

THE GUILD Reporter

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Journalists under fire as never before

By Andy Zipser
Editor, The Guild Reporter

The end of election season has marked the beginning of an intense period of self-examination within the labor movement, and not a moment too soon.

This is an age of fundamental economic shifts, as meaningful as the Industrial Revolution was in redefining human values, personal worth and economic relationships. Until recently, however, labor had avoided asking the really hard questions.

The Newspaper Guild-CWA also has struggled with such questions, although for reasons other unions may not comprehend. The Guild has played a leadership role on some issues—opposition to greater media consolidation, opposition to changes in overtime rules, support for legislation formalizing card-check recognition—because these are recognized as affecting its members' economic well-being.

On issues that are perceived as more "political," however, the Guild overall has been ambivalent and withdrawn. Some reporters and editors argue that any political involvement by their union will compromise them professionally;

indeed, some go so far as to view voting as a partisan activity. Others observe that only a fraction of the Guild is involved with news gathering, and that in any case a distinction should be drawn between the actions and beliefs of TNG-CWA and those of its members.

Much effort has been expended in the past year on trying to reconcile these paralyzingly polar views. One such attempt will reach fruition at the end of January, when members of the Washington-Baltimore Guild will vote on a "Proposed Guild Green Zone" that attempts to define politically acceptable activity by the local. But even this pioneering effort is hemmed in with caveats.

"Our mission to protect and enhance the well being of our members cannot be achieved merely by bargaining and enforcing contracts," the proposal explains. "Rather, we must judiciously support the broader issues, which directly impact both our power at the table and the employer's options at the table. Further, we must support the concerted actions of other unionized workers wherever possible if the labor movement is to reach its greatest potential and

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Page designer Bob Fusco, left, a member of the Guild negotiating committee, and reporter Bob Jackson walk the picket line outside The Vindicator in Youngstown, Ohio.

Youngstown strike holds

'Final offer' rejected, 99-36

By Debora Shaulis Flora
Vice President, Youngstown Guild

A strike by the Youngstown Newspaper Guild against The Vindicator entered its second month at press time, with employees refusing to accept the company's "best and final" offer because of inadequate wages and discriminatory health care premiums. Also at issue are use of company cars and overtime rights.

Members of TNG-CWA Local 34011 rejected a proposed three-year contract Dec. 8 by a vote of 99-36, choosing instead to maintain a strike that started Nov. 16. Although the Vindicator Printing Co. characterized the proposal as its best and final offer, union officials observed it was the only offer made during this round of bargaining.

The Guild represents 171 editorial, circulation and classified advertising workers at The Vindicator. Twenty-five members of Teamsters Local 473, representing mailroom employees, also are on strike.

Meanwhile, the privately owned Vindicator has received support from one of the Guild's oldest nemeses, Advance Publications, which has provided at least 10 scab workers from its non-unionized newspapers. Photos of the strike breakers can be seen at www.geocities.com/vindystrike, and include employees of the Times-Picayune of New Orleans, the Birmingham News and Mobile Register in Alabama and the Grand Rapids Press in Michigan.

According to various reports, the strikebreakers are being paid \$20 or more per hour, as well as mileage, daily lodging and other expenses. Top scale for Vindicator reporters is \$17.83 an hour.

"They're willing to pay \$20 an hour to out-of-town scabs but only offer 10 cents an hour to our lowest-paid Guild members," said Local President Anthony S. Markota. "That's what I find absolutely incredible."

The Vindicator's most recent contract proposal, coming after a

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Youngstown Guild members unload the first edition of their strike newspaper, Valley Voice.

CBC attempts Guild end-run

An unfair labor practice complaint, charging that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is—once again—attempting to undermine collective bargaining, has been filed with the Canada Industrial Relations Board. "The accusation is serious, and the decision was not made lightly, but the CBC's actions over the past few months have made it necessary," explained Lise Lareau, president of the Canadian Media Guild.

The new complaint parallels one filed in 1993, in response to a

CBC initiative called "Opportunity for Change." CBC managers at that time met with small groups of employees to convince them that working conditions had to change because the broadcaster was in a constant battle for survival, requiring more and more concessions at the bargaining table. But when the CIRB's predecessor, the Canada Labour Relations Board, ruled that the CBC was engaged in illegal direct dealing, Opportunity for Change died a quiet death.

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four-year wage freeze, called for raises of 1% in the first and second years, with a minimum 10 cents-per-hour raise, and 2% more in the third year, with a 20 cents-per-hour guarantee. That would have equaled raises of 40 cents per hour for the lowest-paid members over the life of the contract, and about 70 cents per hour for those in the top classifications.

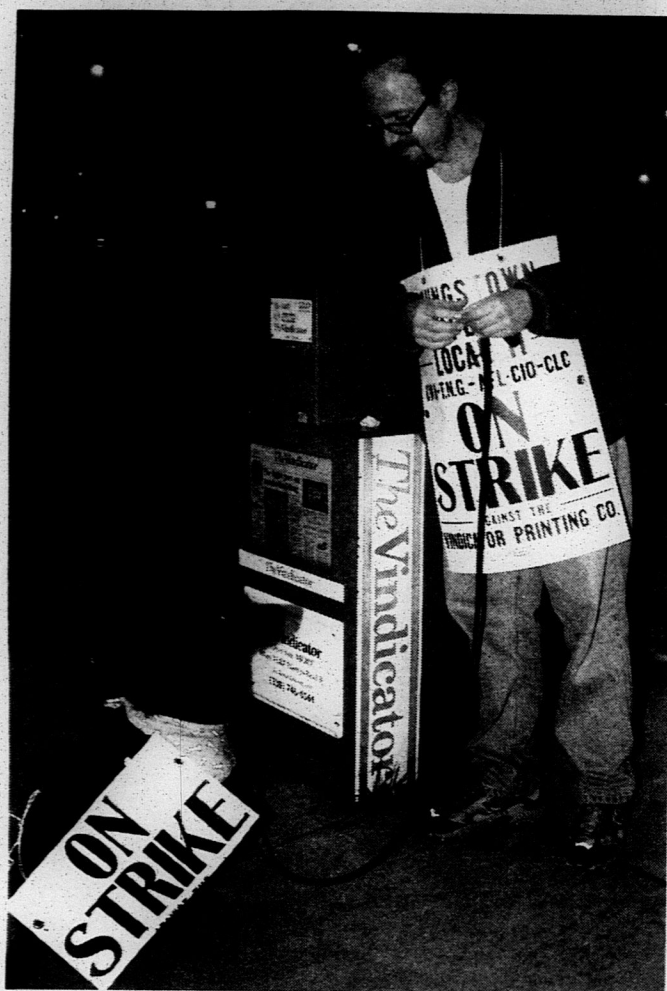
The company also offered signing bonuses in the first two years that would have totaled \$600 per full-time employee, with prorated bonuses for part-timers.

More than half of the local's members make less than \$9 per hour and have limited, if any, benefits. The union's negotiating team has been seeking parity in wage increases during these talks.

Although a federal mediator was called into negotiations by The Vindicator shortly after talks began in mid-October, no additional talks were scheduled as of press time. Instead, the local is promoting an advertising and subscription boycott of The Vindicator and publishing 50,000 copies a week of its strike newspaper, The Valley Voice, which also is posted online each Monday at www.valleyvoiceonline.com.

Aside from being angered by the company's willingness to pay premium wages to scabs, Guild members feel suckered by the company's handling of health care premiums. Two years ago, when management claimed that rising health costs were destroying the company and asked all employees to "share the pain," the local agreed for the first time to weekly, flat-rate premium co-payments. But as the Guild has since learned, while union employees helped pay for watered-down health coverage, management and non-union employees paid nothing while getting a better plan.

The Vindicator's "best and final" offer would have relieved Guild members from premium payments for at least four months, or until non-union employees began paying. At that point, however, premium co-pays would have changed from the flat rates to



Striking reporter Steve Siff and his dog Mollie on the picket line.

percentages: 7.5% for full-timers who make less than \$400 per week, 15% for other employees and 25% for future hires.

Concern over the lack of a dollar cap or other controls over increases in health insurance premiums was addressed by several Guild members at the Dec. 8 meeting.

Other stumbling blocks to an agreement include The Vindicator's insistence on language requiring all circulation employees to use personal cars for business. The subject is a sensitive topic in Youngstown, where the last Guild strike at The Vindicator, in 1964, was driven by district managers seeking union representation and access to company vehicles.

The rejected company proposal also would have removed lan-

guage giving circulation district managers the right to work a sixth day on overtime in their territories. Markota says the overtime is a result of under-staffing that could be rectified by hiring two additional swing persons to cover districts as needed. The Vindicator currently has one swing person for 24 districts.

District managers would have received one-time, \$1,000 payments in exchange for agreeing to the company's proposals on cars and overtime, but Markota estimates that those changes would have cost each of them about \$10,000 in annual income.

"It wouldn't take an awful lot to settle this strike," Markota said. "The major issues are a period of time that health premiums wouldn't be paid by Guild members. We're asking nothing more than what non-union workers and managers enjoyed for two years. Then, proper staffing of swing persons to eliminate overtime; status quo language as far as vehicles are concerned; and, finally, a fair wage scale."

Corrections

The November issue of The Guild Reporter provided an incorrect web address for The Valley Voice, the strike newspaper produced by the Yorktown Newspaper Guild. The correct site is: www.valleyvoiceonline.com.

The same issue also provided an incorrect job title for David Swanson, author of an analysis headlined "Voting problems get short shrift." Swanson is media coordinator for the International Labor Communications Association.

Guild briefs . . .

Life as we know it, and other fables

When does life start? When does life end? Heavy questions, to be sure, but Time Inc. claims to have the answers: the LIFE magazine it recently resurrected is not the LIFE we all knew and loved, so its employees are not entitled to Guild representation. Not so fast, the New York Guild has responded: Article III, Section 1 of the contract between the Guild and Time Inc. clearly states that editorial employees of LIFE magazine are represented by the Guild. Having been rebuffed in a grievance hearing, the local has filed for arbitration.

2 years later, first contract at UPI

The good news is that the Guild has reached a tentative agreement on an initial contract with United Press International. The not-so-good news is that the agreement accepts low minimum wages because the current owners have yet to make a profit—although most employees are paid well above the minimums and the agreement includes a no pay-cut clause. The agreement also calls for 3% raises annually, retroactive to 2002, and medical insurance for which UPI pays 90% of the premium for individual coverage and 80% for family. A ratification vote is expected in early January.

CMG gets nod for TV employees

The Canada Industrial Relations Board has given the Canadian Media Guild the legal right to represent employees at VisionTV and at One: the Mind, Body and Spirit Channel. The Guild's application was filed in July.

Gannett picks up Detroit weekly

The Observer & Eccentric Newspapers and its corporate parent, HomeTown Communications Network, have been sold to Gannett Corp. No terms were released. The Detroit Newspaper Guild negotiated a new three-year contract earlier this year—after working two years without a collective bargaining agreement—that does not include a successor clause and has asked Gannett if it intends to honor the contract.

S&P agrees to voluntary buyouts

Standard & Poors and the New York Guild have negotiated a special voluntary buyout program to take some of the sting out of 13 layoffs of Guild-represented employees through the end of the year. The offer, extended Nov. 10 and continuing to Jan. 10, includes a maximum of 57 weeks' pay, depending on length of service,

and may be taken in a lump sum, salary continuation or a combination of salary continuation and lump sum. Contractual health benefits are to be provided during any salary-continuation period.

IAPE, in the red, to seek dues hike

The board of directors of IAPE, TNG-CWA Local 1096, has voted once again to seek a dues increase. Currently set at the lowest level of any Guild local, IAPE's dues under the proposal would rise in annual increments to 0.65%, 0.75% and finally to 0.85% of earnings; the proposal also includes an annual increase in the dues cap, from the current \$25 a month to \$40 in the first year, \$55 in the second and \$70 in the third. IAPE has been operating in the red the past three years.

Sun faces ULP over ethics code

The Washington-Baltimore Guild has filed a charge of unfair labor practices against the Baltimore Sun over recent ethics bargaining, claiming the ethics code interferes with employees' rights under Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act to engage in protected union activity. The local also claims that the code's "outside activities" language conflicts with the collective bargaining agreement and that the Sun may not lawfully restrict employees' political and civil rights.

Class action suit seeks back wages

A California judge has granted class-action status to a lawsuit filed by employees of the Chinese Daily News for unpaid overtime and other alleged violations of the state's wage and hour law. The class, which includes reporters and sales staff that management tried to exclude, is seeking back pay from March 2000 through June of this year.

Scranton dailies to be merged

The Guild-represented Scranton Times and Tribune are to be merged into a single morning newspaper by next summer. Management has not said how many jobs may be eliminated because of the move.

No opposition for Montreal leaders

The four incumbent executive officers of the Montreal Newspaper Guild have been returned for new three-year terms without a challenge. They include Jan Ravensbergen, president; Michele Carle, first vice president; Charles Shannon, second vice president; and Muriel Lemenu, secretary-treasurer.

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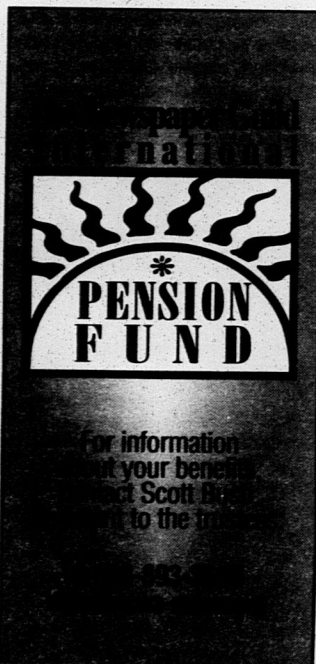
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Coastal locals brace for storm

Storm clouds are gathering on the West Coast, with the Seattle Times Co. disclosing it expects to lose money this year and strike talk filling the air at the San Francisco Chronicle.

The Times' loss was the first time the company has acknowledged losing money on a corporation-wide basis instead of just at its flagship paper, according to freelance writer Bill Richards. The company also said it lost money overall in 2003, although it would not specify how steep the losses have been. Among the company's other properties is the Portland Press Herald in Maine, whose employees also are Guild represented.

The Seattle Times has been trying to end its joint operating agreement with the Hearst-owned Post-Intelligencer for the past two years, claiming the arrangement is draining its financial reserves. The latest disclosure undoubtedly will get a lot of attention from the company's board of directors, which is scheduled to meet late next month. It also may signal layoffs, with managing editor David Boardman warning of possible job cuts. The Dec. 15 Seattle Weekly reports that the daily's nine interns have been advised to freshen their résumés.

The Northern California Media Guild, meanwhile, is laying the groundwork for contract talks at the San Francisco Chronicle that Guild leaders clearly believe will be difficult. With the current contract expiring June 30, a no-layoff clause that was negotiated when Hearst exchanged its ownership of the San Francisco Examiner for the Chronicle—in the process merging virtually all of the two staffs—also will end. And with the company already trimming its non-unionized ranks, the outlook for Guild members is not promising.

The mood is reflected in the latest issue of *Ralph*, the Guild's newsletter, which includes a front-page column by President Michael Cabanatuan raising the possibility of a strike. A front-page story about the city's 1994 newspaper strike jumps to the centerspread under a 72-point banner, "Eleven days that shook the newspaper world," then jumps again to the back page; nine photos of strikers and pickets commemorate the event.

Gloria La Riva, president of the local's typo sector, reminisces in her column about the event in near-wistful terms. "The first thing I remember about the 1994 strike was the solidarity as we walked out of the building," she begins.



KAREN PULFER-FOCHT/MEMPHIS NEWSPAPER GUILD

Remembering a mighty heart

A record crowd turned out Nov. 13 for the third annual Celebration of Liberty fund-raising dinner to hear Mariane Pearl speak about her late husband's warmth and courage. With approximately 240 people in attendance, the dinner turned a profit for the first time.

Hosted by the Memphis Newspaper Guild, the dinner benefits the Daniel Pearl Scholarship, which each year is awarded to a University of Memphis student studying international journalism. This year, the scholarship was divided

between Julia Meeks and Rachel Lanier, who each received \$500.

Pearl, a Wall Street Journal reporter, was murdered in Pakistan in 2002 by religious extremists. His life was memorialized by his widow in her book, *A Mighty Heart*, copies of which she autographed after the dinner.

Although a final account wasn't completed by press time, local officials said they believe this year's dinner raised enough money to underwrite the scholarship for the next two years.

Direct-dealing at CBC riles Guild leadership

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More recently, however, the CBC has started not one but several rounds of meetings with small groups of employees, this time under the guise of "news integration" or "working knowledge" gatherings. In every case, Guild officers report, the objective has been to show employees how much more is needed from them, that the CBC is in a constant battle for survival—and that more and more contract concessions will be necessary.

Senior CBC management has campaigned for some time to win the hearts and minds of its employees, turning to sometimes questionable tactics. For example, the corporation continues touting its inclusion as one of the "top 100 employers in Canada"—without disclosing that the enterprises included in the "Top 100" apply for the privilege. Nor do the book's authors

interview a "Top 100" company's employees to ascertain their take on the "award."

Other CBC tactics are not so subtle. For example, the corporation claimed in a recent bargaining communiqué that its demand to hire all new employees on a non-permanent basis would not affect existing individual staff. Guild leaders deride the claim as patently false, pointing out that if every new worker were hired as a disposable contract employee, all staff members would be affected in terms of individual job security and in their ability to bargain collectively.

In recent weeks the corporation also has misused the results of the last employee survey. When the CBC signed its contract with Hay Management Consultants to conduct the last survey, both Hay and the Canadian Media Guild were given assurances that survey data would not be used to undermine the

collective bargaining process. However, in communications to members, as well as at the bargaining table, the CBC has used the results of one unfortunately-worded survey question about employee performance to link the Performance Management/Staff Development process to the discipline/discharge process.

But the CBC's response to the Guild's complaint most clearly reveals a more disdainful attitude toward meaningful dialogue in the workplace. Although its Nov. 22 communiqué announced that the CBC "believes that it is important to have regular ongoing communication with its employees on matters pertaining to the strategic direction of the organization," that stance is undercut by the corporation's persistent efforts to keep employees from receiving e-mailed union communications. (An arbitration hearing on

the e-mail dispute started Nov. 26.)

"The Guild is not opposed to having an employer communicate with its employees—on the contrary, we have continually urged CBC management to operate in a more transparent manner," Lareau said. "The Guild just wants to make sure that there are no unlawful or inappropriate communications that undermine the collective bargaining process."

"But we know that despite all the talk about saving money, the budget that's kept most closely guarded is the amount the CBC spends on fighting the union," she added. "That's because the CBC has a track record of fighting both the big and little issues with the same expensive lawyers, and we can expect the same with this complaint. There's absolutely no accountability for that chunk of taxpayers' money."

Pulitzer sale casts pall over St. Louis

Guild-represented employees of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch are waiting for the other shoe to drop, following the Pulitzer family's late-November confirmation that its newspaper chain is for sale. The list of potential buyers is typically headed by Gannett, but the New York Times Co., Tribune Co. and Knight Ridder also are prominently mentioned.

The St. Louis Newspaper Guild concluded difficult contract negotiations earlier this year, before a sale of the company was known. The contract, a five-year package approved after some controversy,

does not have a successor clause. More recently, local president Tim O'Neil stepped down and has been succeeded by Jeff Gordon, former first vice-president.

Pulitzer's decision ratchets up the pressure for loosening federal restrictions on media cross-ownership, according to some analysts. Gannett and Tribune, for example, both own television stations in St. Louis, which under current rules would preclude their purchase of the Post-Dispatch.

The announcement also prompted speculation that other small chains might go on the auction block, including McClatchy.



Organizing Retreat
November 14-16, 2004
New Orleans

'All of Me' rings on

Nineteen organizers from 10 international and local unions, including TNG and CWA, gather in New Orleans for this year's retreat for professional union women organizers. Established by the Berger-Marks Foundation in honor of Guild organizer and TNG rep Edna Berger and her

husband, Gerald Marks, the retreat is underwritten by rights to the song "All of Me," which was co-written by Marks. This year's session, which ran Nov. 14-16, was facilitated by Sue Schurman, director of the National Labor College. Schurman is writing a report, based on discussions at the retreat, to help the foundation and the wider labor movement recruit, train and retain more women organizers.

News round-up

Congress invites more 'guests' . . .

As the 108th Congress wound to a finish, corporate interests succeeded in blowing another hole in the annual limits on the H-1B "guest" worker visa program. A last-minute amendment to the Omnibus Appropriations bill will allow another 20,000 foreign workers with advanced degrees to work in the U.S., despite record-level joblessness in many professional occupations. With the new exemption, more than 230,000 foreign professionals will be getting guest worker visas and American jobs each year.

. . . but whacks U.S. skills training

A second major setback for labor tucked into the Omnibus Appropriations bill is Congressional approval of a Bush proposal to eliminate some \$100 million available under the H-1B Technical Skills Grant Training Program. The program had been funded by a \$1,000 visa fee—now doubled by Congress, to \$2,000—that private employers pay for each H-1B worker and was designed to upgrade the job skills of displaced American workers.

US Airways workers voting on pay cuts

Ballots are to be counted Dec. 23 in voting by approximately 6,000 CWA-represented customer service agents on a new wage-cutting contract at bankrupt US Airways. Union leaders reluctantly recommended a "yes" vote to avoid even deeper wage losses and possible loss of the entire contract. The proposed pact, to run through Dec. 31, 2011, freezes top-of-scale pay at \$18 an hour through 2007 and knocks most workers down one step on the pay scale. Some workers would see a 12.9% pay cut.

Your union. Your future.



Photoshop course offered on-line

TNG-CWA members wanting to develop or upgrade their Photoshop skills in an on-line course should visit the CWA/NETT Academy at www.cwanett.org or by calling 877-676-4553. Introduction to Photoshop CS, a fully accredited 16-week course offered through Stanly Community College, will begin Jan. 18. The cost for CWA members is \$90, plus course participants who don't already own the program can buy it through the class at a discount of more than 50%.

GCIU narrowly votes to join Teamsters

Members of the Graphic Communications International Union, which earlier this year was considering a possible merger with CWA, narrowly approved a leadership recommendation that they merge with the Teamsters instead. Although GCIU officials declined to release the vote count, Newsday reported that about 52% of the 35,500 or so ballots cast favored the Teamsters; a majority of Canadian members opposed the merger.

Big Brother extends grip on workers

Federal employee unions report that a new directive from the Department of Homeland Security imposes "unprecedented restrictions and conditions on the free speech rights" of workers. The new directive forbids Homeland Security employees from revealing unclassified information to the public and allows government access to workers' homes and belongings to search for unclassified information.

Worker complaints up, penalties down

The number of worker complaints about denial of overtime pay, wages and job leave rose to a four-year high in fiscal year 2004—even as the Department of Labor also reported that penalties for violations of federal wage-and-hour laws and back pay awards dropped during the same period, which ended Sept. 30. Most of the complaints were received before the Aug. 23 effective date of rule changes by the Dept. of Labor that could cost some 6 million workers their right to overtime pay.

Temp workers lose union rights

The Republican-dominated National Labor Relations Board issued another in a string of anti-worker decisions Nov. 19, overturning a four-year-old precedent that allowed temporary workers supplied by staffing firms the right to form a combined union with employees of the company using the temporary workers. Under the new 3-2 ruling, temporary workers must get the "permission" of both employers before there can be a vote on whether to form a union. The board's two Democrats accused the majority of "accelerating the expansion of a permanent underclass of workers" and charged that the result "is the opposite of what Congress intended."

Journalists under fire

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bring economic and social justice to the workplace."

The proposal doubtless will be viewed by some activists as excessively narrow. For example, it would permit the local's executive council to endorse legislation after providing 15 days' notice of a membership meeting to vote on the issue—but only if such legislation relates to "issues commonly appearing at the bargaining table (i.e., health care, retirement security, living wage, etc.)." And, of course, it specifically bars the local's endorsement of any candidate for office.

On the other hand, even this cautious language may draw some fire. But as the Guild attempts to draw a distinction between union-driven efforts to safeguard economic well being and a journalistically-driven imperative to stay out of political squabbles, its opponents have blurred the distinction beyond recognition. It's no secret, for example, that an ever growing share of government functions is being privatized, or that corporate interests have become inextricably intertwined with government decision-making. Without adapting to this conflation of economics and politics, the Guild is left in the position of fighting with one metaphorical hand tied behind its back.

While the Guild as an institution struggles to define what is defensible, individual Guild members and other journalists are being systematically stripped of their political rights. The ironic upshot is that any Guild debate over political activism runs the risk of becoming irrelevant: should the discussion ever be resolved in favor of engagement, the troops will be too weakened to fight.

One notable example of the assault reporters are enduring is the three-day suspensions of Pioneer Press reporters Chuck Laszewski and Rick Linsk for attending a "Vote for Change" concert Oct. 5. Now slated for binding arbitration, the case has been defended by management as an example of enforcing the company's code of ethics. Reporters have to give up certain rights, argued editor Vicki S. Gowler: "It's simply the choice we make when we become journalists."

A more insidious shackling of newspaper employees comes at the hands of the National Labor Relations Board, which in November gave the Vicki Gowers of the world much wider latitude to determine what "choices" people make when they become journalists. Ruling in a case in which managers at the Fremont Argus admonished a reporter who had sought city council support for contract negotiations at his paper, the board said it was irrelevant that the reporter appeared at the council on his own time and that his job responsibilities didn't include covering council meetings.

"Reporters cannot know with certainty what they will be covering in the future," the NLRB reasoned. "Beats can change and . . . readers, in assessing credibility of a newspaper, see the reporter as working for the paper as a whole and do not recognize the distinction between beats." Dubious assertions about readers' intelligence aside, that line of reasoning amounts to a blanket ban on any kind of political expression by any reporter at any time.

Reactions from the guardians of journalistic purity to such extreme interpretations have been muted to non-existent. Instead, the new puritanism has become so pervasive that reporters who run afoul of it sometimes suffer a journalistic version of the Stockholm syndrome. So, for example, Tom Anderson, the reporter who appealed for city council help to end a multi-year bargaining impasse, subsequently wrote in the Columbia Journalism Review that "perhaps I was too caught up in the labor battle."

Journalism schools don't teach much about unionized newsrooms, Anderson lamented. "Most of us active Guild members were in our mid-twenties, and inexperienced in union politics," he wrote. "It didn't occur to us to pressure our Guild rep to speak at council meetings."

So much for grassroots activism.

The drip-drip-drip erosion of journalistic political freedom has broader implications, of course. Consider, for example, that both the United States and Canada—once viewed as the paragons of a free press—are in a deep swoon on an annual index of press freedom compiled by Reporters Without Borders. The most recently released survey, which ranks the media of 167 countries on their ability to inform the public without government interference,

now places Canada at 18th, the U.S. at 22nd. That's a heap better than the last-place showing of Turkmenistan, Burma, Cuba and North Korea, but it also marks a steady decline from the first index, published in 2002, when Canada was fifth and the U.S. 17th.

Helping sink Canada's ranking was its official response to a front-page story published in the Ottawa Citizen a year ago November. Reported by Juliet O'Neill, the story described the calamity that befell Maher Arar, a Syrian-born Canadian deported to Damascus—at the request of U.S. authorities—where he was held for a year and allegedly tortured in an attempt to link him to Islamic terrorists. This past January, two months after O'Neill's story was published, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police raided her home and the Citizen's offices, confiscating notebooks, files, computer hard drives, CDs, photo albums and whatever else struck their fancy—while arguing that they couldn't disclose the full reasons for the raids because of national security concerns.

An Ontario Superior Court ruled last month that the raids had violated constitutional guarantees of a free press and open courts, forcing the release of more than a thousand secret documents the Mounties had used to justify their actions. But the raid has left a mark. Speaking last March at the University of King's College School of Journalism in Halifax, O'Neill recalled how the Toronto Star described the Official Secrets Act—now incorporated within Canada's omnibus anti-terrorism legislation—as "a poisonous snake coiled in a cupboard."

"Well," O'Neill added, "that snake has bolted from the cupboard and bitten again. It is up to all of us to remove not only the poison but the snake."

U.S. slippage on the press freedom index is attributable to several factors, not least a growing government insistence on subpoenaing reporters and then jailing them when they refuse to cough up sources. New York Times reporter Judith Miller, Time reporter Matthew Cooper and Rhode Island television reporter Jim Taricani all have been found in contempt in recent weeks. Reporters at the San Francisco Chronicle are being threatened similarly if they don't disclose who provided them with transcripts in a federal grand jury probe of alleged steroid abuse by Barry Bonds and other athletes.

At the Denver Post, meanwhile, reporter Miles Moffeit was faxed a subpoena last month for all "notes, memoranda, video tapes, audio tapes" pertaining to his report on the alleged rape of a man stationed at an Air Force base in Texas. At last count, the First Amendment Center calculated there are at least 10 American reporters facing jail time for refusing such demands.

And despite O'Neill's impassioned snake analogy, Canada is no more immune to prosecutorial overkill. Earlier this month, an Ontario judge levied court costs of \$31,600 against a reporter who wouldn't identify the person who gave him retirement home documents—nine years ago. The documents substantiated allegations of abuse of residents and staff at the facility.

Numerous other examples of the political knee-capping of reporters—indeed, of any group with a potential for challenging an increasingly rigid status quo—could be cited, starting with the relatively more publicized excesses of the so-called Patriot Act. Other examples might be more arcane: how widely is it known, for example, that the U.S. Office of Foreign Assets Control recently barred Americans from publishing works by dissident writers in countries that the government has placed under sanction, such as Iran, Cuba, Sudan and North Korea?

The point is not that such dangers threaten, but that they are woven into the political fiber of an increasingly anti-worker, anti-free press society. Just as rising health care costs, attacks on Social Security, union busting and outsourcing all conspire to impoverish Guild members as workers, so the ham-handed application of dubious codes of ethics, subpoenaing of reporters and star chamber court proceedings impoverish Guild members as journalists and members of society.

As the Guild and CWA join the rest of organized labor in its introspective soul-searching, it's not just the economic issues of the day that must be addressed. These days, that's a false distinction. With politics increasingly driven by economic values and considerations, failure to resolve questions of political legitimacy risks the loss of economic and journalistic rights, too.

Anne Miller, Lisa Abraham, Yvonne Abraham, Alan Abrams, Peter Accardi, Vicki Adame, Gerald Adams, Geraldine Adams, Lisa Adams, Joe Adcock, John Addington, Louis Aguilar, Roger Ahrens, Chandra Akkari, Brian Albrecht, Deborah Allard-Bernardi, Susan Allen, Lukas Alpert, William Alpert, Fred Alvarez, Eileen Ambrose, Denise Amos, James Anderson, Jennifer Anderson, John Anderson, Kirk Anderson, Leonard Anderson, Mark Anderson, Carrie Antfinger, Naomi Aoki, Gail Appleson, Christy Arboscello, Genaro Armas, Carlin Armstead, Mary Armstrong, Scott Armstrong, Harvey Aronson, Patisha Arrington, Nanette Asimov, Charlotte Atkins, Roman Augustoviz, Teresa Aviles, Amira Awad, Charles Babcock, Marjorie Backman, Brandon Bailey, Marilyn Bailey, Michael Baker, Lolita Baldor, Kevin Barnard, Jennifer Barrios, Kenneth Barry, Michael Barry, Richard Barry, Becky Bartindale, Daniel Bases, Ray Bassett, David Bates, Bridget Baugh, Michael Bazeley, Mary Beamish, Barry Bearak, David Beard, David Beck, Lesley Becker, Maja Beckstrom, Andrea Behr, Vince Beiser, Dylan Belden, Juliana Bell, Steve Bell, Marisol Bello, Pablo Bello, Jeffrey Benkoe, James Bennett, Lynne Bennett, Joshua Benton, Liza Berger, Matthew Berger, Adolphe Bernotas, Christian Berthelsen, Paul Betit, Christina Binkley, Mary Bishop, Tricia Bishop, Bruce Bisping, Bruce Bjerva, Jennifer Bjorhus, Brian Bland, Romain Blanquart, Kimberly Blanton, Paula Bock, Suzanne Bohan, Megan Boldt, Marc Bona, David Bongard, Jonathan Bor, Mark Boswell, Karen Bouffard, James Boyd, Dennis Brackin, James Bradley, Ziva Branstetter, Walter Brasch, David Braunger, Sarah Breckenridge, Kelly Brewington, David Brewster, Chris Bristol, Diane Brooks, Curt Brown, Elizabeth Brown, Thomas Brown, Brett Brune, Judith Brunswick, Mark Brunswick, Elise Bryant, James Buchta, Larry Budd, Stephen Buel, Matthew Bulger, Peter Bullock, Martha Buns, Roger Buoen, Cheryl Burch-Schoff, David Burger, John Burgess, Michael Burke, Robert Burke, Jane Burns, David Butler, Julie Bykovic, 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Elizabeth Gonzalez, Juan Gonzalez, Peter Goodman, James Goodno, James Gordon, Laura Gordon, Marcy Gordon, Nathan Gorenstein, Mara Gottfried, Ross Graber, Joan Hall, Alison Grant, Charles Green, Julie Green, Richard Green, David Greene, Robert Greene, Paul Grendahl, Richard Gross, Mark Gruenberg, Susan Guernsey, Robert Gurecki, Kate Gurnett, Kristi Gustafson, Paul Gustafson, Holly Hacker, Regina Hackett, Jane Hadley, Tom Haines, Helga Halaki, Sel Hall, Susan Hall-Baldur, Doug Halliday, Evan Halper, Chris Hamilton, Chris Hamilton, Robert Hamilton, Lee Hammel, Ian Hanigan, Patricia Hannon, Azra Haqqie, Monica Hare, Kyndell Harkness, Ian Harlin, Mary Harnan, Chris Harris, David Harris, Nicole Harris, Kevin Harter, Carol Hartman, Harvey, John Haselmann, Charles Hasselberger, Tricia Haugen, Chris Havens, Elizabeth Hayes, Heather Hazle, Candace Heckman, Timothy Heider, Laura Heinauer, Kurt Heine, Seth Hemmelgarn, John Hennessy, Lynn Henning, Douglas Henry, David Henshaw, Peter Hermann, Natalie Herron, Julie Hertz, Katia Hetter, James Hewitt, Lisa Heyamoto, Robert Hiasen, Lori Higgins, Lisa Higgs, Michael Hill, Susan Hilliard, Sheila Himmel, David Ho, Sharon Hodge, Glenda Holste, Peter Hopkin, David Hoppe, Leigh Hornbeck, Rob Hotakainen, Jeanne Houck, Joylayne Houtz, Martha Hovde, Kathleen Howlett, Timothy Huber, Pamela Huey, Kevin Hunt, George Hunter, Paul Hymann, Stan Huskey, Mark Hvidsten, Nicole Hvidsten, Jeremy Iggers, Kimberly Imperato, Victor Ingle, Shirley Ingraham, David Jackson, Glenn Jackson, Jerome Jackson, Paul Jacobs, Andrea James, Joni James, Stephen James, Julie Jette, Jay Jochowitz, Joshua Johnson, Kim Johnson, John Johnson, Matthew Johnson, Steve Johnson, Annette Jones, Renee Jones, Paul Joppa, George Jordan, Jay Jordan, Roland Julian, Carolyn Jung, Neal Justin, Nikki Kahn, Anne Kallas, Ron Kallas, Stephanie Kanavy, Shira Kantor, Jennifer Karmon, Jason Kaye, Nicole Keller, Chris Kelly, Kelly Kelly, David Kelly, Kate Kelly, Keith Kelly, Anthony Kennedy, Louise Kennedy, Michael Kennedy, Joseph Kimball, Karen King, Lori King, Michael King, Gary Kirchfierr, Christopher Kirkpatrick, Clayton, Athalia Knight, Connie Knox, Lisa Kocian, Peter Koelman, Martin Kohn, Dawn Kopecki, Kathy Kraft, Janeen Kramer, Karen Krebsbach, Richard Krechel, Dave Krieger, Joe Krochieski, Peter Se, Maraline Kubik, Steve Kuchera, Stephen Labaton, Neal Lambert, Rachel Landau, Robert Tahree Lane, Terri Langford, Joanne Lannin, Gerry Lanosga, Noreen Larch, Kevin Larkin, Guy Ler, Charles Laszewski, Jeannine Laverty, Natalie Layzell, Patricia Leader, Michael Leahy, Lan

Lecour, Amy Lee, Chang Lee, Gregory Lee, Thomas Lee, Lisa Legge, Ingrid Lehrfeld, Emilie Lemmons, Nancy Leson, Carrie Levine, Paul Levy, Bob Lewis, Michael Lewis, Dennis Lien, Margaret Lillard, Craig Lincoln, Barry Lipton, David Little, Nancy Lo, Deborah Lohse, Anthony Lotnree, Brian Long, Patricia Lopez, Peter Lord, Ellen Lorentzson, Richard Iovrich, John Lynch, Brendan Lyons, Scott Maben, Heather Maddan, Mark Madden, John Maher, Mark Mahoney, Michael Malone, John Mangels, Craig Mantey, Tracy Manzer, Josephine Marcotty, Richard Marosi, Matt Marshall, Richard Marshall, Scott Martelle, Jonathan Martin, Michael Martindale, Michelle Martinez, Lisa Martino, Anna Masters, Richard Mates, Anna Mathews, Megan Matteucci, Charles Matthews, David Matthews, Jessica Matthews, Donald Mattice, Jeanne May, Kelly Maynard, Eric Mayne, Robert McAuley, Maureen McCarthy, Regina McCombs, Michael McCormick, Karen McCowan, John McCoy, Joedy McCreary, John McDermott, Michael McDermott, Bob McDonald, John McDonald, Gary McElroy, Paul McEnroe, Kathleen McGoldrick, Dennis McGrath, Michael McIntyre, Peter McKay, Ellen McKinney, William McKinney, Jennifer McMenamin, Michael Mechanic, Thomas Meersman, Claudia Melendez, David Melendy, Joe Menard, Jim Mendenhall, Richard Meryhew, Cynthia Metzger, James Meyer, Mike Meyers, Roger Mezger, Gary Miles, John Millea, Dawn Miller, Deborah Miller, Doug Miller, Gary Miller, John Miller, Kay Miller, Margaret Miller, Michael Miller, Pamela Miller, Stephen Miller, Steve Miller, Steven Miller, Susan Milligan, Caille Millner, Gloria Millner, Richard Milner, Jerome Minerva, Randy Miranda, Raja Mishra, Charles Mitchell, John Mitchell, Karin Mitchell, Jody Mitoni, Brian Mooney, Elizabeth Moore, Natalie Moore, Sylvia Moore, Katherine Moran, Cheryl Morningstar, David Morris, Eileen Moustakis, Martin Moylan, Ryan Mulcahy, Michael Mullen, Kery Murakami, Steven Myers, Valerie Myers, Suzanne Neal, Terence Neilan, Amy Nelson, Brian Nelson, Connie Nelson, Deborah Nelson, Don Nelson, London Nelson, Melissa Nelson, Rick Nelson, Shelley Nelson, Sara Neufeld, George Newman, Nancy Ngo, Ron Nies, Ron Nixon, David Nolan, Gary North, Paul Nowell, Karen Nugent, Sharon Nyberg, John O'Brien, Timothy O'Brien, Tom O'Hara, Karen O'Leary, Hugh O'Neill, Larry Oakes, Kraig Odden, Kim Ode, Nick Olivari, Dean Olsen, Rochelle Olson, Thomas Olson, Loren Omoto, Jorge Ortiz, Lauren Osborne, Tammy Oseid, John Oslund, Will Outlaw, Shira Ovide, David Oyama, David Pace, Nerissa Pacio, Abdon Pallasch, Griffin Palmer, Tom Palmer, Peter Panepento, Steven Pardo, Robert Parent, Richard Parker, Kate Parry, Barry Parsons, Jan Paschal, Michael Patrick, Mark Pattison, Naomi Patton, Anita Pearl, Ryan Pearson, Claude Peck, Matt Peiken, Angelica Pence, Diana Penner, Stephen Perez, David Perlman, Robert Pernice, Brian Peterson, David Peterson, K.J. Peterson, Karen Peterson, David Phelps, Lesley Phillips, Melissa Phillips, Michael Phillips, Nedra Pickler, Phillip Pina, Jenni Pinkley, Raymond Pitlyk, Karl Plume, Therese Poletti, Joe Pollack, Andreea Popa, April Powell, Ashley Powers, Bernadette Prati, Rohan Preston, Catherine Preus, Jeff Price, Darlene Prois, Frank Provenzano, Susan Pulliam, Lee Quarnstrom, Shay Quillen, Charles Radin, Ramin Rahimian, LaVette Rainer, Judith Rakowsky, Marc Ramirez, Ralph Ranalli, Michael Rand, Ihor Rebensky, Barbara Reed, Keith Reed, Scott Reed, Maria Reeve, Milford Reid, John Reinan, Valerie Reitman, Patrick Reusse, Jennifer Ribeca, Steve Rice, Steven Richards, David Richwine, Douglas Rieder, Eric Ringham, John Rivera, Jeff Rivers, Christine Rizk, Kevin Robbins, Alan Roberts, Janet Roberts, Bert Robinson, Carol Robinson, Michelle Robinson, Sean Robinson, Jonathan Rockoff, Ann Rodgers, Carlos Rodriguez, Cindy Rodriguez, Nyssa Rogers, Ricardo Romagosa, Maurice Roman,

Standing up for the First Amendment

A statement in support of journalists found in contempt of court

During the past few months, an unprecedented number of journalists have been cited for contempt in federal court for refusing to name confidential sources. The following statement has been signed by more than 4,500 journalists, of whom more than a thousand—their names are listed on this page—are Guild members. To review the complete list and obtain background information on the several cases, go to www.rcfp.org/standup.

For well over a century, reporters have recognized an ethical duty to protect their confidential sources. If journalists could not and did not honor this guarantee, significant sources who fear reprisal would be afraid to reveal what they know; valuable information about government conduct would not reach the public.

Reporters recognize that this duty must be defended uniformly. It should not be compromised whenever questions are raised about possible sources, or it will be lost in all situations.

We support the reporters in current federal court proceedings who are refusing to testify about their confidential sources and now face stiff fines, even jail. We commend these reporters for standing firm and standing up for First Amendment principles.

Jay Root, Ruben Rosario, Craig Rose, David Rosenbaum, Joshua Rosenbaum, Lauren Roth, Brenda Roytherham, Christopher Rowland, Graydon Royce, Frank Roylance, Neal Rubin, David Ruble, Courtney Ruiz, John Russo, Deborah Rybak, Susan Sachs, Steve Sack, Luke Saladin, Randy Salas, Robert Salladay, Jonathan Saltzman, Felix Sanchez, Jared Sandberg, Michael Sangiacomo, Jathon Sapsford, Pia Sarkar, Eric Savitz, Mark Saxon, Jean Scheidnes, Linda Scheimann, Jean Schildz, Laurie Schlatter, Sharon Schmickle, Pamela Schmid, Peter Schmuck, Timothy Schnupp, Karl Schoenberger, Mark Schoofs, Grant Schulte, Connie Schultz, Susan Schultz, Erik Schwartz, Susan Schwartz, Eric Schwarz, Christopher Scinta, Alwyn Scott, Andrew Scott, David Scott, Michael Scott, Stephen Scott, Bruce Scruton, Andrew Seder, Irene Sege, Elyse Segelken, Anjali Sekhar, Casey Selix, Barbara Serrano, Kim Severson, Joseph Sevic, Rhonda Sewell, David Shaffer, Leslie Shaffer, Kathleen Shaw, Jean Shea, Lynne Shedlock, Jeffrey Shelman, Lynne Sherwin, Kristina Shevory, Sara Shipley, Annie Shooman, Jason Shoot, Eric Siegel, Jack Silbert, Larry Sillanpa, Jane Simon, Allan Simonovich, Jennifer Simonson, Howard Sinker, Keith Sinzinger, Jeffrey Sjerven, Donovan Slack, Susan Sloan, John Small, Suzanne Smalley, Amanda Smith, Angela Smith, Doug Smith, James Smith, Jerd Smith, Jessica Smith, Jordan Smith, Katherine Smith, Lyrysa Smith, Raymond Smith, Rebecca Smith, Roger Smith, Stephanie Smith, Terry Smith, Tim Smith, Vicki Smith, Ronald Smothers, David Snyder, John Snyder, Scott Sochar, Jeffrey Solomon, Diane Solov, Richard Somerville, Regina Soto, Jim Souhan, Thomas Spalding, Mark Spevack, Jackie Spinner, Dean Spiros, Neal St Anthony, J.J. Stambaugh, Gregory Stanford, Rachel Stassen-Berger, Scott Steeves, John Stefany, David Steinberg, Brian Stensaas, Lisa Stevens, Elizabeth Stevens, Ben Steverman, Richard Stone Colleen Stoxen, Lisa Strattan, Linda Stroud, Jerri Stroud, Elizabeth Stuart, Erin Sullivan, Jack Sullivan, Laura Sullivan, Margaret Sullivan, Patricia Sullivan, Maya Suryaraman, Cecelia Sutton, Robert Swann, Thomas Sweeney, Phoebe Sweet, Neil Swidey, Toby Talbot, Michelle Tan, Linh Tat, Dennis Tatz, Jon Tevin, Tippi Thole, David Thomas, David Thomas, James Thompson, Stephen Thompson, Ellen Tomaszewski, Craig Troianello, Linda Tsai, Jennie Tunkieicz, Lane Turner, Mark Turney, Vincent Tuss, Greg Tuttle, Evelyn Twitchell, Tena Tyler, Betty Udesen, Sylvia Ulloa, Angela Valdez, Michelle Valdez, Cecilia Vega, Karen Vigil, Oscar Villalon, Nancy Vogel, George Waldman, David Walker, Michael Wall, Julie Wallace, David Walsh, Mary Walton, Cynthia Wang, John Wareham, David Washburn, Laura Washington, Joanne Waters, Bill Watson, Katharine Webster, Henry Weinstein, Michael Weinstein, Eric Weinstock, Robert Weisman, Jennifer Wells, Mike Wells, John Welsh, Timothy Wheeler, Brian Whelan, Vicky Whitwell, Brian Wicker, George Widman, Eric Wieffering, John Wilkens, Joseph Williams, Juliet Williams, Kristine Williams, Lena Williams, Mark Williams, Michael Williams, Mike Williams, David Wilson, Denise Wilson, Janet Wilson, Lori Wilson, Teresa Wiltz, Elizabeth Wishaw, Mary Wisniewski, Barry Witt, John Woestendiek, Debbie Wolfe, Warren Wolfe, Michael Wolgelenter, Mark Wollemann, Audrey Wong, Barry Wong, Nicole Wong, Scott Wong, Carol Wood, Roy Wood, Willard Woods, Julie Woodson, James Woodworth, Anthony Wootson, June Wormsley, Michael Wolk, James Wright, Julie Wright, Martha Wright, Yomi Wrong, Chao Xiong, Nancy Yang, Gerard Yates, Kim Yeager, Russell Yip, David Yonke, Lauren Young, Sandra Young, Kent Youngblood, Carl Younger, Steven Yount, Laura Yuen, Lisa Zaccagnino, Eileen Zakareckis

Jay Root, Ruben Rosario, Craig Rose, David Rosenbaum, Joshua Rosenbaum, Lauren Roth, Brenda Roytherham, Christopher Rowland, Graydon Royce, Frank Roylance, Neal Rubin, David Ruble, Courtney Ruiz, John Russo, Deborah Rybak, Susan Sachs, Steve Sack, Luke Saladin, Randy Salas, Robert Salladay, Jonathan Saltzman, Felix Sanchez, Jared Sandberg, Michael Sangiacomo, Jathon Sapsford, Pia Sarkar, Eric Savitz, Mark Saxon, Jean Scheidnes, Linda Scheimann, Jean Schildz, Laurie Schlatter, Sharon Schmickle, Pamela Schmid, Peter Schmuck, Timothy Schnupp, Karl Schoenberger, Mark Schoofs, Grant Schulte, Connie Schultz, Susan Schultz, Erik Schwartz, Susan Schwartz, Eric Schwarz, Christopher Scinta, Alwyn Scott, Andrew Scott, David Scott, Michael Scott, Stephen Scott, Bruce Scruton, Andrew Seder, Irene Sege, Elyse Segelken, Anjali Sekhar, Casey Selix, Barbara Serrano, Kim Severson, Joseph Sevic, Rhonda Sewell, David Shaffer, Leslie Shaffer, Kathleen Shaw, Jean Shea, Lynne Shedlock, Jeffrey Shelman, Lynne Sherwin, Kristina Shevory, Sara Shipley, Annie Shooman, Jason Shoot, Eric Siegel, Jack Silbert, Larry Sillanpa, Jane Simon, Allan Simonovich, Jennifer Simonson, Howard Sinker, Keith Sinzinger, Jeffrey Sjerven, Donovan Slack, Susan Sloan, John Small, Suzanne Smalley, Amanda Smith, Angela Smith, Doug Smith, James Smith, Jerd Smith, Jessica Smith, Jordan Smith, Katherine Smith, Lyrysa Smith, Raymond Smith, Rebecca Smith, Roger Smith, Stephanie Smith, Terry Smith, Tim Smith, Vicki Smith, Ronald Smothers, David Snyder, John Snyder, Scott Sochar, Jeffrey Solomon, Diane Solov, Richard Somerville, Regina Soto, Jim Souhan, Thomas Spalding, Mark Spevack, Jackie Spinner, Dean Spiros, Neal St Anthony, J.J. Stambaugh, Gregory Stanford, Rachel Stassen-Berger, Scott Steeves, John Stefany, David Steinberg, Brian Stensaas, Lisa Stevens, Elizabeth Stevens, Ben Steverman, Richard Stone Colleen Stoxen, Lisa Strattan, Linda Stroud, Jerri Stroud, Elizabeth Stuart, Erin Sullivan, Jack Sullivan, Laura Sullivan, Margaret Sullivan, Patricia Sullivan, Maya Suryaraman, Cecelia Sutton, Robert Swann, Thomas Sweeney, Phoebe Sweet, Neil Swidey, Toby Talbot, Michelle Tan, Linh Tat, Dennis Tatz, Jon Tevin, Tippi Thole, David Thomas, David Thomas, James Thompson, Stephen Thompson, Ellen Tomaszewski, Craig Troianello, Linda Tsai, Jennie Tunkieicz, Lane Turner, Mark Turney, Vincent Tuss, Greg Tuttle, Evelyn Twitchell, Tena Tyler, Betty Udesen, Sylvia Ulloa, Angela Valdez, Michelle Valdez, Cecilia Vega, Karen Vigil, Oscar Villalon, Nancy Vogel, George Waldman, David Walker, Michael Wall, Julie Wallace, David Walsh, Mary Walton, Cynthia Wang, John Wareham, David Washburn, Laura Washington, Joanne Waters, Bill Watson, Katharine Webster, Henry Weinstein, Michael Weinstein, Eric Weinstock, Robert Weisman, Jennifer Wells, Mike Wells, John Welsh, Timothy Wheeler, Brian Whelan, Vicky Whitwell, Brian Wicker, George Widman, Eric Wieffering, John Wilkens, Joseph Williams, Juliet Williams, Kristine Williams, Lena Williams, Mark Williams, Michael Williams, Mike Williams, David Wilson, Denise Wilson, Janet Wilson, Lori Wilson, Teresa Wiltz, Elizabeth Wishaw, Mary Wisniewski, Barry Witt, John Woestendiek, Debbie Wolfe, Warren Wolfe, Michael Wolgelenter, Mark Wollemann, Audrey Wong, Barry Wong, Nicole Wong, Scott Wong, Carol Wood, Roy Wood, Willard Woods, Julie Woodson, James Woodworth, Anthony Wootson, June Wormsley, Michael Wolk, James Wright, Julie Wright, Martha Wright, Yomi Wrong, Chao Xiong, Nancy Yang, Gerard Yates, Kim Yeager, Russell Yip, David Yonke, Lauren Young, Sandra Young, Kent Youngblood, Carl Younger, Steven Yount, Laura Yuen, Lisa Zaccagnino, Eileen Zakareckis



Dems must reclaim their moral values

By Michael Zweig

Democrats are complaining bitterly that about 80% of Americans who cited "moral values" as their most important issue in exit polls voted for President Bush. How can anyone concerned about moral values, they wonder, endorse a leader who misled this country into war, arranged for billionaires to pay less in taxes and gave the United States and hopes for democracy a bad name around the globe?

How can anyone concerned about moral values vote for a man whose first term saw such dramatic increases in poverty and inequality?

Good questions all.

But this easy amazement obscures a deeper problem: If the Democratic Party platform and candidate for president embodied moral values more faithfully than the Republicans, why didn't a large percentage of people voting Democratic cite moral values as their highest concern?

Democrats believe that their program of universal health care, good jobs and international cooperation for peace reflects the highest moral standards—yet they don't talk about policy in these terms. Democrats appeal to interests, but, having lost the language of values, they have allowed Republicans to hijack the moral conversation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal and Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty all presented agendas of economic populism in terms of explicit moral calls to end poverty, extend worker rights and shape market outcomes to serve economic justice.

One of the great moral leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., led his movement to demand economic justice as well as civil rights. He died in Memphis lending his support to a strike of garbage collectors. Yet we rarely hear Democratic leaders today talking passionately about economic justice, perhaps fearing such language will be dismissed and ridiculed as "class struggle."

But class struggle exists, and the working class is losing. Over the past 30 years, as the Republican agenda of unrestricted corporate power has come increasingly to dominate this country, workers' living standards have declined in well-documented ways—lower pay, longer hours, less health care, ruined pensions, more insecurity. At the

same time, and toward the same end, Republicans have banished all questions of economic justice from public conversation. They insist that economic outcomes are best left to the market—that the market is the best arbiter of winners and losers.

When issues of economic justice disappear from moral consideration, what's left of "values" is personal behavior alone. The religious right has played its role in the class wars of the last 30 years by giving the corporate agenda what passes for moral cover while reinforcing its extreme individualism. The values debate, defined by the right, has aided the rise of corporate power and the decline of labor's strength.

Reviving workers' living standards requires direct challenges to out-of-control corporate greed and unrestricted market power. To be effective, these challenges must involve a resurrection of the language of economic justice and mutual responsibility for our human community and natural environment. All progressive policy reforms and limits to corporate power flow from these essential values.

Democrats make a mistake to couch their programs solely in terms of the immediate interests of voters without placing those interests in their moral context. People rightly wish to advocate moral values and can be willing to sacrifice some material comfort for them. Polls have repeatedly shown that most Americans say they are willing to pay somewhat higher taxes if they can be sure the money will be put to social good. When Democrats speak only of "interests," they play into the corporate ethos of stark individualism, reinforce the agenda of the right and cede the moral high ground to the Republican agenda.

To revive the prospects for working people, who make up the great majority of this country, we need to address interests and ethics together. We must challenge the claim that the scope of moral judgment is personal behavior alone and hold the corporate elite and Republican and Democratic parties to standards of social responsibility and economic justice.

Zweig teaches economics and directs the Center for Study of Working Class Life at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. This column was first published Nov. 19 in the *Baltimore Sun* and is reprinted with the *Sun's* permission.

Collective bargaining key to labor's survival

[Approximately 500 labor activists gathered at the City University of New York on Dec. 2-3 for a conference titled "Labor at the Crossroads." Excerpts of a handout distributed by Cohen follow:]

By Larry Cohen
CWA Executive Vice President

While much has been said about the decline of private-sector union membership in the U.S., labor's current crisis is less frequently described in terms of the erosion of collective bargaining, particularly compared to other industrial democracies. It's certainly true that union density and bargaining success are linked, but focusing on collective bargaining—and its contribution to a healthy, democratic society—better positions us to appeal for public support based on gains that are good for everyone.

For 70 years, since passage of the Wagner Act, America's stated national policy has been to support collective bargaining. Yet in recent years, it is only in the public sector that we have actually promoted it. Since 1950, private-sector collective bargaining coverage has dropped from 35% to 8% of the workforce, while public-sector collective bargaining rates have risen from under 10% to 35% in the same period.

Public sector membership gains are important even beyond the numbers they add to organized labor's overall headcount because of what they demonstrate about workers' willingness and ability to organize under conditions of relative management neutrality and non-interference. If the NLRA had covered government employees 30 years ago, when health care and non-profit entities were finally covered, it's likely that public sector unionization in the U.S. today would be at least 80%—strikingly similar to Canada, Europe, South Africa, Korea, Japan and every other democracy. Instead, the existence or scope of collective bargaining in half the states is still being determined by state legislators or governors, who favor either no bargaining at all or limited "meet and discuss" arrangements. . . .

In the past two years, the AFL-CIO has done some of its best grassroots work ever to prepare for a labor resurgence. Rather than rehash older, more narrow approaches to labor law reform, the federation has shaped the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA), which now has nearly a majority of House members as co-sponsors, as well as 30 co-sponsors in the Senate. EFCA would

provide union recognition and possible first contract arbitration whenever a bargaining unit majority is established via card check.

Uniting labor around this approach was and is no small feat. Many unions were involved in a failed effort in 1992-93, when the federation instead put its hopes in the Dunlop Commission, appointed by President Clinton. Now, the federation actively supports coalition work with Jobs with Justice and American Rights at Work, both of which are focused on building popular support for collective bargaining rights. . . .

The November elections have clearly dealt a knockout blow to passing federal legislation like EFCA in the next four years. But possibilities remain for real reform in many states for bargaining rights for both public sector and related groups, such as state contractors. The White House and its allies in Congress no doubt will continue to attack voluntary recognition based on majority support (card check), so the need for labor union unity around support for collective bargaining rights will be more important than ever. This must mean renewed worksite education and mobilization about collective bargaining and organizing rights, not just our own but for all working Americans.

Two years ago, the CWA executive board adopted a seven-point program, titled "Collective Bargaining and Organizing Rights," that recognizes all of us are facing a collective bargaining crisis. We are bargaining defensively, trying to hold onto benefits, living standards and even our jobs, as a result of declining collective bargaining density. The crisis is even more acute for our members bargaining first contracts, since most employers now act as if union recognition is meaningless and bargain as if they never expect to reach an agreement. CWA's program emphasizes the importance of making this collective bargaining crisis a membership issue, even when workers' own contracts may not be up for re-negotiation.

Promoting collective bargaining is even more critical today, because the patient is in much worse shape than half a century ago. What is the likelihood that we can address America's health care crisis, the collapse of retirement security, the threat of outsourcing, workplace safety and health hazards, or growing income inequality without far more workers winning the right to bargain? We know the answer, and that's why we need to keep investing our time, resources and best activists, not only in building our own unions but in working together to bring back collective bargaining.

Time to get political

Continued from page 7

forced the changes, said the company was broke and promised everyone would share the pain. It even went so far as to hold meetings with managers and non-represented employees to outline the new costs—which it never instituted. Instead, the non-represented employees kept a better plan for which they paid nothing, while trusting Guild members accepted a weaker plan and a share of the premiums, all on the strength of management's representations.

People take health care very personally. It may sound odd, but it may be this cost-shifting to workers that finally forces America to look at what should have been adopted during the New Deal: a legitimate, national system of health care. Every other industrialized nation of any stature has it. We will, too. Until that happens, however, you lose more and more money at the bar-

gaining table as health care costs go up by 12% a year.

Every local is struggling with this issue, because the ideologues have kept us from a real discussion of health care reform. They're busy sawing off the second plank of the New Deal, Social Security, while the third plank, national health care, is not even discussed.

Again, many will say we should stay away from these issues—that they're political. But just as the Guild has been a major voice on media reform and in the fight against destroying overtime rights, so we must find our voice on preserving Social Security and on true health care reform. Until workers of all stripes are engaged in these discussions, you'll continue to pay more of your hard-earned dollars for things you thought were taken care of—and some will call that reform.



LOOKING AHEAD

Guild's choice: Get political, or get dealt out

By Bernie Lunzer, Secretary-Treasurer

The American labor movement and the Newspaper Guild-CWA need to be in the thick of the battle to protect Social Security—and we have to push hard for real health care reform.

Aren't these political positions, the kind of thing we shy away from? Perhaps. But continuation of a real, secure retirement supplement, as well as creation of a system that manages the explosion in health care costs, are key to the survival of the American middle class. Further erosion will devastate us at the bargaining table and further deplete our members' paychecks.

Students of history know that in addition to creating Social Security, Franklin Roosevelt also sought to create a national health care system. He was stymied, in part by labor. Roosevelt understood that capitalism, if it were to survive, had to work for everyone. There had to be a safety net. That's why the retirement supplement is so aptly named: its purpose was to create some security in the system. People should not end up in debtors' prison for want of a retirement wage.

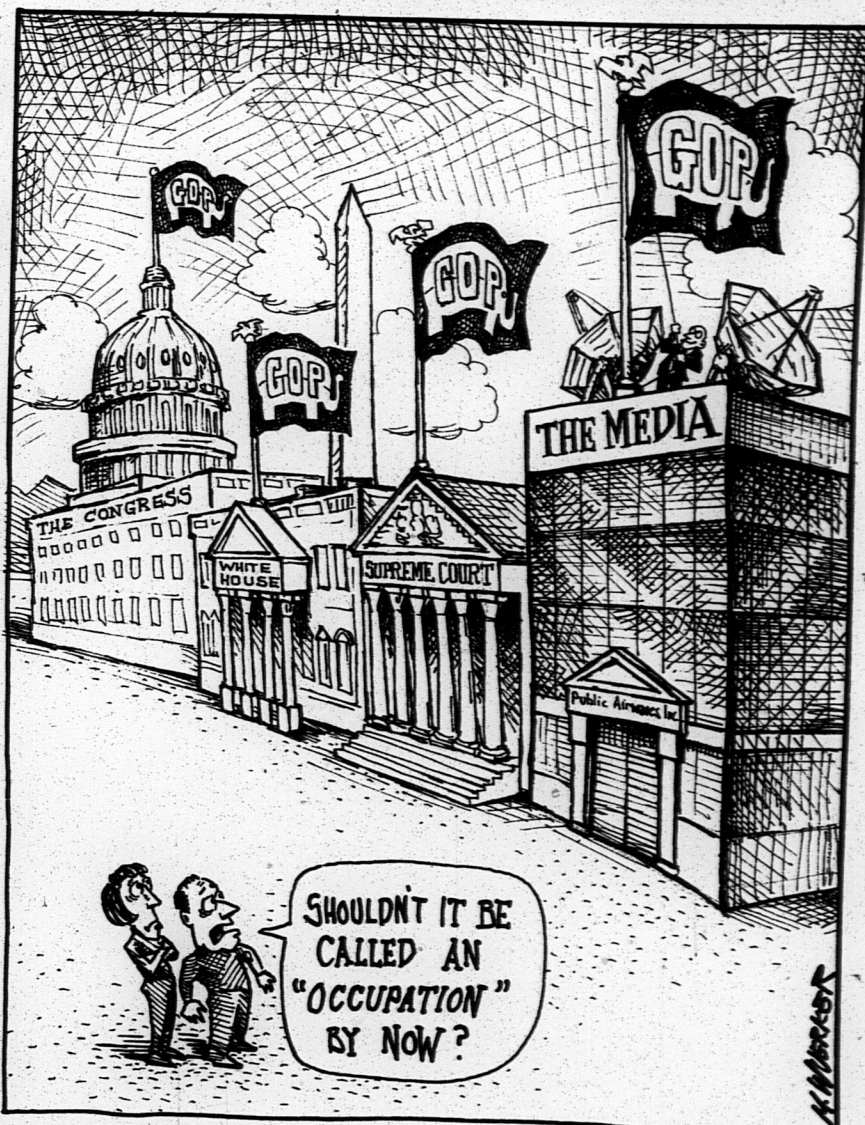
Now, however, so-called "reformers" want to take security out of the equation and substitute a roll of the market dice. Why? Simple: the nation's financial markets have been propped up by swapping 401(k)s for real pensions and by pushing mortgage refinancing to offset stagnant wages, but that ploy is running out of steam. A new trick is needed—so why not a mass transfer of wealth from the current, secure Social Security system to individualized, risky stock-purchase plans? Anyone tracking 401(k)s

over the past decade knows these are far from meeting any definition of "security"—some call them 201(k)s because of the losses they've incurred—but the brokers like them because of the fees they generate. Such fees, possibly in the 5% range, will only drain the system.

But, of course, we must do this. The plan is going bankrupt—haven't we all heard that? Well, let's credit the Right for staying on message, but this is the biggest lie of all. There are various ways the existing trust fund can be "fixed," with even the most expensive requiring only a relatively modest infusion of cash. But the current administration's higher priorities are to refund more money to the wealthy and to pursue an unnecessary war in Iraq.

Indeed, we can't even discuss the cost of the war, which is shuffled into off-budget and supplemental appropriations. Similarly, the Social Security "reformers" want to hide the cost of their privatization schemes because, frankly, there's no money for that, either. Whatever happened to that "debt clock" in Times Square? Remember how the Right used to go on and on about the debt—until Democrats actually started to do something about it? Now none of that matters, although the plummeting dollar suggests otherwise.

Folks, this is a scam. Few in the media are calling it that, and many parrot the word "reform" as if that makes everything appropriate. But here's what these "reforms" will mean at the bargaining table. We already have employers who no longer want to get involved in providing pensions. Privatizing



Social Security not only will accelerate that trend, but employers also will move away from their own 401(k) plans because, they'll argue, such plans merely duplicate the new "Social Insecurity" system. There will be fewer options, and fewer dollars on the table.

Meanwhile, the health care system is teetering on the brink of disaster. The corporate solution? Transfer more and more of the costs to the workers. So it's no surprise that a health care betrayal is at the heart of the current Youngstown strike. Management

Continued on bottom of page 6

LETTERS

To the Editor,

I receive the TNG Reporter online as a CWA activist.

I am a member of CWA's Printing, Publishing and Media Workers Sector (the former International Typographical Union).

I am a typesetter. I am on second tier in my current union shop, after 30 years in the trade. (The company I work for got a contract that knocked down our entry wages for new hires; it is not based on experience/competence issues at all.)

I am Cherokee and Huron.

I understand you guys were trying to be cute with the headline: "Trail of (two) tiers"

However, you belittle the genocide that was done to my people on the Trail of Tears with that headline. You trivialize the real Trail of Tears and this does nothing to increase solidarity between Native Americans and the labor movement.

I ask that you make an apology in your next issue.

You have no idea how many of your own members are Native Americans or of Indigenous ancestry, how many of your own members will feel insulted by your bad choice of headline expression.

Genocidal histories are not cute. You would not call a lay-off a holocaust—or would you?

Faternally submitted,

—Stephanie Hedgecock
Chapel Secretary, Bowne Chapel,
CWA 14156, New York City

To the Editor,

I was surprised to see The Guild Reporter's re-print of Steve Early's critical look at SEIU (November 19), since TNG has not engaged its own members in discussing reform concepts for itself, let alone for the AFL-CIO.

Regarding actual strategies for organizing, and withstanding corporate owners' assaults, TNG is quiet.

TNG was appropriately active in one slice of the issue, in its battle on media consolidation. TNG also appropriately engaged its local leadership in discussions about economic strategies and about chains last January, but no strategy emerged for survival or growth. TNG established committees to talk by mass conference call and email on these critical issues, as though we had ample time to arm ourselves for a distant battle. Organizing was barely raised at the sector conference. In a fragmenting act, TNG chose to abandon jurisdiction at a Tribune paper without any effort to explain itself, or engage other Guild Tribune locals in a redemption strategy. Wrong direction.

As a member, I am anxious to see on

paper the officers' proposals on national organizing and power building. Put it out, generate discussion, amend or pass it. All labor leaders must be accountable. It is time for TNG to demonstrate its leadership. Share your national vision for the sector and its locals.

—Lori Calderone
Administrative Officer,
Washington-Baltimore Guild

To the Editor,

Let me throw in a few thoughts about the U.S. election.

Following World War II, we developed a pretty good way of life in the U.S. (and I think similarly in Canada). People could get decent paying jobs at a factory or even a newspaper, or other employer. You could make enough money to buy a home, buy cars, TVs, etc. Your health care needs (in the socially-backwards U.S.) were covered, and when you wanted to retire you got a decent pension.

This way of life worked pretty well for everyone—the employees; the employers, who got loyal, knowledgeable long-time employees; and the other businesses, which got to sell products to the employees who had enough money to buy more than the mere necessities.

But this way of life is under attack from

corporate quick-profit artists, like Ken Lay and Conrad Black, and their political allies, who want labor that is as cheap as possible, want to cut health care and pensions, and have no responsibility for anything other than themselves. And Democrats barely talked about these attacks, but focused on Iraq, an issue on which a majority of the voters agreed with the president. Yet we're surprised we lost.

—Ken May
Washington-Baltimore Guild

To the Editor,

Please accept my sincerest appreciation to Helen Coleman and Leo Ducharme for their outstanding service over a total of 58 years—Helen, 27, and Leo, 31.

Helen did a fantastic job in handling the pension fund. Thank God and Helen, I have received my check on time every month.

Leo was a tremendous help to the entire Guild, and especially to us here in Wilkes-Barre, not only during our three strikes but also on many other occasions.

Thanks to both and God bless them in their retirement. Good wishes and good health to all the Guild and to Helen's and Leo's successors.

—Jack Wallace
Past President, Wilkes-Barre Guild

The mission of The Guild Reporter, approved May, 2004 by the TNG-CWA Executive Council, is as follows: "As stated in the TNG-CWA Constitution, 'It shall be the duty of The Guild Reporter to promote in every legitimate way the policies of TNG-CWA.' The Guild Reporter belongs to the rank-and-file membership of TNG-CWA."

"Guild Reporter content will be of interest to the

members, and its first priority will be current news affecting the locals. The members of this union expect The Guild Reporter to inform, motivate and challenge its readers.

"To maintain its journalistic integrity and traditions, The Guild Reporter must never become a personal political platform or be misused for internal political purposes by the elected leadership of TNG-CWA."

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: Jan. 7.)

Take a hike!

Last March, Barbara Egbert wrote in The Guild Reporter of her plans to take a sabbatical from working the national/foreign desk at the San Jose Mercury News. She and her husband, Gary Chambers, and their 10-year-old daughter, Mary, wanted to take a walk.

Now they have. And in the process, Mary may claim a record for being the youngest person ever to hike all 2,650 miles of the Pacific Crest Trail in one year—which, as it turns out, is something mom wasn't quite able to pull off. Having hiked all the way from Mexico through Oregon, Egbert had to drop out for three weeks to deal with shin splints and an abscessed tooth.

She was able to rejoin her family for the final push, however,



Barbara and Mary in the desert sun . . .

er, and on Oct. 25—after two failed attempts to cross a pass only 30 miles from the Canadian border—the trio reached Manning Provincial Park in British Columbia.



. . . and in the snowy mountains thousands of miles north.

Sometimes, when reporters make news it's a good thing

By Stewart Applin
San Jose Newspaper Guild

Readers had one reaction, said San Jose Mercury News graphic designer Becky Hall: "Overwhelming."

The captivated reader response was to a first-person story, written by Hall and reporter Mark Emmons, detailing the several days she spent at the Stanford University Medical Center donating stem cells to help a 4-year-old boy with leukemia. The story ran on the front page of the News' Sunday Style section Nov. 14.

"I'm still trying to reply to all the e-mails," Hall recently said. "Some say that I've inspired them. Some say I'm a hero. I've even encouraged an 11-year-old girl. It's an amazing feeling to know that you've made a difference."

Over the years, Hall had raised money for leukemia patients by running marathons and competing in bike rides, but thought that donating stem cells would be a more personal and direct way to help. So in 1999 she signed up for the Red Cross National Marrow Donor Program registry—and then didn't hear anything until last spring. That's when the American Red Cross called to say she was a possible match for a very sick young boy.

In October, she spent several days getting injections stimulating production of stem cells, which were then filtered out of her blood. A courier delivered the stem cells to the stricken boy, who lives in another part of the country.

Although Hall has learned nothing more about the

anonymous patient or his condition, "I just found out that the boy's family signed the consent form that permits us to meet some day," she said. "It will be at least two years before that happens."

Harvesting her stem cells was not as creepy as it might sound, Hall added, even though she had to overcome her fear of needles. "Some people said they got 'the willies' reading about the procedure, but it was basically like giving blood for a very long time. Nothing really surprised me. I was very well informed."

Five days of injections were followed by the blood filtering itself, which involved having needles stuck into both arms in a procedure that lasted six hours. After that, she added, it took her two days to feel normal again.

A native of Oakland, Hall has worked at the Mercury News for almost 10 years. She was hired as a features designer in 1995, was art director for the now-defunct Sunday magazine SV and returned to features when SV stopped publication in 2000.

Hall recruited Emmons to help write the story because

they had worked together at SV. "After whining to (editor) Katharine Fong about how much my writing sucked, she suggested we should find a reporter to interview me instead," she explained. "I brought up Mark because his stories always made me cry, but after three days of interviewing, Mark told me that I should be the one telling the story—that it should be in first person."

"After my giving him a boo-boo face, he said he'd write the story as if he were me."

"It came out perfect."



Hall's aunt, Ruby Wong, a biostatistician for the Blood and Marrow Transplant Program at Stanford, stops to offer her support during the procedure.

Camens among best

The December issue of Washingtonian, one of those slick, ad-crammed city magazines, is devoted to Washington's best—and this being Washington, that means a huge section on lawyers.

"Washington is home to some of the world's best lawyers," the magazine observes. "Here are the top 30—plus 750 who are right behind them." And although she hasn't yet made it into the first rank, Barbara Camens of Barr & Camens is one of the 27 lawyers listed under the employment heading.

Camens, as most TNG-CWA members know, is the Guild's attorney. But she's also on the board of directors of the Congressional Office of Compliance, has written numerous memos providing legal guidance to Guild activists—and is co-author of "Girls Night Out."

DAYBOOK

Industrial Workers of the World centennial, Chicago, Jan. 5

Deadline for submitting Broun, Barr awards entries, Jan. 28; see contest rules at www.newsguild.org

New Local Officers' Seminar, Feb. 18-21, Meany Center, MD

Knight Ridder Council meeting, March 4-5, Akron, Ohio

CWA Legislative-Political Conf., March 6-9, Washington, DC

Freedom Award Banquet, March 30, Washington, DC

Western District Council, May 5, Victoria, BC

TNG Sector Conference, May 5-8, Victoria, BC

CWA Safety-Health Conference, June 1-3, Baltimore

CWA Minority Caucus Conf. Aug. 25-28, Chicago

FROM THE MORGUE

Seventy years ago this month:

Convinced that the National Recovery Administration is taking sides with publishers, Guild representatives walk out of an NRA hearing on wages and hours for newsroom workers. The incident prompts an unusual front-page editorial in The Guild Reporter, in which Heywood Broun demands, "What sort of game is this in which we are participating?" . . . The strike against the Newark Ledger stretches into a sixth week and settles "into a state of siege." . . . The Guild celebrates its first anniversary.

Fifty years ago this month:

Christmas is greeted by the shuttering of the Los Angeles Daily News, throwing 350 Guild members out of work; and by the firing of 58 at the Boston Post "because they had their feet up on desks and didn't even take them down when I came by," according to the publisher, John Fox. . . . The Waterbury Republican-American becomes the only Guild-represented daily in Connecticut. . . . In a telegram to the CIO convention, President Eisenhower notes that unions "have enriched the lives not only of union members but of millions of other Americans."

Twenty-five years ago this month:

Gunshots are fired at a Puerto Rico Guild picket line, striking one picket in the hand. . . . The AFL-CIO executive council appoints a special committee to explore ways of increasing the number of women and minorities at the federation's highest levels. . . . The Cincinnati Post discharges more than 200-Guild represented employees following Justice Dept. approval of a joint operating agreement with the Enquirer.

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