

THE GUILD Reporter

April 26, 2002

A Publication of The Newspaper Guild and The Communications Workers of America • Volume 69, Number 4

Chinese workers rally support

Blast Chinese Daily News for year-long flouting of U.S. labor laws



Guild organizer Stephanie Moore brandishes some of the 700 public support cards received by embattled employees of the Chinese Daily News. Looking on in solidarity are (left to right) Francisco

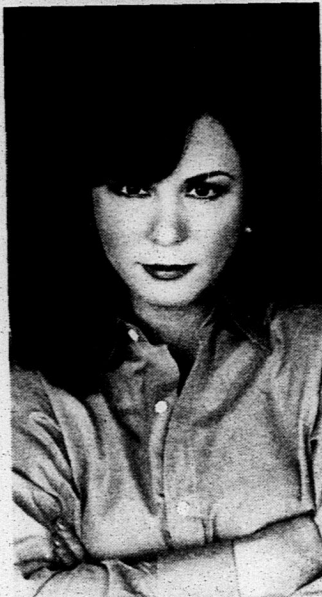
Alonso, member of the Monterey Park City Council; State Assemblywoman Judy Chu; Chi Mui, aide to State Senator Richard Polanco; and State Senator Gloria Romero.

Leggett to receive first Guild Freedom Award

Vanessa Leggett, the Texas-based freelance journalist who spent 168 days in prison for refusing to surrender her notes to a federal grand jury, will receive the first Herbert Block Freedom Award. The plaque and a check for \$5,000 will be presented at a May 14 banquet in Washington, D.C. that also will honor the Broun Award winners and two recipients of David S. Barr scholarships.

Leggett's contempt-of-court incarceration lasted nearly four times longer than the longest such jail time ever served by a journalist. (William Farr of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner was jailed for 46 days in 1972 for refusing to name a source in the Charles Manson murder trial.) It also revived questions about the definition of a journalist and the applicability of First Amendment rights.

Although Leggett was a university English instructor with only two published articles to her name when she attracted prosecutors' attentions, there never was any question that she had devoted years of research for a book she was writing on a notorious 1997 Houston murder. Among her materials: 50 hours of taped interviews with a prime suspect in the case, who bled to death—while sitting in a jail cell—from



Vanessa Leggett

dozens of razor slashes. His death was ruled a suicide.

In a response to a subpoena, Leggett shared her tapes with county prosecutors but worked out a deal that the tapes would be returned and that they would not be shared with any other agency. Instead, copies apparently ended up in the hands of the FBI. And when the county lost its case, the FBI stepped in—and demanded not only the tapes but all of Leggett's notes from several dozen interviews, many with sources whom she had promised to keep anonymous. Moreover, the federal subpoena barred Leggett from keeping any copies for herself and gave her no assurance that any of the material she had gathered would be returned.

Meanwhile, although the case had generated widespread publicity, no other reporter was subpoenaed by the government. And while such subpoenas are supposed to be a last resort, with the government obliged to specify the information it is seeking and to demonstrate why it couldn't obtain the information any other way, in Leggett's case the subpoena was the government's first resort—and it demanded everything. So Leggett balked.

And went to jail.

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When employees of the Chinese Daily News in Los Angeles voted a year ago for representation by The Newspaper Guild-CWA, they overcame a million-dollar anti-union campaign by their employer to become the only unionized Chinese-language media company in the U.S.

But a professional union-buster and lawyers were only the first hurdle the newly organized newspaper workers had to overcome. Certification as a unit of the Northern California Media Workers Guild remains mired in company appeals to the National Labor Relations Board, even though the regional NLRB has found all of the employer's objections to be

without merit. Meanwhile, union charges of unfair labor practices have been piling up.

"The Chinese Daily News, owned by the Taiwan-based United Daily News, has chosen to trample on the legal rights of workers at the newspaper," contends Stephanie Moore, a TNG-CWA organizer who has worked with unit members from the beginning. "The newspaper should respect U.S. laws, but instead has been operating as a rogue company, refusing to recognize the union or to bargain fairly with its employees."

Nearly all the workers are Taiwanese immigrants, many of whom speak little or no English. While cultural and language dif-

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Cook County interpreters break barrier

Court interpreters have long recognized that they are extraordinarily vulnerable to exploitation and whimsical, abusive treatment by judges, administrators and other court officials. But a series of recent developments suggests they're effectively beginning to assert their workplace rights.

Most significantly, the 110 interpreters working in the Cook County courts in Illinois won a major victory March 20, overcoming a court challenge to become the Guild's first interpreters to win collective bargaining rights. The election in which they prevailed was decided 51 to 29 in favor of representation by the Chicago Newspaper Guild.

Although the representation election was held last fall, the ballots had been impounded while the Chief Judge's office argued that the interpreters were not employees but private contractors, and therefore ineligible for collective bargaining. An administrative hearing officer for the Illinois

Public Employee Relations Board had ruled last August that the interpreters were public employees; that decision was upheld by the full board in December, permitting the count to go forward.

"Several interpreters testified that the Chief Judge's office effectively dealt with them as *de facto* employees in utilizing their skilled services on a daily basis," explained Kathleen M. Orozco, a spokeswoman for the unit. "This significant victory for Guild representation means that Cook County court interpreters are well on their way to starting meaningful negotiations."

Their work is cut out for them, too. As Orozco notes, Cook County's pay scales for interpreters "lag far behind" those of interpreters in other major U.S. cities. So-called "part-time" interpreters, many of whom routinely work five days a week, do not get health insurance coverage. And because on-the-job stress for court interpreters often rivals that of air traffic controllers, the unit is seek-

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ferences can isolate the workers, they also discourage employees from disobeying their superiors—who aren't reluctant to pursue their advantage. One management letter, for example, appealed for "an orderly work environment" that would "provide stability and harmony to our colleagues' unsettled minds."

But as those workers have testified in recent weeks, in a campaign to win public and political support, such aspirations toward harmony do not include management's actions. Workers have been called into the office in the middle of the night for anti-union lectures; some jobs have been eliminated, amid threats that more will disappear if union activism doesn't cease; and reporters have been reassigned to less desirable beats in retaliation for their union support.

Larry Wong, a union-busting "consultant," was

brought in as soon as it became clear that the workers would fight for representation. Well-known to Asian-American employers, he directs the anti-union campaign from an office inside the newspaper plant and has let it be known that the Chinese Daily News will find ways to avoid a collective bargaining agreement regardless of U.S. labor law.

Now, convinced they have to assert their

rights, the newspaper's staffers have started fighting back. A rally and press conference April 12 in front of the company's office in Monterey Park was attended by several local and state politicians. "We believe deeply in our right to have a union, and we know we will prevail in the end, but at this moment we need your support," staff reporter Lynne Wang told the crowd.

"My company has effectively frightened many of the people in that building behind us," she continued. "You—the community, our elected officials, and other union supporters—are so important to us, not only to let the company know that the community wants a business that respects their rights, but also to let my fellow workers know that they have every right to be a union supporter."

In response, several of the politicians attending the rally called on Ming Sheng Shu, president of the Chinese Daily News, to recognize the union and negotiate a fair contract. "In its editorials, the newspaper says it supports America—but you cannot support America while violating its laws," said state Assemblywoman Jackie Goldberg.

The Chinese Daily News is part of a chain of Chinese-language newspapers published world-wide by Taiwan-based United Daily News. Other United Daily News newspapers in North America are in New York, Toronto and San Francisco, but the Los Angeles publication is the largest of the group.

Although the Chinese Daily News is the first Chinese-language newspaper represented by TNG-CWA, the ethnic press is growing so rapidly it soon may surpass traditional mainstream dailies. This is especially true in California, where non-whites now outnumber the Anglo minority—and where a recent survey found that 84% of Hispanic, Asian-American and African-American respondents said they get much of their news from ethnic publications and radio and television stations.

The survey, by New California Media, found that ethnic newspapers are read daily by 22% of ethnic Californians, while 29% said they read them several times a week and 32% said once a week.

Outstanding woman

Lynne (Lien-Yi) Wang, a reporter at the Chinese Daily News who began advocating for a union at her newspaper almost two years ago, was honored April 19 by State Senator Gloria Romero as an "Outstanding Woman of the 24th District." Wang was one of 16 women recognized at the luncheon.

A reporter at the paper for 14 years, Wang began the unionization drive in response to low pay and poor working conditions. She is a native of Taiwan and a graduate of National Taiwan University, but says she still had to overcome her childhood conditioning to be "obedient" and not to challenge authority.

In Regina, Christmas in May

Newsroom staffers at the Regina Leader-Post were high-fiving each other recently, following a major victory over their employer on the issue of Christmas bonuses.

The Saskatchewan Labour Relations Board ruled in late March that the newspaper had committed an unfair labor practice in December, 2000, when it denied Christmas bonuses to approximately 40 members of the editorial bargaining unit. The newspaper's non-unionized employees, meanwhile, received bonuses equivalent to seven days' pay.

In its ruling, the SLRB ordered owner CanWest Global to pay employees represented by the Saskatchewan Media Guild the same bonus as had been paid to the non-union employees—netting, on average, a bit more than \$1,300 per newsroom staffer.

This wasn't the first time the company attempted to deny Christmas bonuses to unionized staff, trying

to do the same thing in 1998 and 1999—with the same outcome. As a result of these and similar successes, the Guild has succeeded over the past two years in wringing more than \$400,000 out of the company in Christmas bonuses, retroactive pay, pension enhancements and interest payments.

The Leader-Post and the Guild recently signed their second collective bargaining agreement, but at the time the bonuses were denied, the first contract hadn't been negotiated. CanWest had argued that the new contract retroactively extinguished any claims for bonuses, which weren't part of the agreement. The Guild successfully countered that such bonuses were among the existing "terms and conditions of employment" guaranteed by the Trade Union Act until a contract is reached.

The unit is still grieving the suspensions of four reporters for protesting company censorship.

In brief...

Guild, ANG extend contract to May 31

With agreement apparently within reach on some key issues, negotiators for the Northern California Media Workers and the Alameda Newspaper Group have extended the current contract until May 31. "Methodical progress" has been achieved on issues of journalistic integrity, including control of bylines and response to letters to the editor criticizing writers, according to Guild rep Erin Tyson Poh, and "conceptual" agreement on domestic partner benefits. The local, meanwhile, is standing firm in refusing the company's no-strike proposals.

Not the NY Times or Wall St. Journal

The Providence Journal, while riding roughshod over its employees, apparently doesn't hold its readers and advertisers in high esteem, either. The newspaper recently trumpeted, in several full-page house ads, that it had won the New England Newspaper Association's "Newspaper of the Year" contest. "Only one can be the best," it brayed. "And, it's not the Hartford Courant. It's not the Boston Herald. It's not even the Boston Globe." Then again, the Herald and Globe didn't enter the contest in that category. In fact, the only paper competing against the Journal was the Courant.

Taking diversity really seriously

The Canadian Media Guild has filed an application with the Canada Industrial Relations Board to represent 17 on-air and production personnel at the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network. APTN is a Canadian specialty channel, currently broadcasting to more than 8 million households, on which a quarter of all programming is in a variety of native languages. Management has not objected to the filing.

Bee unit acquires 30 new members

More than 30 unorganized employees of the Sacramento Bee who worked for sub-par wages and benefits have been brought into the bargaining unit, according to a new memorandum of agreement with McClatchy Corp. The agreement is part of the contracts or reopeners that have been ratified by members at all three McClatchy Bees—in Fresno, Modesto and Sacramento—with all agreements including 3% merit pool increases and slight increases in health care co-payments.

Kenosha staffers in health care bind

Filling a vacuum created by their employer, the Kenosha Newspaper Guild has been

searching for a new insurance carrier for those of its 33 newsroom members who get their health coverage through the Kenosha News. The News has already removed the cap on employee-paid premiums for approximately 300 other workers and is demanding that the local agree to a similar concession. Local members are working under the terms of a three-year contract that expired on Jan. 31 while bargaining continues.

'Idea assassins' respond with ULP

Complaining of an escalating campaign of intimidation against its members, the Washington-Baltimore Guild has filed an unfair labor practice charge against The Sun in Baltimore. Unit co-chairs Connie Knox and Bill Salganik say they have been harangued by the publisher—who called them "idea assassins"—and that Guild bulletins have disappeared from members' mail slots, that Guild officers have been ordered not to write to members about a company reorganization plan and that a Guild member attending a meeting with management was falsely accused by the Sun's labor relations director of wrong-doing.

Petitions filed in St. Louis suburbs

The St. Louis Newspaper Guild has filed petitions seeking representation elections in four of nine publishing offices of the Suburban Journals of Greater St. Louis, where nearly one-third of the Journals' 300 or so employees work. The Journals chain is owned by Pulitzer Inc. and distributes 36 free semi-weekly publications in and around St. Louis.

Twin Cities unit gets first contract

After 15 months of organizing and eight months of bargaining, employees of the Resource Center of the Americas have ratified the first labor contract in the organization's 18-year history. The agreement sets a new standard of workplace protection for Twin Cities nonprofit organizations, including neutral arbitration of grievances, a layoff process that recognizes seniority and a ban on discipline lacking "just and sufficient cause."

Helmets and flak jackets required

A panel of experienced journalists will discuss protective equipment, training and resources for journalists on dangerous assignments, from noon to 5 p.m. June 7, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The event is being co-sponsored by TNG-CWA, the International Federation of Journalists, AFTRA and the Committee to Protect Journalists. To pre-register, call 202-434-7177.

The Guild Reporter (ISSN: 00175404) (CPC # 1469371) is issued monthly, generally at four-week intervals, at 501 Third St. NW, 2nd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Periodicals postage paid in Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. Printed in the U.S.

Postmaster: Send address changes to: Grace Corner, Communications Workers of America, 501 Third St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20001

Address changes also can be sent by e-mail to: gcorner@cwa-union.org.

Subscription: \$20 a year in U.S. and Canada, \$30 a year overseas. Send subscription orders to: Andy Zipser, TNG-CWA, 501 Third Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001

Single copies: \$1.50

The Newspaper Guild International



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Broun winners latest to survive contest bashing

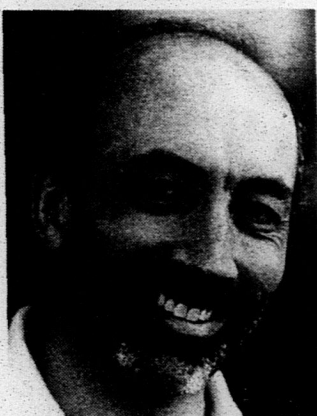
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While Leggett has been fighting the courts, this year's Broun Award winners have been battling one of their peers. Duff Wilson and David Heath of The Seattle Times won a slew of prizes for their series alleging major ethical problems at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center, but then were blind-sided in a column by Laura Landro, a Wall Street Journal assistant managing editor—and a former Hutchinson Center patient. Long on generalities and conspicuously lacking in specific examples, Landro nevertheless accused the duo of omitting and distorting facts and labeled the series "fundamentally false."

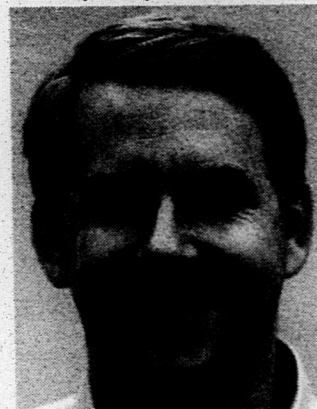
The blast triggered a furious exchange of charges and countercharges in numerous venues, but underneath it all lurked the suspi-

cion that the real agenda behind Landro's attack was to derail the series' chances of winning a Pulitzer. Sure enough, although "Uninformed Consent" was one of three finalists in the investigative reporting category, the prize went to a series that had been entered in the public service category. Although the Pulitzer board has moved finalists from one category to another in the past, this was the only such reassignment this year.

One bright note: the peripatetic Pulitzer winner was a Washington Post series, "The District's Lost Children," that looked at the deaths of 229 children while in the care of the D.C. child protection system. That series was one of two entries in the Broun Award competition to receive an award of "substantial distinction," also to be presented May 14.



Broun Award winners Duff Wilson (above) and David Heath.



Interpreters push for rights

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ing contract provisions for team-interpreting to curb mental and physical fatigue.

Meanwhile, the kinds of job hurdles faced by court interpreters was on display in nearby Milwaukee, where interpreter Rick Kissell—former president of the Translators and Interpreters Guild—had to obtain a court order to get paid. Although Kissell was appointed as the interpreter for two Spanish-speaking defendants facing a combined 169 years in prison on drug charges, the public defender's office had been insisting that the court pay for his services, while the court said his bill was the public defender's responsibility.

"The charges these men are facing could up in life sentences," Kissell pointed out, "and they are nickel-and-diming over the cost (for) these men to be able to talk to their attorneys."

And in California, where Bay Area Court Interpreters asked for a meeting to discuss deteriorating work conditions in Santa Clara County Superior Court, Presiding Judge Richard Turrone temporized by saying he'd get back to the group "in a few weeks." BACI got a somewhat quicker response when the new unit called a one-day boycott after Judge Andrea

Bryan ordered the arrest of an interpreter for failing to appear in her courtroom.

The interpreter avoided arrest after it was pointed out that he was busy translating in a different courtroom, one of several he'd been assigned to cover as needed. Judge Bryan later insisted she was only kidding, but the incident underscored why BACI and its southern California counterpart, the California Federation of Interpreters, have become units of the Northern California Media Workers Guild/Typographical Union.

"Do we risk being thrown in jail for coming to work and doing our job?" asked Andy Ta, a certified Vietnamese interpreter and member of the BACI board who has worked in the Santa Clara County courts for more than 10 years. "With interpreters being subjected to such abuse, it is, sadly, no surprise that interpreters are leaving the courts," Ta added. "This situation needs to be resolved for the good of the community as well as the good of the interpreters."

Meanwhile, legislation pending in Sacramento would follow the path already taken in Illinois. The Senate bill would recognize court interpreters as employees, and therefore entitled to bargain collectively and to resolve problems through negotiation.

CMG leaders call for more local CBC programs

The Canadian Media Guild earlier this month called for more local programming on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and for a better method of appointing members to the CBC Board. For the two CMG officials representing the Guild, this was their second appearance before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, which has been holding public hearings on the state of the country's public broadcasting network.

In a written brief presented to the committee last year, the Guild stressed the importance of separating the public broadcaster and its board from the federal government. In her more recent testimony, CMG President Lise Lareau told committee members that one prerequisite for such independence is greater transparency in the selection of board candidates. The British Broadcasting Corporation, she offered as an example, publicly reviews its board candidates; nominees for the CBC board similarly could be interviewed at public hearings of the Heritage Committee. And the board, not the government, should appoint the CBC president, Lareau added.

"It appears this committee is ready to consider recommending significant changes to the way the CBC Board is composed and chosen," Lareau observed. "I hope our brief provided some useful insight and arguments for committee members to work with."

Arnold Amber, CMG's CBC Branch director and Director of TNG Canada, the Guild's parent union, told the committee that strong local programming should be fundamental for the national public broadcaster. The plan to dilute local news, initiated by CBC president Robert Rabinovitch two

years ago, runs counter to broadcasting practice around the world, Amber added.

Amber also told committee members that local programming doesn't have to be restricted to news, but that even news programming could be more inventive, with the CBC taking different approaches in different cities.

The CMG recommended several changes to the Broadcast Act, including an amendment taking special note of the role of CBC Radio. The Guild also called for a mandated balance between internal CBC production and outside, independent productions.

Liberal Member of Parliament John Harvard challenged Lareau on this latter point, questioning whether such a production mix was really a policy issue or a question of internal CBC management choice. Lareau responded that it's a policy question as long as the rules of the Canadian Television Fund are skewed against in-house production at the CBC. "To make a show it wants to make, the CBC has two choices: use the Canadian Television Fund and lose copyright and control over the program, because the CTF can only be triggered when an independent producer is engaged. Or forget the CTF and lose out on a 40% subsidy to produce the show," Lareau pointed out. "And the CBC cannot afford to do that."

Lareau also expressed support for the SCRC in its lockout by the CBC, but made it clear that she was appearing before the committee to focus on "supporting CBC the public broadcaster, not to discuss CBC the manager."

Committee chair Clifford Lincoln thanked the Guild for bringing up "controversial issues" that others are "too timid to raise."

Increase in annual per capita and payment of CWA Defense Fund fee

The TNG-CWA per capita on May dues, payable by U.S. locals to TNG-CWA on or before June 15, 2002, will be \$17.43. Combined with the 50-cent CWA Defense Fund payment, the total amount due from locals per member, per month, will be \$17.93. In Canada, the total monthly per capita payment (including the CWA Defense Fund payment) will be C\$18.22. The increase in the U.S. annual per capita rate is 93 cents per month from the previous rate of \$16.50, which has been in effect since May 1, 2001.

The CWA Defense Fund payment of 50 cents per member, per month, is payable on the following classifications: (1) regular full-time; (7) regular less-than-full-time; (5) at-large full-time; (H) at-large less-than-full-time; (8) paid leave full; (F) agency fee full-time; and, (G) agency fee less-than-full-time.

The per capita payable on behalf of employed U.S. members whose dues are less than \$16.50 per month is \$6.97 (\$7.47 with the CWA Defense Fund payment). For Canadian locals, the per capita payable on behalf of employed members whose dues are less than \$16.50 per

month is C\$7.76, including the CWA Defense Fund payment.

By operation of the per capita formula in the Constitution, the increase in the average top reporter minimum in Guild contracts with daily newspapers is translated into a percentage increase in the monthly per capita payable to TNG-CWA.

This year, the per capita rate was adjusted to add funding to the TNG-CWA Mobilization and Defense Fund (MDF) pursuant to Article 18, Section 7(b) of the TNG-CWA Constitution.

Effective April 1, 2002, the above per capita tax shall increase to 1.997 percent (.01997), the increase to be deposited into the Guild Mobilization and Defense Fund. A local may act to meet this per capita obligation to the Guild Mobilization and Defense Fund by increasing dues or by paying it out of existing local funds.

Fifty cents per member per month of the 93 cent increase will be deposited into the TNG-CWA MDF.

The average top reporter minimum in Guild contracts with daily newspapers on April 1, 2002, was \$872.78—an increase

of \$22.24, or 2.61%, over the \$850.54 average top minimum on the same date a year ago. The 93-cent per month increase in the per capita rate, from \$16.50 to \$17.43, is an increase of 5.64%. Had the rate not been adjusted, the increase would have been 2.61%. The formula for computing the monthly per capita requires averaging top reporter minimums in all contracts with newspapers published at least five days per week. On April 1 of this year, there were 92 such contracts.

The statistics show that TNG-CWA locals have 88 daily newspaper contracts with top reporter minimums at or above \$500 a week. The number at or above \$600 is 79; of these, 71 are \$700 or more, 54 are over \$800, 34 are over \$900, 24 are \$1,000 or more, 14 are \$1,100 or more and 4 are \$1,200 or more.

The TNG-CWA Constitution provides that per capita payable on behalf of regular members employed full time, and of other employees covered by a TNG-CWA contract that requires them to pay an agency or similar fee equivalent to dues, shall be recalculated each year in April.

The formula appears in Article XVIII, Section 7.

TNG has computed the average top reporter minimum by adding these minimums in 92 separate contracts with newspapers published at least five days a week, using only those amounts which are actually being paid on April 1, 2002.

The \$850.54 was multiplied by .01997, producing a figure of \$17.4294 which, rounded up to the next cent, produces \$17.43, 93 cents over the present per capita of \$16.50.

The per capita payable on behalf of regular members employed full time and persons paying agency fees becomes \$17.43 per month, plus 50 cents for the CWA Defense Fund, for a total of \$17.93 (Canadian locals will receive a separate calculation for the CWA Defense Fund). This amount should be reflected in per capita remittances postmarked not later than June 15, 2002. The per capita payable on behalf of employed members whose dues are less than \$17.43 per month is \$6.97, plus 50 cents for the CWA Defense Fund, for a total of \$7.47.

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With agreement apparently within reach on some key issues, negotiators for the Northern California Media Workers and the Alameda Newspaper Group have extended the current contract until May 31. "Methodical progress" has been achieved on issues of journalistic integrity, including control of bylines and response to letters to the editor criticizing writers, according to Guild rep Erin Tyson Poh, and "conceptual" agreement on domestic partner benefits. The local, meanwhile, is standing firm in refusing the company's no-strike proposals.

Not the NY Times or Wall St. Journal

The Providence Journal, while riding roughshod over its employees, apparently doesn't hold its readers and advertisers in high esteem, either. The newspaper recently trumpeted, in several full-page house ads, that it had won the New England Newspaper Association's "Newspaper of the Year" contest. "Only one can be the best," it brayed. "And, it's not the Hartford Courant. It's not the Boston Herald. It's not even the Boston Globe." Then again, the Herald and Globe didn't enter the contest in that category. In fact, the only paper competing against the Journal was the Courant.

Taking diversity really seriously

The Canadian Media Guild has filed an application with the Canada Industrial Relations Board to represent 17 on-air and production personnel at the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network. APTN is a Canadian specialty channel, currently broadcasting to more than 8 million households, on which a quarter of all programming is in a variety of native languages. Management has not objected to the filing.

Bee unit acquires 30 new members

More than 30 unorganized employees of the Sacramento Bee who worked for sub-par wages and benefits have been brought into the bargaining unit, according to a new memorandum of agreement with McClatchy Corp. The agreement is part of the contracts or reopeners that have been ratified by members at all three McClatchy Bees—in Fresno, Modesto and Sacramento—with all agreements including 3% merit pool increases and slight increases in health care co-payments.

Kenosha staffers in health care bind

Filling a vacuum created by their employer, the Kenosha Newspaper Guild has been

searching for a new insurance carrier for those of its 33 newsroom members who get their health coverage through the Kenosha News. The News has already removed the cap on employee-paid premiums for approximately 300 other workers and is demanding that the local agree to a similar concession. Local members are working under the terms of a three-year contract that expired on Jan. 31 while bargaining continues.

'Idea assassins' respond with ULP

Complaining of an escalating campaign of intimidation against its members, the Washington-Baltimore Guild has filed an unfair labor practice charge against The Sun in Baltimore. Unit co-chairs Connie Knox and Bill Salganik say they have been harangued by the publisher—who called them "idea assassins"—and that Guild bulletins have disappeared from members' mail slots, that Guild officers have been ordered not to write to members about a company reorganization plan and that a Guild member attending a meeting with management was falsely accused by the Sun's labor relations director of wrong-doing.

Petitions filed in St. Louis suburbs

The St. Louis Newspaper Guild has filed petitions seeking representation elections in four of nine publishing offices of the Suburban Journals of Greater St. Louis, where nearly one-third of the Journals' 300 or so employees work. The Journals chain is owned by Pulitzer Inc. and distributes 36 free semi-weekly publications in and around St. Louis.

Twin Cities unit gets first contract

After 15 months of organizing and eight months of bargaining, employees of the Resource Center of the Americas have ratified the first labor contract in the organization's 18-year history. The agreement sets a new standard of workplace protection for Twin Cities nonprofit organizations, including neutral arbitration of grievances, a layoff process that recognizes seniority and a ban on discipline lacking "just and sufficient cause."

Helmets and flak jackets required

A panel of experienced journalists will discuss protective equipment, training and resources for journalists on dangerous assignments, from noon to 5 p.m. June 7, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The event is being co-sponsored by TNG-CWA, the International Federation of Journalists, AFTRA and the Committee to Protect Journalists. To pre-register, call 202-434-7177.

The Guild Reporter (ISSN: 00175404) (CPC # 1469371) is issued monthly, generally at four-week intervals, at 501 Third St. NW, 2nd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Periodicals postage paid in Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. Printed in the U.S.

Postmaster: Send address changes to: Grace Comer, Communications Workers of America, 501 Third St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20001

Address changes also can be sent by e-mail to: gcomer@cwa-union.org.

Subscription: \$20 a year in U.S. and Canada, \$30 a year overseas. Send subscription orders to: Andy Zipser, TNG-CWA, 501 Third Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001

Single copies: \$1.50

The Newspaper Guild International



For information about your benefits, contact Helen L. Coleman, assistant to the trustees:

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Broun winners latest to survive contest bashing

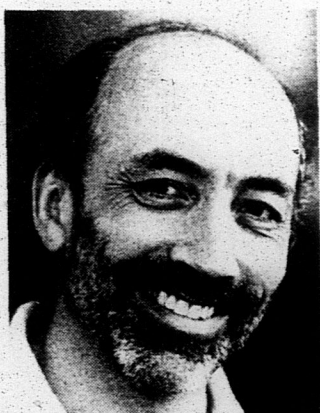
Continued from page 1

While Leggett has been fighting the courts, this year's Broun Award winners have been battling one of their peers. Duff Wilson and David Heath of The Seattle Times won a slew of prizes for their series alleging major ethical problems at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center, but then were blind-sided in a column by Laura Landro, a Wall Street Journal assistant managing editor—and a former Hutchinson Center patient. Long on generalities and conspicuously lacking in specific examples, Landro nevertheless accused the duo of omitting and distorting facts and labeled the series "fundamentally false."

The blast triggered a furious exchange of charges and counter-charges in numerous venues, but underneath it all lurked the suspi-

cion that the real agenda behind Landro's attack was to derail the series' chances of winning a Pulitzer. Sure enough, although "Uninformed Consent" was one of three finalists in the investigative reporting category, the prize went to a series that had been entered in the public service category. Although the Pulitzer board has moved finalists from one category to another in the past, this was the only such reassignment this year.

One bright note: the peripatetic Pulitzer winner was a Washington Post series, "The District's Lost Children," that looked at the deaths of 229 children while in the care of the D.C. child protection system. That series was one of two entries in the Broun Award competition to receive an award of "substantial distinction," also to be presented May 14.



Broun Award winners Duff Wilson (above) and David Heath.



Interpreters push for rights

Continued from page 1

ing contract provisions for team-interpreting to curb mental and physical fatigue.

Meanwhile, the kinds of job hurdles faced by court interpreters was on display in nearby Milwaukee, where interpreter Rick Kissell—former president of the Translators and Interpreters Guild—had to obtain a court order to get paid. Although Kissell was appointed as the interpreter for two Spanish-speaking defendants facing a combined 169 years in prison on drug charges, the public defender's office had been insisting that the court pay for his services, while the court said his bill was the public defender's responsibility.

"The charges these men are facing could up in life sentences," Kissell pointed out, "and they are nickel-and-dime over the cost (for) these men to be able to talk to their attorneys."

And in California, where Bay Area Court Interpreters asked for a meeting to discuss deteriorating work conditions in Santa Clara County Superior Court, Presiding Judge Richard Turrone temporized by saying he'd get back to the group "in a few weeks." BACI got a somewhat quicker response when the new unit called a one-day boycott after Judge Andrea

Bryan ordered the arrest of an interpreter for failing to appear in her courtroom.

The interpreter avoided arrest after it was pointed out that he was busy translating in a different courtroom, one of several he'd been assigned to cover as needed. Judge Bryan later insisted she was only kidding, but the incident underscored why BACI and its southern California counterpart, the California Federation of Interpreters, have become units of the Northern California Media Workers Guild/Typographical Union.

"Do we risk being thrown in jail for coming to work and doing our job?" asked Andy Ta, a certified Vietnamese interpreter and member of the BACI board who has worked in the Santa Clara County courts for more than 10 years. "With interpreters being subjected to such abuse, it is, sadly, no surprise that interpreters are leaving the courts," Ta added. "This situation needs to be resolved for the good of the community as well as the good of the interpreters."

Meanwhile, legislation pending in Sacramento would follow the path already taken in Illinois. The Senate bill would recognize court interpreters as employees, and therefore entitled to bargain collectively and to resolve problems through negotiation.

CMG leaders call for more local CBC programs

The Canadian Media Guild earlier this month called for more local programming on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and for a better method of appointing members to the CBC Board. For the two CMG officials representing the Guild, this was their second appearance before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, which has been holding public hearings on the state of the country's public broadcasting network.

In a written brief presented to the committee last year, the Guild stressed the importance of separating the public broadcaster and its board from the federal government. In her more recent testimony, CMG President Lise Lareau told committee members that one prerequisite for such independence is greater transparency in the selection of board candidates. The British Broadcasting Corporation, she offered as an example, publicly reviews its board candidates; nominees for the CBC board similarly could be interviewed at public hearings of the Heritage Committee. And the board, not the government, should appoint the CBC president, Lareau added.

"It appears this committee is ready to consider recommending significant changes to the way the CBC Board is composed and chosen," Lareau observed. "I hope our brief provided some useful insight and arguments for committee members to work with."

Arnold Amber, CMG's CBC Branch director and Director of TNG Canada, the Guild's parent union, told the committee that strong local programming should be fundamental for the national public broadcaster. The plan to dilute local news, initiated by CBC president Robert Rabinovitch two

years ago, runs counter to broadcasting practice around the world, Amber added.

Amber also told committee members that local programming doesn't have to be restricted to news, but that even news programming could be more inventive, with the CBC taking different approaches in different cities.

The CMG recommended several changes to the Broadcast Act, including an amendment taking special note of the role of CBC Radio. The Guild also called for a mandated balance between internal CBC production and outside, independent productions.

Liberal Member of Parliament John Harvard challenged Lareau on this latter point, questioning whether such a production mix was really a policy issue or a question of internal CBC management choice. Lareau responded that it's a policy question as long as the rules of the Canadian Television Fund are skewed against in-house production at the CBC. "To make a show it wants to make," the CBC has two choices: use the Canadian Television Fund and lose copyright and control over the program, because the CTF can only be triggered when an independent producer is engaged. Or, forget the CTF and lose out on a 40% subsidy to produce the show," Lareau pointed out. "And the CBC cannot afford to do that."

Lareau also expressed support for the SCRC in its lockout by the CBC, but made it clear that she was appearing before the committee to focus on "supporting CBC the public broadcaster, not to discuss CBC the manager."

Committee chair Clifford Lincoln thanked the Guild for bringing up "controversial issues" that others are "too timid to raise."

Increase in annual per capita and payment of CWA Defense Fund fee

The TNG-CWA per capita on May dues, payable by U.S. locals to TNG-CWA on or before June 15, 2002, will be \$17.43. Combined with the 50-cent CWA Defense Fund payment, the total amount due from locals per member, per month, will be \$17.93. In Canada, the total monthly per capita payment (including the CWA Defense Fund payment) will be C\$18.22. The increase in the U.S. annual per capita rate is 93 cents per month from the previous rate of \$16.50, which has been in effect since May 1, 2001.

The CWA Defense Fund payment of 50 cents per member, per month, is payable on the following classifications: (1) regular full-time; (7) regular less-than-full-time; (5) at-large full-time; (H) at-large less-than-full-time; (8) paid leave full; (F) agency fee full-time; and, (G) agency fee less-than-full-time.

The per capita payable on behalf of employed U.S. members whose dues are less than \$16.50 per month is \$6.97 (\$7.47 with the CWA Defense Fund payment). For Canadian locals, the per capita payable on behalf of employed members whose dues are less than \$16.50 per

month is C\$7.76, including the CWA Defense Fund payment.

By operation of the per capita formula in the Constitution, the increase in the average top reporter minimum in Guild contracts with daily newspapers is translated into a percentage increase in the monthly per capita payable to TNG-CWA.

This year, the per capita rate was adjusted to add funding to the TNG-CWA Mobilization and Defense Fund (MDF) pursuant to Article 18, Section 7(b) of the TNG-CWA Constitution.

Effective April 1, 2002, the above per capita tax shall increase to 1.997 percent (.01997), the increase to be deposited into the Guild Mobilization and Defense Fund. A local may act to meet this per capita obligation to the Guild Mobilization and Defense Fund by increasing dues or by paying it out of existing local funds.

Fifty cents per member per month of the 93 cent increase will be deposited into the TNG-CWA MDF.

The average top reporter minimum in Guild contracts with daily newspapers on April 1, 2002, was \$872.78—an increase

of \$22.24, or 2.61%, over the \$850.54 average top minimum on the same date a year ago. The 93-cent per month increase in the per capita rate, from \$16.50 to \$17.43, is an increase of 5.64%. Had the rate not been adjusted, the increase would have been 2.61%. The formula for computing the monthly per capita requires averaging top reporter minimums in all contracts with newspapers published at least five days per week. On April 1 of this year, there were 92 such contracts.

The statistics show that TNG-CWA locals have 88 daily newspaper contracts with top reporter minimums at or above \$500 a week. The number at or above \$600 is 79; of these, 71 are \$700 or more, 54 are over \$800, 34 are over \$900, 24 are \$1,000 or more, 14 are \$1,100 or more and 4 are \$1,200 or more.

The TNG-CWA Constitution provides that per-capitas payable on behalf of regular members employed full time, and of other employees covered by a TNG-CWA contract that requires them to pay an agency or similar fee equivalent to dues, shall be recalculated each year in April.

The formula appears in Article XVIII, Section 7.

TNG has computed the average top reporter minimum by adding these minimums in 92 separate contracts with newspapers published at least five days a week, using only those amounts which are actually being paid on April 1, 2002.

The \$850.54 was multiplied by .01997, producing a figure of \$17.4294 which, rounded up to the next cent, produces \$17.43, 93 cents over the present per capita of \$16.50.

The per capita payable on behalf of regular members employed full time and persons paying agency fees becomes \$17.43 per month, plus 50 cents for the CWA Defense Fund, for a total of \$17.93 (Canadian locals will receive a separate calculation for the CWA Defense Fund). This amount should be reflected in per capita remittances postmarked not later than June 15, 2002. The per capita payable on behalf of employed members whose dues are less than \$17.43 per month is \$6.97, plus 50 cents for the CWA Defense Fund, for a total of \$7.47.

Globalization's politics is all

By Jeff Faux
Economic Policy Institute

[While the mainstream media dutifully reported on the World Economic Forum in New York a couple of months ago, coverage of the parallel World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, was essentially non-existent. Among those at the latter assembly was Jeff Faux, director of the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. His speech—excerpted here—not only explained the crucial difference between the two events but provided a blueprint for organized labor in the months ahead.]

Although one can find a mass of data on the financial interests of the relatively tiny investor class, the mainstream media carries little systematic information on what is happening to the huge class of the world's workers as a whole. But a look at the trends within countries shows a general deterioration of the position of labor, relative to capital, in both developing and developed economies.

The Global Policy Network, a new group of non-profit research organizations linked to national trade unions movements, has so far posted reports on labor conditions in 27 countries on its web site (www.gpn.org). The countries examined include those among the poorest (e.g. Lesotho, Zambia), the most rapidly developing (e.g. Korea and Ireland) and the most developed (Canada, United States). The exact manifestation of labor's shrinking share of income differs from country to country, but there is a



Jeff Faux

common pattern in the concentration of economic growth in the "informal" sector, where workers are unorganized, contingent and unprotected—that is, where they have little or no bargaining power with capital.

Argentina is, of course, the latest example of this relentless downward pressure on workers' living standards. As shown in a report from the Instituto de Estudios y Formacion in Buenos Aires, labor productivity among Argentina's 500 largest firms—which dominate Argentina's international trade—rose 50% from 1993 to 1998, while real wages rose only 20%. So where did the benefits of increased efficiency go? Within those firms the share of income going to labor dropped from 35% to 28% in five years, while capital's share rose from 65% to 72%.

Another vivid example of how neo-liberalism negatively affects workers at all levels of development is the North American Free Trade Agreement. Like most recent agreements, NAFTA protects investors at the expense of workers and the environment. Seven years after its implementation, the political protectors of capital in all three countries judge NAFTA a great success and support efforts to expand it to all of the Western Hemisphere through the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. But as a recent collaborative study by economists in Canada, Mexico and the United States shows, from the perspective of the working people in all three countries, NAFTA has been a failure. All three countries have seen a decline in real wages, an upward redistribution of income and a dramatic expansion of the informal sector jobs characterized by insecurity, low pay and no bargaining power.

Just as a global investor class implies a global working class, a global marketplace implies a global politics. Global politics in turn imply global political "parties," even though they are not formally organized as such. The meetings of the World Economic Forum are in some ways the convention of the global party of capital. We might call it the Investors' Protection Party. Their convention in New York is paid for by the world's largest multinational corporations and will be dominated by 1,000 corporate executives, along with 250 government officials, including 20 heads of state. They will be accompanied by lawyers, consultants, journalists and academics who will do business with each other at the receptions and dinners and in the corner of hotel lobbies, just as in any political convention.

Similarly, this meeting of the World Social Forum here in Porto Alegre is in many ways a convention of a global political party in opposition, which is now searching for a common program with which to oppose the investors' agenda. The difference between these two "parties" is not, as the media would have it, the difference between globalizers and anti-globalizers. Globalization, in the sense of people exchanging goods and ideas with each other, has been going on for several thousand years and will continue. Neither is it a concern with "social" as opposed to "economic" issues. This meeting is also about economics—an economics that serves society, rather than one that is served by society.

In that sense, the core contention between Davos/New York and Porto Alegre is over the rules of the global marketplace—and who will set them. Because the Investor Protection Party dominates the global financial institutions, the party in opposition has little real access to forums which might force those institutions to seriously consider alternatives. Demonstrators can temporarily obstruct the workings of the global institutions' managers, but as the WTO showed by moving its last meeting to Doha, international agencies have the resources and the will to circumvent street demonstrators.

As a consequence, the leaders of the NGOs, trade union, anti-poverty and religious groups in opposition find themselves drawn into largely fruitless efforts to achieve social justice by lobbying the IMF, the WTO, the World Bank and other finance and development institutions that have no intention of making significant changes in their programs. NGOs may be put on public advisory committees, but the real work goes on in private, where representatives of multinational businesses negotiate the rules. The Party of Opposition is thus constantly forced back into a defense of national sovereignty as the only available instrument for achieving social justice.

Yet sovereignty is steadily eroding under the relentless pressure of global markets. Moreover, a nationalist politics undercuts the cross-border cooperation needed to balance the cross-border political reach of business and finance. Nationalism perpetuates the myth that national identity is the only factor in determining whether one wins or loses in the global economy. It obscures the common interests of workers in all countries when faced with the alliances of investors in rich and poor nations that now dominate the



global marketplace. Still, human rights and social justice will become part of the "constitution" of the global marketplace only when enough nation-states demand it.

Therefore, if the global opposition is to develop an alliance of its developing and developed country wings, it must pursue a common global program for working people of all nations that reinforces their national struggles for economic and social equity. Such a program would support national democratic movements and leaders who

understand that national social contracts cannot be maintained in a global market that lacks one of its own, and that a global social contract cannot be established in the absence of effective social democracy at the national level. We cannot demand "democracy" at the IMF and not within the nations that belong to it.

The strategy for labor must be to change the framework of current global political debate, in which the investor class pursues its interest across borders, while the working

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class is constricted by those borders. The creation of a true global alternative requires a perspective through which the interests of workers in all countries are linked. In a global marketplace, workers' living standards increasingly rise and fall together. When workers in Brazil win a wage increase, it raises the bargaining power of workers in Germany. When workers in Indonesia improve their working conditions, workers in Nigeria benefit. Likewise, when the social safety net is strengthened in one country, it helps those struggling for human economic and social rights in other countries as well.

So long as the struggle is seen as a struggle of nation against nation, the party of Opposition will never be able to mount a credible alternative to the Neo-Liberal paradigm. Only when workers in all countries see that they ultimately have more in common with workers in other nations than they have with the owners of capital in their own country, will they be able to organize effectively.

Trade Unions' Role

The definition of the global working class cannot be restricted just to unions. Nonetheless, the free trade union movement—that is, the movement of unions democratically elected by workers and accountable only to their membership—plays a crucial leadership role for the world's workers.

Labor unions are critical in part because they have the power to deny capital the human resource that is necessary for the generation of profits. The capacity to strike is the ultimate threat to the investor class. And just as the Party in Opposition needs the support of organized labor, so labor needs the support of the NGOs and other organizations that rise in opposition to the neo-liberal program.

To move forward in partnership with the other parts of the opposition to neo-liberalism, we will need to pay attention to areas that have sometimes divided trade unions and their allies. One area is the environment. At times, differences have been interpreted as reflecting philosophies of "growth" versus "no growth," in which trade unions are seen as willing to sacrifice the environment in order to save jobs and environmentalists are seen as willing to sacrifice jobs in order to save the environment. This of course allows the investor class to play off one group against the other. The real question is not "growth versus no growth" but the creation of a full-employment economy that respects and sustains the environment and resource base.

By now it is obvious that competitive markets driven by self-interest will maximize the use of resources for immediate consumption. That's what makes them so "efficient." Individual firms do not typically accept higher costs in order to preserve the environment, because doing so would put them at a competitive disadvantage. Moreover, there is little incentive for investors who live thousands of miles away from their investment to reduce their profits in order to avoid the environmental costs. Thus, any program to create a sustainable economics that relies on the voluntary efforts of profit-maximizing firms is doomed to failure. The solution therefore lies in the democratic regulation of capital and the development of long-term planning—not just land-use or water-resource planning, but planning that includes social safety nets and job opportunities as well.

At the margins, of course, there will always be some differences between those whose primary concern is worker security and those whose primary concern is the environment. But the key task in building an alternative vision is to create a democratic forum for negotiation, in which those who will pay the price of failing to protect the environment or providing sufficient employment are the ones making the ultimate decision over the allocation of natural resources.

Another tension that must be resolved involves labor rights and standards in international trade and investment agreements. Although virtually all trade unionists and their allies support such rights and standards, many in the Third World see the effort to enforce them with trade and financial sanctions as a vehicle for first-world protectionism. As one Asian economist observed: "The U.S. Treasury runs the International Monetary Fund, and for years urged them to make loans to dictators who squandered the proceeds and are now dead, or retired in

the south of France. Then the IMF tells us that the only way to pay their debts is to increase exports made with our cheap labor. When we do, U.S. unions complain that we are undercutting labor standards."

On the other hand, trade unionists from developed countries see their third-world brothers and sisters as being too willing to align themselves with multinational capital in opposing social protections through trade and financial agreements. They are skeptical when those in developing countries who claim to be supportive of human rights resist economic sanctions—which, in practical terms, are the only way to preserve those rights.

One strategy for overcoming this disagreement is to design a "grand bargain" that gives the working people in both developed and developing countries what they need. The bargain starts with the distinction between rights and standards. Collective bargaining is a right that every worker is entitled to, regardless of how rich or poor is his or her society. The wages and benefits that a union settles for, however, will depend on what the particular enterprise can pay. Likewise, all workers should have a right to a minimum wage, but the level of that minimum wage will depend on the economic development of the country or region. Once that distinction is understood, it may be possible for labor organizations and their allies in all countries to reach agreement that would provide enforceable labor rights in exchange for guaranteed commitments of long-term development aid and debt relief.

This "grand bargain" that links development with broadly increasing living standards would be connected to planning for sustainable development to create the program elements for a global social contract. Other elements would include:

- **Flexible Development**—The one-size-fits-all policies of the international financial agencies have not only failed to produce faster growth, they have allowed the leaders of recipient countries to escape responsibility for their own policies by blaming all their problems on the IMF or World Bank. Therefore, once human and political rights are ensured, countries should have the flexibility to choose their own development path, for which their leadership should be held accountable—by their citizens.

- **Winners Compensating Losers**—As long as workers who have to bear the costs of open markets expect that they will be abandoned by the society that profits at their expense, they will resist globalization. So countries need social policies that compensate those who must pay for the benefits of economic integration. Such policies would include increased public spending on health care for the uninsured, worker retraining, adequate pensions and community redevelopment, as well as more generous unemployment compensation and wage insurance to cushion the blow of moving to lower-paying jobs.

- **Regulated Finance**—Volatile financial markets must be tamed. Since no system of global banking regulation is in sight, the simplest solution is the "Tobin Tax"—a tax on international financial transactions. The proceeds would be used for long-term investments in education and health care in poor countries. Such a tax, which has the virtue of being easily understood and can be administered with minimal bureaucratic discretion, is already supported by many influential people around the world. Several years ago, in fact, the government of Canada proposed a discussion of the Tobin Tax for the agenda of the Group of Seven (the major economic powers) meeting in Halifax, but the U.S. Treasury quickly quashed the idea.

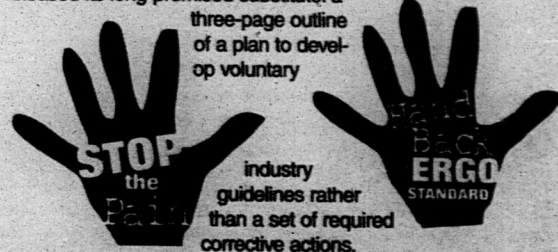
- **Coordinated Economic Policy**—A fully functioning global economy, like a fully functioning national economy, needs central banking and counter-cyclical public budgets in order to maintain overall growth. But there will be neither a global central bank nor a global government budget for a long time, so these functions must be performed by the governments of the three largest economies—the United States, Europe, and Japan—acting together. Having pressured the world into a system of brutal competition, the major powers have an obligation to maintain sufficient global demand with low interest rates and other macroeconomic policies. Putting pressure on their governments to act is the special responsibility of worker organizations in those countries.

Labor round-up

Back to square one for ergo safety

More than a year after rescinding OSHA regulations designed to prevent ergonomic injuries, the Bush administration finally released its long-promised substitute: a

three-page outline of a plan to develop voluntary



Although the discarded OSHA regulations had been more than a decade in the making and were based on several scientific studies that haven't been refuted, an administration spokesman explained that new guidelines could be developed more quickly than a mandatory standard and could be more flexible. The AFL-CIO promptly called the plan "a sham." An estimated 1.8 million workers suffer injuries from ergonomic hazards each year, with a third of those resulting in time off the job at an annual cost of more than \$50 billion. The newspaper industry is among those most affected because of the high incidence of injuries related to keyboard use.

Appeals court revives Detroit case

In an unlikely twist on a long-running saga, the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has revived a National Labor Relations Board case against the Detroit Newspaper Agency for violating labor law during the strike against the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press. In an April 15 ruling, the usually conservative court said a federal district court judge erred in 1999 in throwing out a case involving the illegal firing of 59 workers; none of the plaintiffs in the case were represented by TNG-CWA. The workers were fired after the strike had ended, when the six striking union locals made unconditional offers to return to work—and the papers and the DNA illegally rejected the offers.—Press Associates, Inc.

Calling all gun-toting union members

In trying to explain why Al Gore lost traditionally Democratic states like West Virginia, one often cited reason is Republican success at splitting the union vote on such red-white-and-blue issues as abortion and gun control. Now the AFL-CIO leadership is mulling a plan to create a union-driven counterpart to the National Rifle Association, the Union Sportsmen of America, to give the hunters in labor's ranks an alternative voice—and politics.

Living wage takes bite of Big Apple

The longer the minimum wage remains stuck at \$5.15 an hour, the more support is being generated nationwide for locally-enacted "living wage" bills. The latest show of interest is in the Big Apple itself, where union leaders and grassroots activists have started generating support from city council members—but not billionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg—for a bill that would require companies receiving city funds or tax breaks to pay their employees at least \$8.10 an hour. More than 80 such ordinances have been passed across the U.S. In December, Cumberland County, New Jersey, passed the first such ordinance to also require employers to offer pension plans.

See what your CEO is getting paid

March and April, being the most popular months for release of corporate annual reports, is also the time when the AFL-CIO unveils its latest "executive pay watch" website. Among this year's findings (at www.aflcio.org/paywatch): the median chief executive's pay-and-perks package rose 7% in 2001, even as corporate profits declined 35%, stock prices fell 13% and more than 1.4 million workers were laid-off. Hey—is this a great country, or what?

First you work 'em, then stiff 'em

In a ruling that amounts to declaring open season on illegal immigrants, the U.S. Supreme Court split 5-4 in deciding that such workers are not entitled to back pay if wrongly fired. Although the court had previously ruled that undocumented workers are protected by federal labor laws, the new decision reasons that such protection does not mean they can claim "wages that could not lawfully have been earned and for a job obtained in the first instance by a criminal fraud."

From the 'man bites dog' dept. . . .

The National Labor Relations Board is used to hearing complaints about managers who engage in bad-faith bargaining—but this time it's the NLRB itself that is being accused of such conduct, and by its own lawyers, to boot. The last full contract the lawyers were able to negotiate with the board was in 1989.

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class is constricted by those borders. The creation of a true global alternative requires a perspective through which the interests of workers in all countries are linked. In a global marketplace, workers' living standards increasingly rise and fall together. When workers in Brazil win a wage increase, it raises the bargaining power of workers in Germany. When workers in Indonesia improve their working conditions, workers in Nigeria benefit. Likewise, when the social safety net is strengthened in one country, it helps those struggling for human economic and social rights in other countries as well.

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Trade Unions' Role

The definition of the global working class cannot be restricted just to unions. Nonetheless, the free trade union movement—that is, the movement of unions democratically elected by workers and accountable only to their membership—plays a crucial leadership role for the world's workers.

Labor unions are critical in part because they have the power to deny capital the human resource that is necessary for the generation of profits. The capacity to strike is the ultimate threat to the investor class. And just as the Party in Opposition needs the support of organized labor, so labor needs the support of the NGOs and other organizations that rise in opposition to the neo-liberal program.

To move forward in partnership with the other parts of the opposition to neo-liberalism, we will need to pay attention to areas that have sometimes divided trade unions and their allies. One area is the environment. At times, differences have been interpreted as reflecting philosophies of "growth" versus "no growth," in which trade unions are seen as willing to sacrifice the environment in order to save jobs and environmentalists are seen as willing to sacrifice jobs in order to save the environment. This of course allows the investor class to play off one group against the other. The real question is not "growth versus no growth" but the creation of a full-employment economy that respects and sustains the environment and resource base.

By now it is obvious that competitive markets driven by self-interest will maximize the use of resources for immediate consumption. That's what makes them so "efficient." Individual firms do not typically accept higher costs in order to preserve the environment, because doing so would put them at a competitive disadvantage. Moreover, there is little incentive for investors who live thousands of miles away from their investment to reduce their profits in order to avoid the environmental costs. Thus, any program to create a sustainable economics that relies on the voluntary efforts of profit-maximizing firms is doomed to failure. The solution therefore lies in the democratic regulation of capital and the development of long-term planning—not just land-use or water-resource planning, but planning that includes social safety nets and job opportunities as well.

At the margins, of course, there will always be some differences between those whose primary concern is worker security and those whose primary concern is the environment. But the key task in building an alternative vision is to create a democratic forum for negotiation, in which those who will pay the price of failing to protect the environment or providing sufficient employment are the ones making the ultimate decision over the allocation of natural resources.

Another tension that must be resolved involves labor rights and standards in international trade and investment agreements. Although virtually all trade unionists and their allies support such rights and standards, many in the Third World see the effort to enforce them with trade and financial sanctions as a vehicle for first-world protectionism. As one Asian economist observed: "The U.S. Treasury runs the International Monetary Fund, and for years urged them to make loans to dictators who squandered the proceeds and are now dead, or retired in

the south of France. Then the IMF tells us that the only way to pay their debts is to increase exports made with our cheap labor. When we do, U.S. unions complain that we are undercutting labor standards."

On the other hand, trade unionists from developed countries see their third-world brothers and sisters as being too willing to align themselves with multinational capital in opposing social protections through trade and financial agreements. They are skeptical when those in developing countries who claim to be supportive of human rights resist economic sanctions—which, in practical terms, are the only way to preserve those rights.

One strategy for overcoming this disagreement is to design a "grand bargain" that gives the working people in both developed and developing countries what they need. The bargain starts with the distinction between rights and standards. Collective bargaining is a right that every worker is entitled to, regardless of how rich or poor is his or her society. The wages and benefits that a union settles for, however, will depend on what the particular enterprise can pay. Likewise, all workers should have a right to a minimum wage, but the level of that minimum wage will depend on the economic development of the country or region. Once that distinction is understood, it may be possible for labor organizations and their allies in all countries to reach agreement that would provide enforceable labor rights in exchange for guaranteed commitments of long-term development aid and debt relief.

This "grand bargain" that links development with broadly increasing living standards would be connected to planning for sustainable development to create the program elements for a global social contract. Other elements would include:

- **Flexible Development**—The one-size-fits-all policies of the international financial agencies have not only failed to produce faster growth, they have allowed the leaders of recipient countries to escape responsibility for their own policies by blaming all their problems on the IMF or World Bank. Therefore, once human and political rights are ensured, countries should have the flexibility to choose their own development path, for which their leadership should be held accountable—by their citizens.

- **Winners Compensating Losers**—As long as workers who have to bear the costs of open markets expect that they will be abandoned by the society that profits at their expense, they will resist globalization. So countries need social policies that compensate those who must pay for the benefits of economic integration. Such policies would include increased public spending on health care for the uninsured, worker retraining, adequate pensions and community redevelopment, as well as more generous unemployment compensation and wage insurance to cushion the blow of moving to lower-paying jobs.

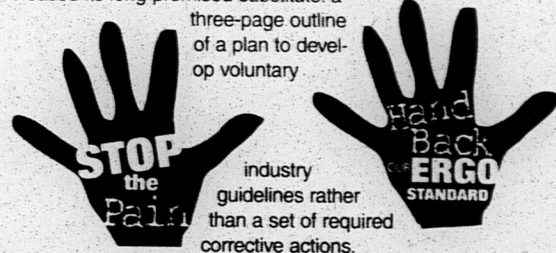
- **Regulated Finance**—Volatile financial markets must be tamed. Since no system of global banking regulation is in sight, the simplest solution is the "Tobin Tax"—a tax on international financial transactions. The proceeds would be used for long-term investments in education and health care in poor countries. Such a tax, which has the virtue of being easily understood and can be administered with minimal bureaucratic discretion, is already supported by many influential people around the world. Several years ago, in fact, the government of Canada proposed a discussion of the Tobin Tax for the agenda of the Group of Seven (the major economic powers) meeting in Halifax, but the U.S. Treasury quickly quashed the idea.

- **Coordinated Economic Policy**—A fully functioning global economy, like a fully functioning national economy, needs central banking and counter-cyclical public budgets in order to maintain overall growth. But there will be neither a global central bank nor a global government budget for a long time, so these functions must be performed by the governments of the three largest economies—the United States, Europe, and Japan—acting together. Having pressured the world into a system of brutal competition, the major powers have an obligation to maintain sufficient global demand with low interest rates and other macroeconomic policies. Putting pressure on their governments to act is the special responsibility of worker organizations in those countries.

Labor round-up

Back to square one for ergo safety

More than a year after rescinding OSHA regulations designed to prevent ergonomic injuries, the Bush administration finally released its long-promised substitute: a



Although the discarded OSHA regulations had been more than a decade in the making and were based on several scientific studies that haven't been refuted, an administration spokesman explained that new guidelines could be developed more quickly than a mandatory standard and could be more flexible. The AFL-CIO promptly called the plan "a sham." An estimated 1.8 million workers suffer injuries from ergonomic hazards each year, with a third of those resulting in time off the job at an annual cost of more than \$50 billion. The newspaper industry is among those most affected because of the high incidence of injuries related to keyboard use.

Appeals court revives Detroit case

In an unlikely twist on a long-running saga, the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has revived a National Labor Relations Board case against the Detroit Newspaper Agency for violating labor law during the strike against the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press. In an April 15 ruling, the usually conservative court said a federal district court judge erred in 1999 in throwing out a case involving the illegal firing of 59 workers; none of the plaintiffs in the case were represented by TNG-CWA. The workers were fired after the strike had ended, when the six striking union locals made unconditional offers to return to work—and the papers and the DNA illegally rejected the offers.—*Press Associates, Inc.*

Calling all gun-toting union members

In trying to explain why Al Gore lost traditionally Democratic states like West Virginia, one often cited reason is Republican success at splitting the union vote on such red-white-and-blue issues as abortion and gun control. Now the AFL-CIO leadership is mulling a plan to create a union-driven counterpart to the National Rifle Association, the Union Sportsmen of America, to give the hunters in labor's ranks an alternative voice—and politics.

Living wage takes bite of Big Apple

The longer the minimum wage remains stuck at \$5.15 an hour, the more support is being generated nationwide for locally-enacted "living wage" bills. The latest show of interest is in the Big Apple itself, where union leaders and grassroots activists have started generating support from city council members—but not billionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg—for a bill that would require companies receiving city funds or tax breaks to pay their employees at least \$8.10 an hour. More than 80 such ordinances have been passed across the U.S. In December, Cumberland County, New Jersey, passed the first such ordinance to also require employers to offer pension plans.

See what your CEO is getting paid

March and April, being the most popular months for release of corporate annual reports, is also the time when the AFL-CIO unveils its latest "executive pay watch" website. Among this year's findings (at www.aflcio.org/paywatch): the median chief executive's pay-and-perks package rose 7% in 2001, even as corporate profits declined 35%, stock prices fell 13% and more than 1.4 million workers were laid-off. Hey—is this a great country, or what?

First you work 'em, then stiff 'em

In a ruling that amounts to declaring open season on illegal immigrants, the U.S. Supreme Court split 5-4 in deciding that such workers are not entitled to back pay if wrongly fired. Although the court had previously ruled that undocumented workers are protected by federal labor laws, the new decision reasons that such protection does not mean they can claim "wages that could not lawfully have been earned and for a job obtained in the first instance by a criminal fraud."

From the 'man bites dog' dept. . . .

The National Labor Relations Board is used to hearing complaints about managers who engage in bad-faith bargaining—but this time it's the NLRB itself that is being accused of such conduct, and by its own lawyers, to boot. The last full contract the lawyers were able to negotiate with the board was in 1989.

A high-tech view of 'white knights'

By Roberta Wilson
WashTech, CWA Local 37083

On Chen's experience at the Harvard Trade Union Program caused him to ask whether it is time to put down our swords and work cooperatively with businesses as their partners. He cited the bad news coming from Harvard about falling union memberships (projected to fall to 5%), corporate dislike of unions and people's lack of interest in unions as reasons for finding a new way. He also questioned whether unions have lost their energy—whether they've become less a movement and more a special interest group.

Because I come from the high-tech industry, where we have cooperated with our employers from the get-go, I learned something about that approach, which may be useful to TNG's efforts.

Although I was used to a worker-business stand-off, as I watched my union Dad suffer strikes against Lockheed, my life as a worker for the last 20+ years has seemed fundamentally different from his. As a reporter-turned-technical-writer, I had a nice office, beautiful art on the walls, free drinks in the lunchroom, challenging work that made me want to stay late, intelligent peers and managers, a good salary and even a chance at some wealth through stock options. Nothing could be further from my Dad's experience on the flight line.

Likewise, I think that many high-tech businesses did indeed want to do better—and in some respects they succeeded. They saw "human resources," rather than natural resources, as the core of their business interests. Best to keep the workers happy and fulfilled. They adopted new-age and pop-psychology thinking regarding group dynamics, motivation, and self-improvement of their employees. We learned about personality types, leadership roles, and being in charge of our "own career." Our bosses did not come from the military, with its top-down organization; they came from campuses and think tanks. I could not imagine my peers joining a union in these seemingly cushy conditions.

But in recent years, the strawberries-dipped-in-chocolate meetings and the parties with robots escorting us to our

chairs have dissipated. As a contract technical writer for five years, I slowly realized that I was doing the same work, albeit at a decent hourly wage, as the permanent employees but that I would never get ahead—until I was hired as a permanent employee by a former co-worker.

At the software firm where I worked, there were times when almost one-third of the employees worked for outside agencies and were never actually seen at the firm itself. These weren't temporary jobs: these were permatemps, some working five, 10, even 15 years or more at the same place. The agencies sent us our paychecks and offered some minimal benefits in return for a percentage of our wage.

(This practice of outsourcing jobs on a long-term basis was challenged in the Vizcaino and Hughes cases and was settled out of court for \$97 million because the practice of employee leasing broke basic labor law. But permatemps in both the public and private sector elsewhere are not yet thoroughly protected by law.)

Likewise, we now see our white-collar jobs going to other countries, just as manufacturing has gone offshore. My neighbor, a programmer, works for an insurance company that has done business in the Northwest for 102 years. It was sold to a Netherlands company which is outsourcing all information technology work to Delhi, India, and he is busy training his replacements.

This appears to be the beginning of the process of moving such businesses offshore. The process made a rust-belt out of much of the East when manufacturing was moved elsewhere, so I can't help but wonder what will happen to Silicon Valley and other high-tech enclaves as this process continues.

We gave up a lot to cooperate with our employers: our personal lives, to some extent; our free time; sometimes our health (carpal tunnel, back problems); our civil responsibilities—but at the time it seemed to a large number of us to be a worthwhile exchange. Now it's time to reconsider.

The problem is not the workers in India, who are well educated and fit for such work. The problem is that global capital and its demands have taken control of nearly every aspect of our lives, something the Harvard folks may not be able to see. We're not dealing with mom-and-pop capitalism

here, or even the vilification of individual companies; rather, we're confronted by corporations and their institutions with the power to overturn a nation's laws regarding labor, the environment—in short, everything we care about.

We're confronted by a system and government culture that gave corporations major tax breaks because we wanted them in our communities—and now they're leaving town. But in the meantime the corporate sensibility has infiltrated every aspect of our lives. Our schools are full of soda pop instead of milk and juice and are supported partly by advertising because corporate tax rates have fallen over the years. Our cultural fairs are now named after corporations. Elections and policy are driven by big donors. Corporations also fund military incursions and are circumventing what little democracy we have left by making us consumers first and citizens last.

Corporations are also busy privatizing the public commons. There are serious discussions in some countries, for instance, about privatizing water. In the U.S. the Wall Street-driven effort to privatize Social Security continues, as does the corporate assault on public schools, health care and other common-good institutions. Even a few in the business community have suggested that putting corporate needs over everything else in the culture has gone too far.

In 1999, when I saw union members participating in the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, I almost kissed their feet! I believe this is where the labor movement is still alive. Our own issues as union members and workers are emblematic of the issues facing the rest of our country and the world. This is the forum in which unions belong, and as unions take up their role as leaders for the common good, they will earn the respect and support they deserve.

However difficult this struggle, I see it as the only choice left for working people to challenge the corporate system that benefit the few while impoverishing a growing percentage of the world community—including an increasing number of us.

Wilson's comments are in response to an essay in the March Guild Reporter by IAPE President Ron Chen.

LETTERS

To the Editor,

I was intrigued by Ron Chen's thought-provoking comments in the March 22 Guild Reporter.

About a decade ago, we went through a strategic planning process which led to our merger with the CWA. Perhaps we should have a similar process now to, among other things, consider the ideas about which Ron is talking.

Along those lines, Ron wrote "Vis-a-vis our employers, we need to look for better and more cost-effective ways . . . to resolve disputes. . . ." One of these ways is mediation. I write about labor arbitration and mediation and I've lost count of the number of arbitrators who've told me how much better mediation is. I urge people to consider getting mediation into their grievance procedure.

—Ken May, Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild

To the Editor,

I strongly disagree with Ron Chen's conclusion (March 22 Guild Reporter) that perhaps labor needs to go along with the "mainstream" and "to think of ourselves as a 'partner' (with management) in the workplace."

Management's bottom line is attaining its own higher profits. This is more important to management than the employees and the integrity of the profession. We feel this especially where I work, at Time Inc. Last year there were nine layoffs in spite of high profits and in spite of the fact that the CEO's salary and stock options are worth the salaries of thousands of Time Inc. employees combined! But the company's explanation was still: hard financial times.

Management will continue to lay-off workers, cut benefits and cut the quality of our profession, all for the sake of higher profit. How can we be a partner to this? This is exactly why we need unions!

Of course, people do not instinctively believe in unions and are more likely to believe that the company is our partner. Why? Because the corporate media and government have all the resources to make us believe it! It's all around us at every stage of our lives. It's in the air we breathe.

As organizers, we need to meet people where they're at in their understanding and work to educate them. This isn't easy. We need an effective and systematic education plan that is also creative, good materials that expose the truth about the company's financial situation, wage inequality and treatment of workers in spite of the so-called "partnership." We also need to have a clear understanding of who has the power at our workplace. Our enemy is probably not our immediate manager—in fact, management probably promoted that person so that she wouldn't be covered by the Guild!

And we need to develop trusting relationships with our members and respond to their needs.

—Amanda Vender, Newspaper Guild of New York

To the Editor,

Ray Rudersdorfer expresses regret that he felt compelled to withdraw from the TNG-CWA regional vice-presidency race (Letter to the Editor, March 22 Guild Reporter). He felt he would be unwelcome, even if he won (against incumbent Scott Edmonds of Winnipeg).

Whether he would have won is an imponderable not worth exploring. But Scott Edmonds has done a fine job as Regional Vice-President Canada West for a number of years. I was proud to be associated with him when I was vice-president for Canada East.

Ray spent some time in Montréal when he worked for the former International Typographic Union, which he represented on the Guild's one-and-only joint bargaining committee. I don't recall that he espoused much that contributed to solid cooperation.

Although it was not entirely due to Ray Rudersdorfer by any means, a wedge between the Guild local and the ITU local was driven so deeply during those negotiations that the two unions have never been able to work together.

I don't know what an investigation into Ray's eligibility to seek the vice-presidential position could bring forward, and it doesn't really matter. Canada has been, and continues to be, well-served vice-presidentially at the international level.

—Larry McInnis, retired, former regional vice president for Canada East

To the Editor,

Regarding "Former Local 55 president dies" ("In brief" column in the March 22 Guild Reporter).

Now, if only we knew where Local 55 is. Cleveland is Local 1; San Jose, 98. Perhaps 55 is somewhere between Denver? St. Louis?

I can appreciate editing for space, but really. . . .

—Lou Calvert, retired, San Jose 98 and Los Angeles 69

[Guilty as charged. Local 55 is in Lynn, Mass.]



LOOKING AHEAD

Journalists caught in the cross-hairs



By Aidan White, General Secretariat, Int'l Federation of Journalists

Journalism has always been risky, but the foreign beat is more hazardous than ever. Last year more than 100 journalists and media staff were killed, many of them front-line reporters covering some of the world's most desperate conflicts.

The kidnapping and murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl illustrate vividly the dangers facing foreign correspondents, and the assassination of investigative journalist Martin O'Hagan—gunned down in Belfast by Protestant paramilitaries—shows the dangers at work closer to home. Increasingly, when war and terrorism are in the headlines, journalists are among the victims.

The problem is that journalists are being routinely targeted, and not just by terrorists or gangsters, as events in Palestine show only too well.

Following a recent spate of suicide bombings, Israeli troops stormed into West Bank cities. Almost immediately there were allegations of summary executions, illegal demolition of homes and wanton destruction, but journalists trying to follow the story found themselves up against a surprising obstacle: the Israeli army, which prides itself in defending the "only democracy in the region."

Ramallah and other towns were closed to the media. Tension between the military and journalists rose and, in an unprecedented

assault, troops opened fire on a crowd of television and press reporters waiting to film a meeting between United States envoy Anthony Zinni and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Without warning, soldiers threw stun grenades into the media crowd and then, as the journalists scattered, fired rubber bullets at their vehicles. Remarkably, no one was seriously hurt in this terrifying incident.

Israel makes no apologies for targeting the media, nor do officials and military people disguise their contempt for journalists. Foreign correspondents are regarded as a troublesome nuisance. Palestinian journalists are seen as a security risk, if not part of the Arab terrorist infrastructure. Already, three Palestinian reporters and one Italian journalist have been killed, and there have been more than 60 incidents of violence and intimidation of media representatives during the current Intifada.

In recent years, protracted conflicts in Colombia, the Philippines, India and Pakistan have all seen one side or another target journalists when it suits their purpose. Much of this targeting can be traced back to the controversial NATO air strike on the radio and television system in Serbia in 1999, when 16 media staff died. At the time, the IFJ warned that this precedent would endanger journalists' lives. Today, Israel quotes this example to justify its systematic destruction of Palestinian media installations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Palestine story is a bitter example of the unacceptable dilemma now facing journalists: do we follow the story, no matter

how dangerous, or do we play it safe and take cover, running the risk that people will be denied crucial information about this tragic confrontation? Unfortunately, the increasingly competitive nature of profit-driven news coverage means that many journalists resolve such questions without giving much thought to the risks they're accepting.

The IFJ, however, maintains that no story—not even the most sensational footage of Palestinian carnage—is worth the life of a reporter or media worker. But journalists and news media can do more to minimize the risks we face and we can do more to bring governments—even democratic ones—into line when they break the international rules regarding the rights of journalists.

The first thing we should do is to improve journalists' knowledge of the rules of war and human rights. It is shocking that despite the killing of more than 1,000 journalists over the past decade, most reporters working in dangerous regions are ignorant of the protection they have under international laws.

All journalists on a foreign assignment should carry a copy of the Geneva Conventions. They should be ready to confront any official or soldier with the clear evidence that journalists, as non-combatants, have rights that must be respected.

At the same time, journalists and media organizations need to do more to make journalism safer. Journalists should have access to risk-awareness training, including first-aid. They should be provided with proper equipment, including flak jackets and helmets.

And journalists themselves should avoid reckless actions. This may seem obvious, but tragically, some of the nine journalists

killed in Afghanistan recently would be alive today if they had followed simple rules about working in combat zones.

The IFJ itself has provided training for around 200 journalists in Afghanistan and Palestine in recent weeks. We have also distributed medical kits, flak jackets and helmets to journalists in these crisis regions.

Of course, this work is expensive and so far only the large media companies—Reuters, Associated Press, the BBC—have implemented comprehensive journalism safety strategies. The international community should provide resources to help small and medium-sized media enterprises and freelancers have access to safety training. Perhaps we should establish an international fund to which media and journalists can apply to receive help to train and equip staff for work in hostile environments.

But getting ourselves organized is only one step. We also need better protection under international law and a system of international accountability that will give journalists and media the right to challenge those governments that violate our rights. Journalists should not be attacked with impunity.

The new international criminal court to be established by the United Nations in Rome this year may provide an answer. But we should not be too optimistic. Many governments—even the most democratic—use spin and various forms of media massage to influence news coverage. Most will be unenthusiastic about giving reporters the right to challenge their strategies for media manipulation.

But despite such difficulties, the fight for journalists' safety must be fought.

'Conspiracy of hush creeps up on freedom'

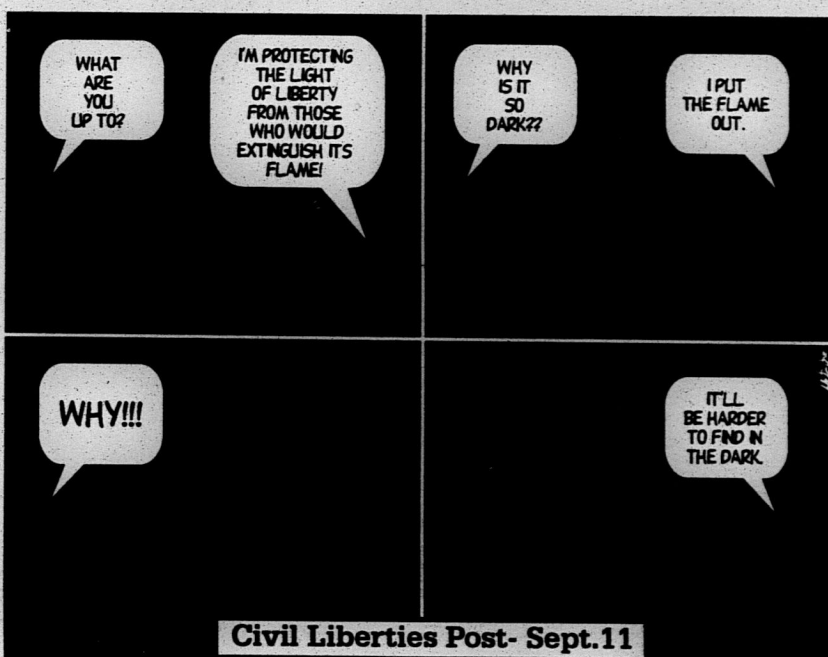
A drift toward the dangers of censorship on all governmental levels becomes increasingly apparent as, one after another, Federal authorities, various states and even local communities attempt to introduce "thought control" in one guise or another.

With mounting frequency, the flow of news from official sources is blocked by orders, restrictions and interpretations. Whether consciously or not, more and more officials take it upon themselves to decide what the public should hear and know.

The trend to restriction of official news is highlighted by the New York World-Telegram & Sun in a recent series of six articles. Written by Allan Keller, they illustrate how a "conspiracy of hush creeps up on freedom" to draw "a silken curtain of censorship between the people and their government."

Some of the methods used to withhold information from the newspapers, and through them the public, include holding closed committee sessions; keeping back important announcements until the news becomes stale; outright lying when the lies are difficult to expose; passing out slanted press releases, and invoking "national security" restrictions with or without reason.

While some restrictions are imposed from genuinely patriotic motives or for legitimate reasons, the series indicates that officials are often motivated by other reasons. Too many do so because:



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1. Officials don't want to answer for what they do if they can avoid it.

2. Silence and secrecy can hide graft, scandal, political intrigue, corruption and incompetence from the eyes of honest men.

3. Some officials have little to do to justify big salaries, and prefer not to have their few activities known.

4. Many officials think every-

thing they do is important and want to cloak it with an aura of mystery and silence.

[The president's] executive order of last year permitted all government agencies to withhold information that might endanger national security functions, but has been administered under conflicting interpretations. The WTS series cites many examples of information restricted for no good reason

... The president has denied intent to "gag" the press and thus keep information from the public, but the censorship continues.

The varying concepts of what is confidential information often lead to a ridiculous display of judgment. Information on the amount of peanut butter was once restricted because an official thought the figures might indicate to a possible enemy "the size of our military establishment."

Again, the commander of an Army post refused to disclose information concerning a private fight between several Wacs on the grounds that it might be a threat to national "security."

The telephone book published at the Yalta conference early in 1945, one senator was told, is still "classified" information.

As discerning readers have already determined, the above excerpted article is of less than recent vintage: it first ran in *The Guild Reporter* on April 11, 1952. But despite the intervening 50 years, its observations are as timely now as then, given public deference to the Orwellian "war" in which we are now engaged, the largely unchallenged suspension of habeas corpus for hundreds—if not thousands—of "detainees" and widespread acquiescence to that acronym-tortured legislation known as the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism" Act.

By TNG Convention action, letters to the editor 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: May 17.) Letters may be e-mailed to the editor at azipser@cwa-union.org.

HOLD THE PRESSES!**U.S. papers add 4 minority journalists**

Back at the height of the Cold War, one joke making the rounds in the Soviet Union was about the automobile race in which the heroic people's entry came in second, that of the capitalist running dogs next-to-last. Left unmentioned was the news that there were only two cars on the track.

That's pretty much the story of industry efforts to hire—and retain—minority journalists. Meeting earlier this month in Washington, D.C., the American Society of Newspaper Editors gave itself a slight pat on the back for increasing minority newsroom representation, up nearly half a percentage point, to 12.07%. The gain reversed last year's decline, when minority journalists slipped to 11.64% of newsroom ranks from 11.85% in 2000.

"These numbers evoke a sigh of relief, not exhilaration," ASNE President Tim McGuire told trade magazine Editor & Publisher. "I am pleased we are back on the positive track."

But as with the Cold War race, such numbers are relative. The only reason newspapers have a slightly higher percentage of minority journalists is because the ranks of white journalists have been decimated by layoffs and buy-outs. While 1,845 white journalists were hired in the past year, 3,828 left, for a net loss of 1,983. Comparable figures for minority journalists, meanwhile, include 447 hires and 443 departures—for a net gain of 4.

These and other industry census findings, released at ASNE's annual convention April 8, were based on responses from 956 of the nation's 1,435 daily newspapers.

Such statistics are in sharp contrast to the overall U.S. population, which is 31% non-white. And they mock ASNE members' repeated vows to increase minority hires

until their newsrooms reflect the general population, which—everything else remaining constant—would require 10,301 additional minority hires (and a similar number of white departures).

Parse the numbers a little more finely, however, and it's clear that not all ASNE members are equally committed to this ideal. For example, the survey also found that the percentage of newspapers with no minorities on staff has increased for the second consecutive year, to 45% from 44%. In 2000, by comparison, only 39% of newspapers reported having no minorities on staff.

Bill Dedman, reporting for the Boston Globe, crunched the numbers even more thoroughly and concluded that diversity "is strongly affected by which newspaper company owns the newspaper." Some of the top 10 newspaper chains, he found—including Knight Ridder, Gannett, McClatchy and Advance (Newhouse) are two-thirds of the way toward achieving parity with their communities. Others, including Tribune, Dow Jones and The New York Times Co., are about halfway to achieving parity. Hearst, Scripps and MediaNews, on the other hand, "are well below half."

Given a general perception that the economy is recovering, diversity advocates might hope that minority hiring will pick up, too. But by most accounts, the approximately 2,000 newsroom jobs that were slashed in the past year—the biggest loss of journalists in 25 years—will not be restored. Their eyes locked on the bottom-line, publishers are muttering about "permanent fixed-cost reductions" to meet ever-higher profit margins: Dow Jones, for example, is targeting compound annual earnings growth above 40% over the next three years. It also has said it won't replace most of the 500 or so employees it cut last year.

Minority employment at U.S. newspapers

Minority employment at U.S. newspapers as a percentage of minority population within each newspaper company's circulation area; a score of 100% indicates parity with the community.

Rank	Group	Score %	Largest papers/cities	# of papers	Total circ.	Circ. rank
1	Brehm	114	Auburn, CA	6	40,324	59
2	Brown	102	Sidney, Ohio	14	93,224	49
3	Calkins	98	Levittown, PA	5	220,613	33
4	Seaton	90	Hastings, Neb.	6	40,042	60
5	Seattle Times	85	Seattle; Portland, ME	6	383,840	25
11	Knight-Ridder	76	Detroit, Philadelphia	32	3,807,608	2
13	Gannett	75	USA Today; Az. Republic	93	7,588,732	1
14	McClatchy	67	Minneapolis, Sacramento	11	1,369,494	10
16	Advance	65	Newark, Cleveland	26	2,694,669	4
17	Herald Media	58	Boston Herald	3	314,429	31
18	NY Times	56	Times, Boston Globe	17	2,277,601	6
21	Pulitzer	52	St. Louis, Tucson	14	578,810	21
23	Wash. Post	52	Washington Post	2	801,497	17
25	Dow Jones	50	Wall Street Journal	20	2,322,960	5
27	Tribune	48	LA Times, Chicago Tribune	10	3,374,273	3
31	Belo	44	Dallas, Providence RI	5	900,561	15
32	Hearst	42	SF Chronicle	12	1,655,431	8
36	Scripps	38	Denver, Memphis	21	1,376,148	9
37	Journal Register	38	New Haven	23	542,544	22
38	MediaNews	36	Denver, Los Angeles	43	1,799,877	7
40	Hollinger	35	Chicago Sun-Times	7	669,461	20

Source: The Boston Globe. For full report, see www.boston.com/asne/groups_by_score

New training? Fuggedaboutit

Newsroom budget cuts aren't just decimating journalists' ranks—they're also shorting the survivors, whose single biggest complaint is inadequate training.

The answer to the question "Newsroom Training: Where's the Investment?"—a survey of nearly 2,000 journalists and news executives—apparently is: "Gone the way of the dodo." Conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates and reported to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its annual convention, the survey found that a third of the surveyed journalists are dissatisfied with their opportunities for training and professional development—a larger percentage than is dissatisfied with salary or promotion opportunities.

Although news executives in the survey acknowledged that their employees need more training than they're getting, 80% reported that their budgets don't accommodate the need. Indeed, nearly two-thirds said they spend an average of \$500 or less per year per

staff member for training; 10% don't spend anything at all.

Moreover, newsroom employees are stretched so thin because of inadequate staffing that two-thirds of the executives say they can't spare their reporters and editors long enough to get the training they need: on average, the managers allow a typical news employee to be away from the job for training no more than four or five days per year.

Yet despite complaints that economic conditions have forced such belt-tightening, the survey's consulting editor found that the news industry is a laggard. The 367 non-journalism companies tracked by the American Society for Training and Development, reported Beverly Kees, estimated a 10% increase in spending for training last year.

"Though news organizations are in the knowledge business," she observed, "the news industry lags behind others in providing its people with new knowledge and skills through professional training."

DAYBOOK

Tri-Council meeting,
May 3-5, New York City

CWA Safety & Health Conf.,
May 5-8, Cleveland

Herblock, Broun, Barr Dinner,
May 14, Washington, DC

Int'l Fed. of Jourm. exec comm.
June 7-9, Washington, DC

Nat'l Hispanic Journalists,
June 12-16, San Diego

Western District Council,
June 15, Las Vegas

CWA Convention,
June 17-19, Las Vegas

Native American Journalists,
June 19-20, San Diego

Nat'l Assoc. Black Journalists,
July 31-Aug. 4, Milwaukee

Asian-American Journalists,
Aug. 7-10, Dallas

FROM THE MORGUE**Fifty years ago this month:**

Leo O'Brien, a legislative correspondent for the Albany Times Union and International News Service, becomes the first Guild member to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. A Democrat, he flattened his GOP opponent, 66,883 to 27,294. . . . The April 11, 1952 Guild Reporter runs two full-page ads—including one from the Advertising Council, headlined "IVAN is watching you," urging Americans to "build more and better weapons."

Twenty-five years ago this month:

Final steps are taken to launch the Newspaper Guild International Pension Fund, with projections for initial benefits of up to \$700 a month. . . . A little more than a week after Newhouse shuts the Long Island Press, throwing 108 Guild members out of work, Mobil Oil Corp. announces it might buy and revive the paper. . . . From the front page of the April 22, 1977 Guild Reporter (no kidding): "Always, in any sort of kiss, just before the male's lips settle onto the lips of his partner, the female's lips should be parted."

Ten years ago this month:

Saying he is "reasonably certain" there won't be a strike in Detroit, Knight-Ridder Chairman James Batten nevertheless offers no apologies at an annual shareholders' meeting for running ads in the Free Press seeking strikebreakers. . . . Production difficulties result in a Guild Reporter of only four pages.

THE GUILD Reporter

Volume 69, Number 4

APRIL 26, 2002

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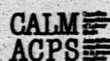
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Printed by Mount Vernon Printing Co.