other with a new mobilizing system organized to make sure everybody in the bargaining unit is involved.

The system is simple: There will be one worker, called a "mobilizer," who will regularly

report information on bargaining to about 10 co-workers he or she has volunteered to "adopt" as a mobilized group. Now any time there is an important development at the bargaining table, word can reach all of our members quickly and accurately. This system helps dispel rumors that often surface during the tense period leading up to a new contract. It helps workers get to know each other on a face-to-face basis. It helps the union hear back from its members, and involves even more employees as union activists.

Finally, it sends a strong message to Knight Ridder management that the workers are united in their goal of fair and just contracts.

Union workers across the country are watching these talks in San Jose. The story they want reported out of the Silicon Valley is how newspaper workers, united and informed, have won contracts from a company that finally figured out the only way to do business is to respect the men and women who do the work.

[Reprinted from the September issue of *Guildnews*, the newsletter of the San Jose Newspaper Guild.]

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DAYBOOK

CWA Marketing Conference,
Oct. 21-24, Cleveland

Great Lakes District Council,
Nov. 6-8, Terre Haute, IN

Tri-Council (NEDC, Southern
and Mid-Atlantic) meeting,
Nov. 6-8, Boston Sheraton

CWA District 1 Leadership
Conference,
Nov. 8-10, Boston

Western District Council,
Nov. 14-15, San Francisco

Midwest District Council
, Nov. 14-15, Milwaukee

CWA Occupational Safety and
Health Conference,
Nov. 15-19, San Francisco

TNG-CWA new officers'
training, Feb. 12-15,
George Meaney Center

TNG-CWA sector conference,
April 29-May 2, Ottawa

CWA Nat'l Convention
July 12-14, Miami



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