

THE GUILD Reporter

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Feeling their beans in Boston

Kennedy voices support for pickets

Braving sub-zero temperatures, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy threw his support Jan. 24 to approximately 200 Boston Newspaper Guild members rallying at the Boston Globe. The picket line, one of several in recent months, demonstrated deepening Guild dissatisfaction with management's unwillingness to negotiate a fair contract after more than two years of talks.

Kennedy shook hands and addressed the informational picketers for nearly 15 minutes.

"The men and women that are out here are some of the finest professional newspaper personnel in our country," Kennedy told the crowd. "These are men and women who, because of their skills, have been successful in winning Pulitzer Prizes and have demonstrated extraordinary ability over a long lifetime, and that is

because you are all part of a team and you all work together.

"You ought to be treated with the kind of respect and the kind of dignity that goes along with being devoted to the company and to the profession," Kennedy added. "I want to tell you that I have enormous respect for the fact that you're fighting for your rights. It seems to me that you have right on your side, and this institution, the Boston Globe, ought to give you the kind of respect that you deserve."

The informational picketing was the second in two months, preceded by a "Boston Coffee Party" in November, and was followed by yet another picket line in equally hostile weather Feb. 14. All the actions, said Guild President Steve Richards, were in response to management's punitive bargaining demands, including: the right to

subcontract (or outsource) all business and advertising work currently performed by Guild members; the virtual elimination of seniority from layoff language; allowing non-union workers to sell ads in the Globe through a cross-selling arrangement; and a pattern wage offer with pay increases of less than 2% per year.

Meanwhile, the Globe has put no money on the table toward the BNG members' health fund. Because the Globe has made minimal contributions during contract talks, employees are paying nearly half of the health plan's costs.

Having Kennedy throw his support to the Globe's employees was a big morale booster, Richards said. "It was an honor to have someone of Senator Kennedy's stature show his support for our cause," he noted. "The senator has a long history of fight-



Senator Ted Kennedy encourages Boston Globe employees.

ing for labor rights and for dedicated, hard-working people such as our members. He recognizes the Globe needs to do better than the proposals it has been pushing at the table."

Both Canadian disputes settled

Two four-month-long labor disputes in Canada—one a lockout, the other a strike—ended in recent weeks, albeit on less than ideal terms.

Striking employees at the Cobourg Daily Star and Port Hope Evening Guide, having endured weeks of sub-zero temperatures in an effort to pull their wages out of the cellar, voted 62% in favor of accepting management's last offer. The new four-year contract gives general increases of 2.5%, 2%, 2% and 3%, but also includes base pay upgrades in the first year for a majority of the local's members equal to an additional 5% or more.

"In the end, it was the striking employees who cared more about the well-being of their community newspapers and decided to go back to work despite a company offer that provided a general increase below the cost of living," said business agent Nigel Sones of the Feb. 17 decision. "The striking workers held their heads high as they returned to work."

Separately, Sudbury Star employees represented by the Northern Ontario Newspaper

Guild and the Graphic Communications International Union voted Jan. 23 to accept management's most recent offer, made after a last round of bargaining two days earlier. The vote ended a lockout that the paper, owned by Osprey Media Group, started Oct. 6.

The four-year contract includes wage increases of 2.5%, 2%, 2% and 2.7% for full-time employees, with part-timers getting slightly higher raises that total approximately 15% over term. The agreement also includes improved pension contributions by the employer, some benefit increases and a one-year no-layoffs guarantee.

"This was a very difficult situation, being locked out, when the issues between the two sides could have been settled without any labor disruption," observed Arnold Amber, director of TNG-Canada. Noting that the agreement "is one of the best in the newspaper industry in recent years," Amber praised Guild President Denis St. Pierre for his "great leadership."

Also working with the Guild's negotiating team was national representative David Esposti.



Boston Globe employees brave the snow and cold Feb. 14 to underscore their determination.



Guild rep Jim Schaufenbil joins the Valentine's Day pickets.

Broun panel named, chaired by retired Boston president

Judging for this year's Heywood Broun Award will be chaired by Bob Jordan, recently retired president of the Boston Newspaper Guild, and for the first time will include two panels, one for print entries and one for broadcast.

While the broadcast jurors were still being assembled at press time, the print panel includes four highly regarded journalists: Phil Dine, a national correspondent with the St. Louis Post Dispatch; Trudy Lieberman, director of the Center for Consumer Health Choices at Consumers Union; Bill Marimow, editor and senior vice president of The Baltimore Sun; and Acel Moore, associate editor and columnist at the Philadelphia Inquirer.

Judging was scheduled for Feb. 25, with winners to be announced in March and feted May 6 at the second annual Freedom Awards banquet. The banquet also serves to recognize the recipient of the Herbert Block Freedom Award and the winners of Barr scholarships. The Broun competition recognizes just one winner, for his or her work in the previous calendar year that best exemplifies the spirit of Guild founder

Heywood Broun, but also presents two awards—one to a broadcast entry—for work of substantial distinction.

Prior to his retirement last June, Jordan had worked for the Boston Globe for 34 years, first as a reporter and then for 17 years as a columnist. In addition to receiving various local awards for his columns, he was among a large team of Globe reporters and editors who were the collective recipients of a Pulitzer Prize in 1975 for the newspaper's coverage of the federal court-ordered desegregation of the city's public schools.

Jordan was elected president of the Boston Globe Employees Association in 1989, when it was still an independent union representing approximately 1,200 white- and blue-collar workers at the paper. He and other BGEA members spearheaded a successful 1994 drive to affiliate with The Newspaper Guild, and six years later BGEA members voted to change their union's name to the Boston Newspaper Guild.

Joining Jordan on the panel will be Phil Dine, for-

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Having nurtured 3 decades of women, Padia steps down

By Linda Foley
President, The Newspaper Guild

When I first met Anna Padia, she was the accomplished officer of the Pacific-Northwest Newspaper Guild and was chairing the organizing committee at The Newspaper Guild's 1981 Convention. I was the delegate representing my little Lexington, Ky., local. She sought me out, as she did with many first-time women delegates, and it was then that Anna became my role model and my friend.

At the 1981 convention, Anna was nominated for TNG Vice President representing the western district of the U.S. I eventually became the "campaign manager" for her and the rest of the Unity Slate, as it was called. Anna lost that election by 14 votes to Larry Hatfield, who went on to serve on TNG's Executive Board for almost two decades.

But our (her and my) failed attempt to get Anna elected to TNG's Executive Board turned out to be a big plus for The Newspaper Guild and its future parent union, the CWA. That election loss changed Anna's career path in the Guild and paved the way for her to be named TNG's Human Rights Coordinator (later changed to Director) in 1982.

She's held that position until now. Anna has announced that after 23 years on TNG's staff and more than 30 years of nearly full-time union activism, she is retiring and returning to her roots in and around Puget Sound. She ends her full-time union career in the same place as she was when I first met her: as an organizer



Anna Padia

with a deep commitment to ensuring that the rights and voices of all our members are respected.

Along her career path, Anna served as a national officer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Wider Opportunities for Women, National Committee on Pay Equity and Women's Institute for a Secure Retirement. She was awarded the 1992 Glass Ceiling Award by the U.S. Department of Labor and the Washington State Labor Council, and was recognized in 1986 by Puerto Rican Women. She has been listed in "Who's Who Among Hispanic Americans."

More important than accolades, however, is the legacy of human rights gains that Anna leaves with the Guild.

Here are a few examples: Over the years, she's worked with several locals to achieve pay equity settlements for classified advertising salespeople and other pay groups. In the late '80s, she assisted Ontario Guild locals in developing groundbreaking pay equity plans required by new legislation.

She worked with a network of activists in Washington, D.C., to help pass the Americans With Disabilities Act and the Family Medical Leave Act. She assisted countless Guild locals with enforcement of contractual and legal rights to equal opportunity and non-discrimination. She helped Guild locals bargain cutting-edge job-sharing agreements, domestic partner benefits and contraceptive equity in prescription drug coverage, among other things.

She forged relationships between the Guild and minority journalism organizations by connecting with members who were active in them.

Most recently, she worked with the TNG-CWA Executive Council and its Human Rights Task Force to revamp the Guild's Human Rights program by focusing on education and development of a network of local activists.

Finally, Anna's work in her local, at TNG and in the broader community opened doors for women and minorities in our union and throughout the entire labor movement. As someone who benefited directly from her tireless work, I will be forever grateful to Anna for her service to each of us and to our union.

A temporary hiring freeze due to budgetary constraints and imposed throughout the CWA means that TNG cannot fill the staff vacancy resulting from Anna Padia's retirement in March. Until such time as TNG gets approval to fill the vacancy, the duties of Human Rights Director will be shared by TNG-CWA Staff Representative Linda Cearley and Debbie Thomas, executive secretary of TNG's Contract Committee. Tina Harrison will continue to provide support for the work.

Broun Award judges named

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merly a political editor and reporter in St. Louis who now is based in Washington, where he covers the Pentagon, defense industry, aerospace, the war on terrorism—and, as time permits, the occasional labor story. A past winner of the Overseas Press Club award and the National Press Club's award for best Washington correspondent, he also designed

and taught a course at Webster University on journalism and social change.

Trudy Lieberman, who writes about health policy for Consumer Reports and is a contributing editor to the Columbia Journalism Review, also writes for the Nation and for the Los Angeles Times and is the author of five books, including "Slanting the Story: The Forces That Shape the News." She has won numerous journalistic awards, including two National Magazine awards, 10 National Press Club awards and several fellowships, and teaches media ethics at New York University.

Fellow panelist Bill Marimow spent 21 years as a reporter, editor and assistant to the publisher at The Philadelphia Inquirer before becoming top dog in 1993. His stories about criminal violence by the city's police won a Pulitzer for public service in 1978; seven years later he won a second Pulitzer, for investigative reporting—and, as editor, he has overseen a staff that won two more Pulitzers, in 1997 and 1998.

Rounding out the judging team is Acel Moore, who started at the



Bob Jordan

copy boy and never left. A founding member of the National Association of Black Journalists, he also has a Pulitzer to his credit—and is the only member of this year's panel to have won the Broun Award, in 1975, for a series on abuse of inmates at a state hospital in Pennsylvania; the series also was honored with National Headliner and Robert F. Kennedy awards. Moore's column, "Urban Perspectives," frequently focuses on public policy and how it affects people.

In brief...

Brockton rebuffs concession effort

Guild-represented employees of the Brockton, Mass. Enterprise rebuffed management attempts to erode several contract provisions en route to a multi-year pact that expires in mid-2006. The agreement includes no wage increase in the first year, a 2% raise retroactive to last November, a 3% increase this November and next year and a 1.5% increase in 2005. Rebuffed were employer demands to freeze the company contribution to the medical plan, to weaken severance pay, to cut and restructure the sick-leave provision and to eliminate the 'past practice' clause.

CBC 'fesses up to outsourcing plans

After months of stonewalling the Canadian Media Guild over questions about whether it was planning to outsource jobs currently performed by union members, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has acknowledged that it gave permission for a management takeover proposal to proceed even as it was still at the bargaining table. The admission came in the CBC's response to a Guild complaint of bad faith bargaining and contradicts what it told the Guild in September, but the CBC insists it had responded in good faith because no final decision on outsourcing had been made.

Mercury News stiffies its retirees

In its contract with the Mercury News, The San Jose Newspaper Guild has a clause that links increases in monthly pension payments to the nearby Northern California Guild-San Francisco Chronicle pension plan. Because of that link, Mercury News retirees should be receiving a nice 5.75% bump in benefits—but management has refused the increase, claiming it didn't receive adequate notice of the change. The Guild has filed a grievance and expects to go to arbitration, barring a last-minute settlement.

Detroit Guild gets organizing temp

The Detroit Newspaper Guild has appointed Gene Schabath as temporary organizing coordinator. Schabath took a leave of absence from his job as a staff writer at the Detroit News until May 1 to work with the unit's stewards, officers and other activists on increasing unit membership. The Guild contract with the Detroit News expires next January.

Sprint director also on DJ board

Sprint, many of whose workers are represented by CWA, is much in the news these days because of the hugely question-

able tax shelters its board of directors approved. Among those directors: Irvine O. Hockaday, described by the Wall Street Journal as among the "most powerful outside directors" of a board that "knew about the looming conflict for more than two years before it finally moved to address it." Ironically, Hockaday also serves on the board of the Journal's parent company, Dow Jones—where he chairs the compensation committee that determines how much money to lavish on chief executive Peter Kann.

No-layoff clause targeted by NYT

Contract negotiations have opened at The New York Times—and the Times, no surprise, has as one of its chief bargaining goals the elimination of a "no layoffs" provision that's protected hundreds of staffers who were hired by the Times before 1997. Management now characterizes such job protection as an "extreme provision," but unit members responding to a Guild survey ranked job protection as their number one concern and union leaders say they will fight to extend the protection to more recent hires.

Consumer Reports publicly exposed

Following up on their Jan. 16 vote of no-confidence in management, Guild-represented employees of Consumer Reports magazine have launched a website to bring public attention to their employer's retrogressive bargaining proposals. "Consumer Reports Exposed" is at www.consumerreportsexposed.org.

Guilder honored for labor reporting

David Bacon, a member of the Northern California Media Guild and a frequent contributor to these pages, will be honored May 2 by the Metro NY Labor Communications Council as its Distinguished Labor Communicator of the Year. Past winners have included Studs Terkel, Michael Harrington, Pete Seeger, Barbara Kopple, Bill Serrin and Janine Jackson.

Knoxville Guild leader dies at 82

Carson Brewer, a long-time Guild member who negotiated several contracts at the Knoxville News-Sentinel in the 1950s and '60s, died Jan. 15 of complications from pneumonia; he was 82 and suffered from Parkinson's disease. A columnist much beloved for his intimate and encyclopedic knowledge of the Smokies, Brewer was eulogized in a front-page article in the newspaper. From which he retired in 1985 after 40 years on the job—but despite a full-page jump, not a word was mentioned of his many Guild contributions.

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GR committee seeks reader feedback

By Percy Hatfield
Chair, Guild Reporter Committee

In one sense, being a member of the TNG-CWA Sector Executive Council is life imitating art—or, more precisely, the Charles Schulz cartoon in which one of his characters sits in a complaint booth listening to the passers-by. Not that that's a bad thing, but after a while you do want to begin addressing the recurring concerns.

In the case of the Guild Reporter committee, we've been given a mandate by the executive council to take the GR to the powder room and freshen up its editorial process and policies. Some would call it a mission statement, but it may be more than that. Some members may wonder why; others may ask what's taken so long.

We've all heard repeatedly of problems

with distribution, especially here in Canada, where it can take three weeks or more to receive what is supposed to be the most current issue. It's frustrating at times, and especially when you read a reminder about a deadline—say, for nominations for the Guild Service Award, when the deadline was last week.

There's not much this committee can do about distribution and circulation, but we would like to tackle the larger question of editorial content and the types of articles we publish. We want to hear from the rank and file membership about what they believe should be included in their union's official publication. Are we providing the right kinds of stories for you, or should we be considering other possibilities? Do you appreciate longer, in-depth analytical pieces, or would you rather read more news from

the locals? Is there room for both?

Should there be a Canadian section? Should we name correspondents in the regions and empower them to send in more local material? How can we improve our coverage of Puerto Rico? While many of our members are journalists, many are not: are we doing enough to engage the non-journalists and convince them the Guild Reporter is a publication worth reading?

Should we provide more coverage of broader labor and political issues? Should we encourage articles that are outside the mainstream of labor philosophy? Do you want to have more news from the larger CWA family? Do you think there should be more or less coverage of the elected leadership? Is there a role for Guild retirees in the GR?

We're obviously casting a wide net, but are hopeful we'll hear from many of you

and, at the end of the day, will end up with an improved product. The committee—which includes International Chairperson Carol Rothman; Region 1 Vice-President Lesley Phillips; Connie Knox, the VP from Region 2; and Scott Stephens, VP for the Great Lakes in Region 3—will have time set aside at our SEC meeting in early May to sort through your submissions. We're all available on e-mail, or your letters can be mailed to TNG headquarters in Washington.

Thanks. And by the way—if you're more than satisfied with the coverage you've been receiving, we'd like to hear about that, too.

Rothman: crothman@aol.com

Phillips: lesley_phillips@hotmail.com

Knox: clmknex@aol.com

Stephens: sstephens@plains.com

Hatfield: percyhat@hotmail.com

Canadian Guild members resist media erosion

Media consolidation and its evil twin—the slow asphyxiation of public broadcasting—aren't unique to the U.S. So, in a move that in some ways mirrors TNG-CWA's campaign to block further deregulation of U.S. media ownership, the Canadian Media Guild has become a founding member of an advocacy group, Our Public Airwaves, that is calling for the revitalization of public broadcasting in Canada.

The direct outgrowth of a national conference that was organized by CMG two years ago, Our Public Airwaves already has sent representatives to testify before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, which is reviewing the country's broadcasting system. The committee functions much like a U.S. congressional committee and will report to the Minister of Canadian Heritage—who, in an ironic twist, is named Sheila Copps.

(Michael Copps—no known relationship—is the Federal Communications Commissioner who has pushed most aggressively for full public debate on issues of U.S. media consolidation.)

In Canada, which is inundated by American programming and whose public media are enormously more concentrated than in the U.S., public broadcasting is the last bulwark of Canadian cultural identity in the mass media—but has been eroded by repeated budget cuts. Our Public Airways is needed as a counterweight, said Lise Lareau, president of the Canadian Media Guild and a member of OPA's coordinating committee, because the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is prohibited from most forms of lobbying—even as it has to fight for survival.

"Many of us have come to realize that the general public doesn't understand what public broadcasting is and why it's worth fighting for," Lareau explained. "What's scarier is that many Members of

FCC hearings in the U.S. on possible repeal of rules limiting concentration of media ownership continue to be scheduled, with one now planned for Seattle in early March, at the University of Washington; and, one later in the month at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

Meanwhile, TNG-CWA President Linda Foley was scheduled as a participant on one of four panels at the FCC hearing set for Feb. 27 in Richmond, VA.

Parliament don't know much more."

In a letter to the heritage committee, OPA observed that "there is an urgent need to rebalance our broadcasting system so that Canadians are also provided with a greater choice of prime-time Canadian entertainment. Unfortunately, the CBC no longer has the financial resources to play a major role" in providing such choices, leading to the inescapable conclusion that "a substantial increase" in funding is needed.

"Choice" in Canadian media also is being eroded by ownership consolidation, as epitomized by CanWest Global Communications Corp., which is centralizing editorial operations in Winnipeg.

"How many people will disappear from newsrooms across the country?" Jan Ravensbergen, vice president of the Montréal Newspaper Guild, asked at a recent heritage committee hearing. "Will we have a situation on the Hill, for example, where there will be fewer people covering important events, and one reporter's take on a situation or a news development will be published in 18 or 20 or 25 newspapers across the country?"

Such centralization, observed Arnold Amber, director of TNG-Canada, is "bad for journalism in Canada."



Coast to coast to coast . . .

An aggressive leafletting campaign by members of the News Media Guild, who have been negotiating a new contract with Associated Press for wa-a-a-a-y too long, went national in recent weeks. Above, approximately 60 CWA supporters prepare to distribute leaflets in front of the Oregonian in Portland, Ore.; below, Nicole Dizon, Martha Irvine, Andy Buchanan and Jeff White distribute leaflets in front of the Chicago Tribune. Leafletting also took place in front of the Boston Globe, where members of

the Newspaper Guild pitched in and several "Journalism isn't CheAP" stickers were in evidence; and in front of the Miami Herald, where Tony Winton, president of the News Media Guild, and Cathy Wilson were ignored by management for most of the lunch hour—then threatened by management with arrest if they didn't leave the public sidewalk. Leafletting continues at the offices of numerous other AP customers, such as the Philadelphia Inquirer and CNN.



PATRICK TURLEY/NEWS MEDIA GUILD

Say it plain: America will be!

[As the U.S. moves intractably toward a war of questionable motives and counter-productive consequences—even as it veers toward increasingly troubled economic times—the moment is not without parallel.

A third of a century ago, a civil rights leader now remembered almost exclusively for his embrace of non-violence was being labeled by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover as the most dangerous man in America. And with good reason: the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was arguing, with ever greater passion, that civil rights laws were meaningless without economic rights. Poverty, King observed, wasn't a function of race but of class and would be eradicated only through the redistribution of wealth and power.

By 1967, King also was making the connection between economic privilege and U.S. foreign policy. Always eloquent, he was perhaps never more so than on April 4, 1967, when he delivered the speech "Beyond Vietnam," excerpted below, at the Riverside Church in New York.

Change the proper nouns and it could have been delivered yesterday.]

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join with you in this meeting because I am in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. The recent statement of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexed as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.

Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movement well and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns, this query has often loomed large and loud: Why are you speaking about war, Dr. King? Why are you joining the voices of dissent? Peace and civil rights don't mix, they say. Aren't you hurting the cause of your people, they ask?

And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live.

In the light of such tragic misunderstandings, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church—the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate—leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia.

Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of the total situation and the need for a collective solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they can play in a successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reason to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the NLF, but rather to my fellow Americans, who, with me, bear the greatest responsibility in ending a conflict that has exacted a heavy price on both continents.

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor—both black and white—through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam and I watched the program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our

society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would never live on the same block in

I have this further answer. In 1957, when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself unless the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1964; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Prize for Peace was also a commission—a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I am speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news was meant for all men—for Communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black

and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the one who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the "Vietcong" or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this one? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?

Finally, as I try to delineate for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for victims of our nation and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.



DAVID BACON/NORTHERN CALIFORNIA MEDIA GUILD
Different war, same message: King's message still resonates, 36 years later, as evidenced by this banner carried in San Francisco in a January demonstration opposing a U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years—especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected and angry young men I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they asked—and rightly so—what about Vietnam? They asked if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a civil rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace,

Statement on war with Iraq

The following statement was approved unanimously by the CWA Executive Board on Jan. 22:

The September 11 attacks by al Qaeda brought together citizens in the United States and throughout the world. The horror and heartlessness of those events dispelled differences and united us in a demand for justice and in a promise to ourselves and to next generations: we would support all efforts to track down those guilty of killing thousands of innocents on that infamous day; we would support efforts to forge a new multilateral commitment to oppose terrorism worldwide; and we would, through these efforts, restore the sense of peace and security to our land and to the world that was lost during the attacks.

But the laser focus on bringing al Qaeda to justice has shifted even though that terrorist organization has not been tracked down. Instead, the Bush Administration has cast the spotlight on Iraq and Saddam Hussein. While Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator, he is not an imminent threat to our country. There is no credible evidence linking Saddam Hussein to al Qaeda, nor with any imminent attack on the United States.

CWA joins the AFL-CIO, other patriotic organizations, veterans of past wars, and concerned citizens in expressing our belief that we must defend our nation's security against any threat or incursion. Our view is supported by international law, which allows a preemptive strike when there is clear evidence that an attack is imminent. But nothing in our history, nor in international law, sanctions a unilateral, preemptive war such as a U.S. invasion of Iraq would entail. Thus, we urge caution, patience and deliberation before engaging in war with Iraq. We urge unified, multilateral action through the United Nations.

History has taught us that we should not act unilaterally in military matters. The current situation shows that we need not. Following the passage of a United Nations Security Council resolution, Iraq agreed to permit the resumption of weapons inspections. This was a major policy triumph for the United Nations and the rule of law. On January 27, 2003, the United Nations weapons inspectors will submit their first report, marking, as the weapons inspectors themselves point out, the beginning, not the end of the weapons inspection process. Our allies are urging caution, as this process requires time and patience. We should stand with our traditional allies and support the United Nations process.

We join with AFL-CIO President Sweeney and others in the labor movement who believe that our nation's long-term interests require that we assemble a broad international coalition for an aggressive and effective policy of disarmament in Iraq—and work through the United Nations to the greatest extent possible to accomplish it.

At home, we have pressing domestic priorities as well. In the previous Gulf War, our allies shouldered their fair share of the burdens of war—both in assigning fighting forces and funds. If we embark on a unilateral invasion, the full burden of a war with Iraq and the nation rebuilding that would follow would fall on the United States with an estimated cost extending to hundreds of billions of dollars.

War should always be the last resort. The sons and daughters of America's workers will be the ones called upon to make sacrifices. Already, many National Guard members have had their tours extended. Planned military discharges have been canceled, disrupting families' lives. While we have answered the call to duty, there is inadequate evidence to support an invasion of Iraq at this time.

We urge Iraq to give complete access and cooperation to the United Nations inspection teams and immediately disclose any weapons of mass destruction that may exist on its territory.

Further, we urge the Administration and the Congress to support an invasion of Iraq only if it is sanctioned by the United Nations and enjoys the broad multinational support as existed in Desert Storm.



DAVID BACON/NORTHERN CALIFORNIA MEDIA GUILD

The Valentine's Day weekend saw an unprecedented outpouring of anti-war protests worldwide—with increasing numbers of union members joining in.

Here, an SEIU contingent makes up a small proportion of the estimated 250,000 people who turned out in San Francisco on Feb. 16.

Bit by bit, labor begins organizing against war

The last time the U.S. was deeply divided over a war, organized labor—for the most part—backed the administration.

Things are different this time.

Although it would be a stretch to characterize labor as being anti-war, or even as being of one mind, the prospect of a U.S. invasion of Iraq has elicited marked unease in some circles and sharp dissent in others. Perhaps most tellingly, leaders of the AFL-CIO and the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain sent a joint letter, Jan. 30, urging President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair to "take every possible step to achieve the legitimate ends of disarming Iraq without recourse to war." (To see the letter, visit www.aflcio.org/iraq)

Although it leaves the door open to military intervention if diplomatic efforts fail, the letter marks a sharp break from the AFL-CIO's past practice of openly supporting or, at worst, of remaining silent on such issues. The CWA, meanwhile, noted a week earlier (see full text at left) that there is no credible evidence linking Saddam Hussein to al Qaeda and that Hussein is not an imminent threat to the U.S., while "history has taught us that we should not act unilaterally in military matters."

The American Federation of Teachers likewise said Jan. 23 it supports a war with Iraq only as a last resort. AFSCME, the United Farm Workers and the independent United Electrical Workers have issued opposition statements of varying intensity, as have the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Pride at Work, and the SEIU

declared that unilateral war violates basic American principles.

Individual locals and district councils, meanwhile, have issued even more forthright declarations that presumably reflect more closely the views of their members. Manhattan-based CWA Local 1180, for example, unanimously endorsed a resolution last October to "oppose the current drive for war, oppose unilateral U.S. military action in Iraq and oppose the Bush doctrine of 'preemptive strikes.'" Moreover, the resolution committed the local to "support the growing anti-war movement" and to publicize its opposition to war in Iraq.

The most forthright labor opposition to the war, however, coalesced in Chicago on Jan. 11, when more than a hundred union leaders and activists launched U.S. Labor Against the War. The meeting, ironically, was hosted by Local 705 of the Teamsters—a union that at the national level has been among George Bush's strongest labor supporters. The new group published a resolution declaring it "stands firmly against Bush's war drive."

Little noted, among the various resolutions, are the direct economic consequences of war. U.S. Airways employees, for example, will automatically experience a 5% cut in pay if a war is launched, as spelled out in recently ratified agreements for all employee groups, including management. The reduction could last as long as 18 months and is classified as a "deferral," to be repaid in monthly installments once the war's economic effect has "ended."

IFJ: No story is worth a life

As preparations for war in Iraq continue, the International Federation of Journalists has reissued "Safe Conduct of Journalism," a set of best practices for journalists working in dangerous environments.

"Safe Conduct" calls on journalists to get appropriate training before traveling and emphasizes the importance of having adequate health care and social protection in place. It also calls on journalists to inform themselves about the social, political and physical environment they are likely to be working in, and to resist being pressured by their employers into taking life-threatening risks in pursuit of new coverage.

According to the IFJ, reporters should not push rivalries in the war zone: Their employers should encourage them to cooperate when the opportunity presents itself.

With the above in mind, the IFJ has condensed its guidelines into six key points:

1. Journalists and other media staff shall be properly equipped for all assignments, including the provision of first-aid materials, communication tools, adequate transport facilities and, where necessary, protective clothing.

2. Media organizations and, where appropriate, state authorities shall provide risk-awareness training for those journalists and media workers who are likely to be involved in assignments where dangerous conditions prevail or may be reasonably expected.

3. Public authorities shall inform their personnel of the need to respect the rights of journalists and shall instruct them to respect the physical integrity of journalists and media staff while at work.

4. Media organizations shall provide social protection for all staff engaged in journalistic activity outside the normal place of work, including life insurance.

5. Media organizations shall provide, free of charge, medical treatment and health care, including costs of recuperation and convalescence, for journalists and media workers who are the victims of injury or illness as a result of their work outside the normal place of work.

6. Media organizations shall protect freelance or part-time employees. They must receive, on an equal basis, the same social protection and access to training and equipment as that made available to fully employed staff.

Labor round-up

'Seasonal adjustment' masks job loss

The nation's unemployment rate dropped 0.3 percent in January, to 5.7%—but the apparent decline masked some unwelcome news because it included a so-called "seasonal adjustment." Without the adjustment, the jobless rate was 6.5%, and one of every nine workers—11%—was either unemployed, discouraged or underemployed that month, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Moreover, even after seasonal adjustment, communications employment dropped by another 19,000 workers in January. "Since its most recent peak in April 2001, communications employment has decreased by 179,000, or about 10%," a BLS report said.

—Press Associates, Inc.

Labor Dept. censors its own union

The Labor Department's own union has been forced to challenge Labor Department censorship. The National Council of Field Labor Locals said the GOP-run department broke its contract by yanking the council's December issue of *The Courier* from inter-office distribution, apparently because it contained an article criticizing George Bush's plan to outsource 125,000 federal jobs. Now NCFLL, an AFGE affiliate that represents 10,000 department workers outside Washington, D.C., wants to go to arbitration over the matter.

—Press Associates, Inc.

World Bank: unions good for economy

In a turnaround from its usual anti-union stance, the World Bank has issued a report concluding that having a large number of unionized workers stabilizes and boosts an economy. Unionized workers earn more, work fewer hours and are better trained, according to the report, *Unions and Collective Bargaining: Economic Effects in a Global Environment*. For more information, visit www.worldbank.org.

New industrial council lobbies in DC

Thousands of voices representing CWA and 11 other AFL-CIO unions demanded earlier this month that Congress take immediate steps to reverse the ongoing erosion of the manufacturing sector. More than 3,700 members of the unions that recently created the federation's Industrial Union Council came to their first legislative conference in Washington, D.C., Feb. 4 and 5. "I hope you will translate your anger into action," urged AFL-CIO President John Sweeney as he was flanked by CWA President Morton Bahr, IUE-CWA President Ed Fire and other union leaders. IUE-CWA has lost thousands of jobs in auto parts manufacturing, as well as 50,000 at General Electric alone, as it moved work out of the United States between 1982 and 2002.

Fund started for CWA picket's family

IUE/CWA has started a fund for the three daughters of Keston Michelle Rodgers, who was hit and killed by a police car as she walked a picket line Jan. 14. The picketing, at GE's Louisville technology park, was part of a two-day nationwide strike against the company over its unilateral increase in health care costs. Rodgers, a single mother, had worked at the GE plant the past eight years. TNG-CWA already has contributed \$1,500 to the fund; additional contributions may be sent to: IUE-CWA for benefit of (fbo) Rodgers Children Benefit Funds, c/o CWA, 501 Third Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. The envelope should be marked to the attention of Janine Brown.—Press Associates, Inc.

SAG and AFTRA look at merger, again

The national directors for Hollywood's two major performers' unions, the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, have voted for a proposed merger that they say will give them more bargaining power with entertainment conglomerates. Despite previous failed attempts at a merger—SAG members rejected such a move in 1999—the national boards plan to vote April 5 on a constitution and to submit the proposal for membership approval, which requires 60% support from each union.

Unions file more shareholder proposals

Angered by excessive CEO compensation and seeking to improve corporate governance, unions and their pension funds have filed 380 corporate shareholder proposals this year, more than double the total number introduced in all of 2002, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center.

AFL-CIO offering how-to manual

The AFL-CIO has produced a new, 200-page three-ring guide—the *Communities@Work Toolbox*—designed to help union organizers, communications staff, elected leaders and members work more effectively in their communities to help workers form unions. The compilation of talking points, best practices, fact sheets and tips for working with community allies begins with the basic message of why workers benefit when they have unions—and what happens when they try to form them. To order copies (the first copy is free), call 800-442-5645 or contact Lane Windham at (202) 637-5018 or at lwindham@afcio.org.

Knight Ridder's workers get squeezed, as profits roll in

Guild bargaining teams at several Knight Ridder papers are getting whipsawed lately, as the company plays hardball with employees even as it ladles out big bonuses to executives and pumps up stock dividends another notch.

The disparate treatment has been notable enough to draw the ire of Geneva Overholser, a widely admired press critic and syndicated columnist, who recently blasted the company's myopic fascination with the bottom line. "If the mantra used to be: 'We've got to be a strong business in order to do strong journalism,' it now seems quite openly to have become: 'We've got to make higher profits than all the others,'" Overholser wrote.

The acerbic commentary followed the news that Knight Ridder has handed out some \$10 million in stock bonuses to its executives, following a 17.3% reduction in its employee headcount over the past two years—much of it through layoffs. The cost-cutting has succeeded in one sense: net income in the fourth quarter of 2002 was up 31% over the same period a year earlier, which boosted Knight Ridder's stock price. Dividends also have been bumped up and are now running at an annual rate of \$1.08 a share.

Not content with its three-year track record of posting the highest total shareholder return—stock-

price gains plus dividends—of all seven companies in the Standard & Poor's Publishing/Newspaper Index, Knight Ridder is searching for still more ways to beef up profits. The company recently circulated a memo to editors at many of its newspapers suggesting other cost-cutting measures in pursuit of a stated annual savings of \$100 million. Among the ideas that are being floated:

- Creation of a national reporting team to provide coverage of wars, politics and major events for the entire chain of 31 dailies;
- Centralizing copy-editing for all or part of the chain, as CanWest Global already is starting to do in Winnipeg for its Canadian media properties;
- Charging for currently free listings, such as obituaries and movie timetables.

The penny-pinching has filtered down to the lowest levels, at times assuming Dickensian dimensions, as in the attempt at the San Jose Mercury News to chisel retirees out of a scheduled pension increase (see "In brief..." item, page 2). At the St. Paul Pioneer Press, Guild negotiators have been told flat out that the company "is not pleading poverty" in being hard-nosed, but that there is "a big difference" between saying there is an inability to increase wages "versus the 'unwillingness' to pay."

Media jockey for position as war colors news, views

An uneasy symbiotic relationship between the military and the press began to take more definitive shape the second week of February, as Editor & Publisher reported that more than 500 journalists are to be "embedded" in specific military units. The assignments were being made by the Pentagon, which also was deciding how many reporters each news organization would be allowed to assign.

Media objections to the Pentagon's assertion of authority was too muted to be heard. Instead, press organizations seemed more intent on ensuring that no one suspected them of anti-war sentiments. The BCC, for example, banned its senior journalists from attending the largest anti-war demonstration in that country's history, on Feb. 15—although junior staff were permitted to march as long as they did so "purely in a private capacity."

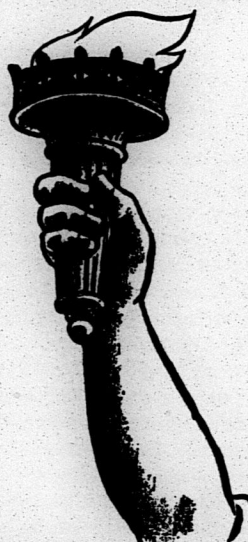
Meanwhile, the beating of war drums threw into high relief the dangers of media monopoly, as Comcast Cable refused to sell commercial air time to the Peace Action Education Fund, which sought to run 30-second anti-war ads. Comcast explained that it wouldn't run any ad "that fails to substantiate certain claims or charges." CNN, Fox and NBC, meanwhile, declined to run ads prepared by the Win Without War coalition; a CNN spokeswoman explained the decision by saying "we do not accept international advocacy ads on regions in conflict."

The broader "war on terrorism" continued to chip

away at other free press and free speech protections. The Dept. of Justice, it turns out, has secretly drafted a sweeping sequel to the U.S. Patriot Act that—among various other provisions—further weakens the Freedom of Information Act by curtailing public access to information about accused terrorists held in custody and to information about the "worst case" environmental hazard scenarios that companies are required to file with the Environmental Protection Agency. Media coverage of the proposal was minimal.

Not that the FOIA has a ghost of a chance in the current environment. As reported by the Associated Press, the Defense Dept. has produced a training video for its staff on how to handle FOIA requests—but the 22-minute video is itself a secret. Mike Ravnitzky, a writer for *American Lawyer* magazine, requested to see the video but was refused on the grounds that it contains trade secrets that can't be shown without permission of their owners. Those "trade secrets" include excerpts of television newscasts and movies—including a snippet of *Casablanca*.

At least a few journalists are fighting back against such excess. Media Workers Against War, originally formed during the first Gulf War, is back in action, describing itself as a group of volunteers who oppose "the so-called 'war on terrorism' and the mainstream media's support for aggressive action against innocent civilians under the pretence of 'anti-terrorism.'" (For more information, see www.mwaw.org.)



The Newspaper Guild-CWA Freedom Award Banquet

—May 6, 2003—

Guild locals are being urged to make reservations now for this annual event, honoring the winners of the Heywood Brown and Herb Block Freedom awards and the David Barr scholarship winners. Guild locals are eligible to sponsor tables for 10 for \$1,500, a 25% discount from the rate being charged the general public. Guild members also may buy individual tickets, for \$80 each.

Alternatively, locals and other supporters may buy ads in the banquet souvenir program, with rates starting at \$400 for a half page.

To make reservations or for more information, contact Sheara Reich at 800-546-4046; or at sreich@kamber.com



LOOKING AHEAD

Grievance filing takes discretion

By Bernie Lunzer, Secretary-Treasurer

Should your local pursue every dispute to grievance and arbitration? Can a person represented by the union demand it? Doesn't it make sense to give everyone his or her "day in court?"

I think the answer to all three of these questions is no, but some locals have policies to the contrary.

Unions have a responsibility, called the "duty of fair representation," to investigate issues arising from potential contract violations. That means that when someone represented by your local makes a complaint, the union has a responsibility to get all the facts—who, what, where, when, why, etc.—then have them assessed by someone familiar with the contract. A good practice is to use a grievance committee made up of several local members who know the contract well, ideally including bargaining committee members. Ideally, the committee's fact-finding will include an interview with the person filing the complaint.

Once the facts are in, it's important to pick and choose which fights will be pursued. Some issues merit a grievance and some grievances merit an arbitration, but not every dispute deserves both. Sometimes taking a bad issue to arbitration can actually make things worse, as an arbitrator's decision may work against the union and further weaken a contract.

Pursuing a frivolous case also may cost the union the support of some members. The contract covers the relationship between the employer and *all* members of the bargaining unit, so it's important to maintain the collective strength of the contract and the support of your members. If the committee's investigation shows the facts are clear and the company had just cause for discipline, it's okay to accept the results. On the other hand, you may choose to file a grievance so you can bargain over the severity of the discipline, knowing the local won't take the case to arbitration.

Be careful, though, about filing grievances that you will have to withdraw—that, too, can create negative consequences with

future grievances.

Are there other exceptions? Occasionally, a local will file a grievance to argue the equity of an issue it knows it can't win in arbitration. If your contract contains no scheduling language, but someone clearly has been adversely affected by an unfair scheduling decision, you may choose to grieve so you can publicize the issue.

However, be careful about dealing with personalities: never make a decision to grieve or not to grieve based on this factor. Also remember that you must represent all people covered by the contract, not just dues-paying members. The larger principle is to protect the contract. Failing to pursue a legitimate contract claim may result in a precedent that later can be used against the local; it also may be illegal, because you've made the decision based on the grievant's identity rather than on the merits of the grievance.

These are not always easy decisions, which is why the deliberations should be shared within the local. If an individual disagrees with the committee's decision, he or she has the right—as set out in the Guild constitution—to challenge it all the way up to the full membership, who have the final say. Someone who still feels improperly treated may file a challenge with the National Labor Relations Board, but a local that has shown due diligence in conducting its investigation and making a reasonable decision has little to worry about.

Choosing between good and bad grievances and arbitrations is good policy because the local's first responsibility is to the larger group; pursuing weak or frivolous cases weakens a local, wasting valuable time and money. It also helps that local's relationship with the employer if management knows the local does not lash out on every issue, but only on those that matter.

Do you disagree? I'd like to hear your reasons, either on the Guild's members-only bulletin board, where I'll set up a discussion group called "To Grieve or Not to Grieve," at www.newsguild.org/member/access.php.



BARNYARD SOLIDARITY

First they came for the rat, but I wasn't a rat...

A rat looked through a crack in the wall to see the farmer and his wife opening a package. What food might it contain? He was aghast to discover that it was a rat trap. Retreating to the barnyard the rat proclaimed the warning: "There's a rat trap in the house, a rat trap in the house!"

The chicken clucked and scratched, raised her head and said, "Excuse me, Mr. Rat, I can tell this is a grave concern to you, but it is of no consequence to me. I cannot be bothered by it."

The rat turned to the pig and told him, "There's a rat trap in the house, a rat trap in the house!" "I am so very sorry Mr. Rat," sympathized the pig, "but there is nothing I can do about it but pray. Be assured that you are in my prayers."

The rat turned to the cow. She said, "Like wow, Mr. Rat. a rat trap. I am in grave danger. Duh?"

So the rat returned to the house, head down and dejected, to face the farmer's rat trap alone.

That very night a sound was heard throughout the house, like the sound of a rat trap catching its prey. The farmer's wife

rushed to see what was caught. In the darkness, she did not see that it was a venomous snake whose tail the trap had caught. The snake bit the farmer's wife. The farmer rushed her to the hospital. She returned home with a fever.

Now everyone knows you treat a fever with fresh chicken soup, so the farmer took his hatchet to the barnyard for the soup's main ingredient.

His wife's sickness continued so that friends and neighbors came to sit with her around the clock. To feed them the farmer butchered the pig. The farmer's wife did not get well. She died, and so many people came for her funeral that the farmer had the cow slaughtered to provide meat for all of them to eat.

So the next time you hear that someone is facing a problem and think that it does not concern you, remember that when there is a rat trap in the house, the whole barnyard's at risk.

As posted on the Providence Newspaper Guild list-serve by Tim Schick, the local's administrative officer.

Lipton: GR misrepresented Times ethics policy

By Barry F. Lipton
President, Newspaper Guild of New York

A story in the Jan. 24 edition of The Guild Reporter misrepresented and unfairly characterized the New York local's negotiation of an ethics policy covering our members at The New York Times. And it did not report accurately on the content of that policy.

I want to make our local's position quite clear.

It is irresponsible and a dereliction of our duty to our members to stand by silently and allow any publisher unilaterally to impose an ethics or conflict-of-interest policy on them.

It is the duty of Guild leaders actively to represent the interests of Guild members, not to keep our political skirts clean by letting the bosses do as they like as long as our union can not be seen as having agreed to

any part of such policies.

We negotiated with The New York Times over the newsroom ethics policy with the knowledge of the international.

Because the New York Guild bargained with the company on every facet of the policy, we were able to derail or ameliorate the worst of the publisher's ideas, which would otherwise have been implemented unilaterally.

For example, the Times had demanded that certain editorial employees, upon being hired and whenever requested by the Times thereafter, submit to the company a list of all their financial holdings as well as those of their immediate family members. We forced that out of the policy.

The Times had proposed that certain employees be required to divest themselves of their financial holdings where a perceived conflict of interest existed, even if doing so resulted in a financial loss. Instead, the

Guild negotiated a system whereby the employee can place his or her holdings in a blind trust, which the Times would pay for.

Contrary to the impression given in the Guild Reporter article, a side agreement with the Times clearly excludes *all* Guild-related activities and benefits from the limitations on employee conduct contained in the newsroom ethics policy. In addition, the use of the term "Code of Conduct" on the cover was not negotiated with the Guild, and the Times has agreed to take steps to change it.

We negotiated regarding previous ethics policies, some of which had been unilaterally put in place by the publisher more than a decade ago. The entire policy is now clearly the product of collective bargaining and cannot be changed without more collective bargaining.

Which position really makes the union look worse to our members: that we negotiate a tolerable policy, or that we throw up

our hands and cry to the bosses, "Do whatever you want. Just don't involve us in the process because we can't be associated with an ethics policy?"

The latter is playing politics at the expense of our members, and the New York Guild won't do it. The Guild's own constitution states that one of the purposes of our union is "to raise the standards of journalism and ethics of the industry."

With a negotiated ethics policy in place, our workers know what is expected of them, and management will find it very difficult to invent policy, ad hoc, and attempt to discipline our people for "violating" it. Without a negotiated policy, publishers can make it up as they go along.

The New York Guild and the Times unit leadership makes no apologies for having negotiated an ethics policy with the Times. It was the right thing to do, and in our view serves our members well.

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: March 14.) Letters may be e-mailed to the editor at azipsr@cwa-union.org.

Guild pension plan weathers the storm

The stock market is in a three-year slump that has ravaged 401(k) plans. Pension plans at major employers either have been wiped out or are seriously underfunded. Social Security has reclaimed its unintended role as a regressive payroll tax underwriting a growing federal deficit. Long story short: retirement income has never looked more precarious—unless you're one of the 5,000 or so participants in The Newspaper Guild International Pension Fund.

The surprisingly good news, at such a tumultuous moment in economic history, is that TNG's pension fund has been a relative rock of stability. That's not to say it, too, has not had investment losses: total market value in mid-2002 (the most recent comprehensive accounting) was \$66.1 million, down 6% from its all-time high of \$70.5 million on Sept. 30, 2000. But the fund overall continued to outperform benchmark indices, preserving a financial cushion that's significantly fatter than required by its actuarial assumptions. In layman's terms, that means there's more than enough money to pay both present and future retirees.

That seemingly modest accomplishment is a rarity these days, as countless headlines attest. It's also a testament to the value of Taft-Hartley defined-benefit pension plans, an increasingly endangered species in an age when employers try to off-load all pension

risk through defined contribution plans (principally 401(k) programs). Meanwhile, a substantial number of defined-benefit plans are single-employer affairs, in which management administers the plan, controls its assets and determines payout levels. Given such lack of employee oversight, it's not surprising that numerous such plans have been manipulated to the employer's bottom-line benefit—at employees' expense.

The notable exception to this generalization is Taft-Hartley plans like TNG's, which serve employees of multiple employers and are administered jointly by representatives of management and labor. The Guild's pension fund, started in 1977, has 35 participating employers and already is paying benefits to more than 700 pensioners; another 1,500 or so plan participants are vested but inactive, a similar number are working and fully vested, and approximately 1,400 are working but not yet vested.

Benefits vary by employer: each participating local negotiates its own pension level, which among other variables is affected by weekly contribution rates. But two distinctive features about the Guild plan are true for all employers: the plan is funded solely through employer contributions, and benefits are calculated independent of salary levels. That latter point means that all employees within the same company receive the

same rate of benefits, with the total monthly payout differing only according to each employee's length of service.

Those charged with ensuring the plan meets its fiduciary responsibilities include three Guild representatives—TNG President Linda Foley, Secretary-Treasurer Bernie Lunzer and International Rep Jim Schaufenbil—and three employers' representatives, who together hire a financial advisor to monitor the fund's five investment managers. The fund's assets are regularly reallocated among the managers to preserve a ratio of roughly 45% equities, 5% small-cap stocks (defined as stocks in companies with less than \$2 billion market valuation), 40% fixed income (bonds) and 10% real estate. Maintaining this balance, says financial advisor George Kiriakos of Segal Advisors, has been crucial to the fund's performance.

"Their investment strategy has been key—they've been diligently sticking to it and not giving in to knee-jerk reactions to market conditions," Kiriakos observed. "They've done what they're supposed to do as long-term investors. The moral of the story is that they've done a very good job of protecting assets in a down market."

Asset reallocation requires discipline because it seems so counter-intuitive. When stocks are charging ahead, for example, the normal human instinct is to "stick with a

winner"—but because higher stock prices pump up the value of the equity portion of a portfolio, asset allocation theory requires that some stocks be sold and the proceeds be reinvested in bonds or real estate. Yet that kind of balancing act is precisely why the Guild pension fund outperformed the market: while the S&P 500 index of stock prices tanked 27% for the nine months through the end of September, a corresponding bond index went up nearly 9%.

As such numbers suggest, even the most disciplined fund management can't defy gravity: if your losers significantly outpace your winners, the trick becomes one of minimizing losses, and the Guild pension fund has done just that. The overall portfolio loss in the third-quarter, for example, was 5.6%, compared with more double-digit losses in equity indices and gains of a bit less than 5% in fixed income.

But despite three years of a bear market, added Kiriakos, the fund's overall performance comfortably exceeds its actuarial assumptions, which include a 7.5% annual return on investment to meet its obligations. In contrast, the actual average return since the fund's inception has been 10.2%, which "makes defined benefit plans, in a world that is increasingly oriented toward defined contributions, a big selling point for unions," Kiriakos concluded.

An uneasy dance between Bush, retirement plans

While Americans with defined-contribution "pension" plans have watched their portfolios shrivel, the very existence of such 401(k) plans has been used to rationalize the Bush administration's economic policies.

The major component of Bush's much-touted economic "stimulus" plan is a repeal of taxes paid on stock dividends—which, the administration insists, will benefit more Americans than ever before. Indeed, the U.S. is now a nation of investors, with 52% of all families owning stock, up from 49% in 1998 and the highest level recorded by the Federal Reserve since it began tracking such numbers in 1983. Eliminating the tax on stock dividends, the reasoning goes, therefore would benefit the majority of Americans.

In fact, however, only 21% of American families own stock directly; the other 31% hold stocks through mutual funds and those rapidly diminishing 401(k) plans—which aren't taxed until someone retires. Moreover,

reports the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, only 22% of tax filers with less than \$100,000 income in 2000—the most recent year for which such data are available—reported any dividend income. So the tax on dividends affects most people not at all.

What is affecting them is the growing tilt in tax policies and the economy overall toward the rich and white, at the expense of the poor and minorities. The Fed reports that the difference in median net wealth between those in the top 10% of income earners and the bottom 20% widened a whopping 70% in the three years ending in 2001; the gap between whites and minorities grew 21%.

As a result, Bush's proposals to accelerate his previously enacted tax cuts and to exempt dividends would be meaningless for the 31% of all taxpayers who would get no benefit at all, according to an analysis by Citizens for Tax Justice. Sixty-four million taxpayers—almost half of the total—would get less than \$100 each from the Bush plan.

Bush himself, on the other hand, stands to gain \$44,500 from his proposals, according to an analysis by Bloomberg Financial News Service—while the even wealthier Dick Cheney would garner a \$327,000 windfall.

"It's a preposterous program—it has only one effect, and that is to make the rich richer," exclaimed Franco Modigliani, a 1985 winner of the Nobel Prize for economics, at a recent press conference organized by the Economic Policy Institute to resist the Bush proposals. Added economist Daniel McFadden, a 2000 Nobel laureate, "It's a weapon of mass destruction aimed at the middle class households of this country."

As criticism of the Bush tax plan grows, economic anxiety—amplified by war jitters—likewise has increased. Roughly 1.7 million jobs have been lost in the last two years; the poverty level has increased for the first time since 1993. Homelessness is on the rise, with the U.S. Conference of Mayors reporting that requests for emergency shelter

increased an average 19% last year. Yet states and cities are facing record budget deficits—43 states are operating in the red—even as federal spending that once underwrote social services is cut back to offset ballooning expenditures on the military and draconian "homeland security" measures.

What it all adds up to is the very class warfare Bush has decried, with wealth increasingly flowing to the wealthy while society at large holds a swelling IOU note. The projected federal deficit for this year is \$304 billion, by the administration's own calculations—and that's without calculating the costs of war or subsequent reconstruction of a shattered Iraq, if any. For next year, the deficit is estimated to be \$307 billion.

And both those numbers are lower than they would be if the Treasury weren't dipping into the \$175 billion surplus in the Social Security "lockbox." That, too, means Bush's economic policies are a threat to everyone's retirement security.

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501 Third St., NW, Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20001-2797
Telephone: (202) 434-7177 FAX: (202) 434-1472
E-mail: azipeer@cwa-union.org

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DAYBOOK

Amer. Copy Editors Soc. Conf.,
March 6-8, Chicago

CWA Leg.-Political Conference,
March 9-12, Washington, DC

CWA Nat'l Women's Conference,
April 3-6, Atlanta

TNG Canada Council,
April 26-27, Winnipeg

TNG-CWA Executive Council,
May 4-5, Washington, DC

Freedom Award Fund Banquet,
May 6, Washington, DC

Tri-Council (Great Lakes,
Midwest, Southern) Meeting,
May 17-18, Buffalo

Western District Council,
May 17-18, San Jose

Native American Journalists,
June 18-21, Green Bay, WI

Nat'l Assoc. Hispanic J'nalists,
June 26-28, New York City

FROM THE MORGUE

Fifty years ago this month:

A wage stabilization program, under which negotiated wage increases had to be approved by the federal government, is killed by executive order two years after implementation. . . . Pierre Salinger, chairman of the San Francisco Chronicle unit of the Guild, gets himself thrown into jail on a drunk charge as part of an investigative series on California hoosegows. . . . Editorial employees of the Buffalo Courier-Express vote 57 to 38 to exchange their independent union for the Guild.

Twenty-five years ago this month:

Editorial employees at the Pulliam-owned newspapers in Phoenix, the Arizona Republic and Phoenix Gazette, vote 146-115 to join the Guild. . . . A three-alarm fire during a severe snow storm causes extensive damage to the Boston Globe's office. . . . A hike in the federal minimum wage, to \$2.30 an hour, results in raises for copypersons at the top minimum on two Guild-covered newspapers, the Virginian-Pilot in Norfolk, Va., and El Vocero in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Ten years ago this month:

The U.S. Justice Department snuffs out the last ray of hope for the San Antonio Light, announcing it will not challenge Hearst's decision to close the 111-year-old paper. . . . Members of the Boston Globe Employees Association vote unanimously to investigate affiliation with the Guild. . . . Estimating that up to 35% of its members suffer from repetitive strain injury, the Guild urges swift adoption of ergonomic standards for VDT use.

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