

THE GUILD Reporter

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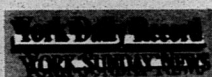
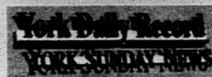
Monkey-shines in York, PA

Confronted by an employer who seems hell-bent on busting their union, members of the York Newspaper Guild went ape at a recent performance of "The Great Tennessee Monkey Trial," handing out leaflets to arriving theater-goers—including Ed Asner, an ardent union supporter.

"It may sound goofy, but the weird part is... it works," said Tom Joyce, the local's mobilization director. "We got a great response, and every time we hand out flyers, more people tell me that they've heard about our dispute. One woman actually hugged me, said she's with the York-Adams Labor Council, and that she and her fellow members have been writing in about us."

Not that such letters have made it into print. Continuing a pattern of anti-union animus that started with the hiring of the law-busting firm of King and Ballow to represent it at the bargaining table, management at the MediaNews-owned York Daily Record has made every

Much as they look alike, one of the "logos" at right is different from the others. Can you spot the ringer and possibly qualify for a job with a prestigious Tennessee law firm?



Legendary newsman Lou Grant, a/k/a former Screen Actors Guild President Ed Asner, stands with Tom Joyce and an exceptionally hairy Matt Anderson outside the Strand-Capitol theatre.

effort to gag its employees and their supporters. Among its initial contract proposals was a so-called "anti-disparagement" provision that would have prohibited employees from publicly discussing anything about the paper. Not a single letter to the editor supporting the union has been printed—an estimated 50 or more have been sent, the local says—and those sent electronically have been purged from the company's computers. Questions from the public about the company's regressive bargaining demands have been removed from the newspaper's online discussion

board and those who sent them have been barred from further participation.

"We're in the business of free speech," observed reporter and negotiating team member Lauri Lebo. "They tried to restrict our speech and now they're restricting the public's speech, and I find that terribly frightening."

Not content with trying to intimidate its employees, the company also fired a legal warning shot across TNG-CWA's bow. A stiffly-worded note from King and Ballow mistakenly asserts that the billboards are displaying the York Daily Record's logo, which "was not authorized by the Company." Using the logo "constitutes trademark infringement and false advertising" and must "immediately cease."

The company's logo and the offending imitator are at left. We report—you decide.

Guild finds backer for its KR bid

Yucaipa brings serious money to the table

Union efforts to bid for Guild-represented newspapers within the Knight Ridder chain took a giant step forward mid-February, as TNG-CWA President Linda Foley announced that Yucaipa Companies of Los Angeles and New York has indicated a willingness to invest in ValuePlus Media Corporation.

ValuePlus was created by the Guild and its advisors, Ownership Associates and Duff & Phelps Securities, to acquire nine unionized newspapers within the Knight Ridder chain and to attract capital from "worker friendly" private equity investment firms, such as Yucaipa. ValuePlus also will seek capital at a later stage in the planned transaction from Knight Ridder workers and managers willing to invest in the venture via an Employee Stock Ownership Plan.

"This is an important step in our efforts," Foley said, "because with Yucaipa's critical support we should be seen as an attractive partner. There are sound economic reasons why the announced first-tier bidders will likely want to talk with us, and we welcome the conversation."

Although there is no guarantee that such discussions will materialize, Yucaipa's backing adds considerable weight to the Guild's efforts at a time when bidding interest in Knight Ridder seems to be gelling. The chain has met with at least three groups of potential investors, with a second round of offers expected in late February. MediaNews has been prominently mentioned among the suitors, both for teaming up with three private equity firms and for being in reported talks with Gannett about a possible alliance, although Gannett has been distracted by a possible acquisition in Great Britain.

Activity surrounding a possible sale has intensified to such a degree that Knight Ridder's board

of directors voted Jan. 29 to postpone its annual shareholder meeting, set for April 18, until an undetermined later date. The board also took the opportunity to change its rules regarding executive compensation, closing loopholes that might have prevented retirement-eligible executives from collecting benefits if a sale goes through.

While Wall Street remains fixated on Knight Ridder's numbers, the Society of Professional Journalists has called for "an urgent national conversation about how to preserve public-service journalism." While the society acknowledges that there is disagreement about the best outcome for Knight Ridder, "there is broad consensus within the journalism community that it should not be allowed to fall into the hands of those unwilling to guarantee the continuity of public service journalism."

Ironically, the San Jose Mercury News reported Feb. 10 that the company's corporate charter already has such a requirement, something that had not been disclosed previously. According to the report, Knight Ridder's articles of incorporation require the board of directors to form an independent panel of experts to determine whether the winning bidder will maintain the company's journalism standards. The board is then required to inform shareholders whether the bidder will serve its readers "with the same degree of journalistic excellence, integrity and independence" as Knight Ridder.

A buyer receiving such an endorsement would still require approval of two-thirds of the shareholders—but the absence of such an endorsement raises the threshold of shareholder approval to 80%.

As the sales process moves forward, ValuePlus has planted an electronic flag, at www.valueplus-media.com, and is advertising for a

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Broun jury panel named

Recently retired syndicated columnist William Raspberry is one of four notable journalists who have agreed to judge this year's Heywood Broun Award competition, reprising a role he first played a quarter century ago. He will be joined by Neil Macdonald, Rem Rieder and Connie Schultz on a panel that will be chaired by former TNG-CWA vice president Larry Hatfield.



William Raspberry

Approximately 100 eligible entries have been received in the competition, now in its 64th year, which was created to honor the Guild's primary founder, Heywood Broun. Unlike other journalistic competitions, the Broun Award has only one category, recognizing work that "helps right a wrong or correct

an injustice." Prizes are awarded at an annual banquet, this year scheduled for May 3, and include first-place honors of \$5,000 and two awards of \$1,000 each for entries of substantial distinction.

The jury traditionally is chaired by a retired Guild officer or staff member who understands the competition's purpose but does not have a vote. Hatfield, this year's chair, served on the Guild's executive board for more than 20 years with only one two-year absence, leaving in 2002 when he retired from the San Francisco Chronicle. Most of his career was spent as chief rewriter for the San Francisco Examiner, where he also worked on



Larry Hatfield

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Inside this issue



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What's black and gold and living in Seattle?

You may be pardoned if, in browsing the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild's home page (www.nwguild.org) earlier this month, you missed seeing the Steelers logo. You had to scroll down a bit, and the logo was really, really tiny—so tiny, in fact, that for all we know what we saw was a Klingon battle formation inside a circle smaller than 'O.'

But that's how you play it when you're on the losing end of a rash bet with another TNG local.

This minor embarrassment began when Liz Brown, the Pacific local's administrative officer, gave new meaning to the concept of hubris. Her judgment clouded by Seattle's decades-long Super Bowl drought, she fired off an e-mail to Mike Bucsko, president of the Pittsburgh local, that was the electronic equivalent of a slap in the face.

"We say our hometown Seahawks will pummel, thrash, stomp or otherwise defeat the Steelers in the Superbowl showdown in Motown on Feb. 5," Brown boasted. But, she added, "If the Steelers somehow manage to limp to an undeserved and pathetic victory over our Hawks, PNNG will provide to the Pittsburgh Guild the following regional items, to give away at your next general membership meeting:

- One box of smoked salmon;
- One pound of coffee from one of our city's fine purveyors of caffeine;
- Two boxes of Aplets and Cotlets, a gourmet treat crafted from Washington state's delicious tree fruit;
- One ink pen filled with volcanic ash from Mount St. Helens;
- An impressive selection of Official Pacific Northwest Guild-CWA Doodads . . . and (hold on, here it comes) . . .

"We will post the Pittsburgh Steelers official logo on our web site for *one week!*"

Bucsko, airing an amazing acumen for alliteration, wasted no time responding in kind. "OK . . . here's our counter," he shot back. "In the highly unlikely event the sappy Seahawks sack our spectacularly successful

Steelers, we will provide the following Pittsburgh culinary treats:

- One case Iron City beer;
- One case Rolling Rock beer;
- Two dozen authentic potato and cheese pierogies;
- One dozen Primanti Bros. sandwiches (contain meat (or veggies), fries, coleslaw, tomato on french bread);
- Two pounds kolbassi.

"We also will display the crappy Seahawks logo on our website for a week afterward."

But then, having called, Bucsko raised. A Seattle loss, he demanded, would require the local's delegation to wear Steelers jerseys for one day at the next TNG-CWA sector conference. Moreover, Brown herself would have to wear a Troy Polamalu wig and jersey.

That's why conference delegates this July will see the Pacific Northwest Guild delegation decked out in black and gold—although Brown, whose indiscreet challenge resulted in such indignity, won't be on hand to share the embarrassment. Something about having to stay in Seattle for contract negotiations with the Seattle Times and Post-Intelligencer. . . .

Then again, the Seattle local's internet posting suggests the locals are feeling just a bit cheated. "We almost considered welching on our bet with the Pittsburgh Newspaper Guild, in keeping with the 'let's-not-and-say-we-did' spirit of the Steeler-bought referee's call of Ben Worthlessberger's (just short of a) touchdown," it railed. "However, we at the Northwest local have decided to take the high road and—much like the blatantly bogus offensive holding call against Darrell Jackson's first quarter touchdown—give away what is rightfully ours."

Well, there's always next year. Or as the Seattle-based local's website promised, "be sure to suck the victory marrow for all it's worth, because we will be back! Just remember our new motto at the NW local: 'Next year we'll be drinkin' your beer!'"

Guild briefs . . .

Point Park battle moves to court

A three year battle by full-time faculty at Point Park University for Guild representation was taken to the next level in late January, when a three-judge panel of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals heard arguments in a case that probably won't be decided before the end of yet another academic year. Although it has lost at every stage of the National Labor Relations Board's representation process, the university continues to challenge its faculty's decisive vote for Pittsburgh Newspaper Guild representation.

Pulitzer workers to leaflet Lee

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch used to be the Pulitzer newspaper chain's crown jewel—until it was bought last year by Lee Enterprises. Now its employees feel more like tenants living under an absentee landlord, coping with paycheck and insurance snafus, inadequate staffing and other problems—but with nowhere to go with their complaints. Now they have a target: a busload of Guild-represented employees was planning to make the four-hour trek to Davenport, Iowa, on Feb. 22, to leaflet shareholders attending Lee's annual meeting—and, perhaps, to swing by the non-unionized Quad City Times with a different batch of leaflets.

AP agrees to stop using permatemps

The News Media Guild has reached agreement with Associated Press to stop hiring so-called "per diem" employees, a practice the Guild had fought for years. The per diem status initially was intended for hiring temporary staff for peak periods, such as tabulators on election night, but soon resulted in a new class of "permatemps" who worked regular shifts but without regular employee benefits. The agreement to end the practice was reached just ahead of an arbitration on the matter and includes back pay to compensate for the improper denial of benefits. AP employees currently classified as "per diem" will be switched to full-time, part-time, or temporary employee status.

3 MarketWatch sites join IAPE

Having won a commitment from Dow Jones that it would recognize card-check expressions of union support by its MarketWatch employees, IAPE TNG-CWA Local 1096 has won majority support at three of the subsidiary's locations. MarketWatch employees in Boston, Chicago and Illinois are now covered by the union's current collective bargaining agreement, as local reps continue soliciting support at other sites.

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Organizing class set for District 1

In an effort to build closer links with other unions and CWA locals, TNG-CWA leaders in New England are co-sponsoring a one-day training and strategy session on workplace organizing. The course will be offered Saturday, March 25 at IUE-CWA Local 201 in Lynn, Mass. For more information, contact Jeff Crosby or Rand Wilson at Local 201 by calling 781-598-2760.

Leuchter in need of contributions

TNG-CWA Secretary-Treasurer Bernie Lunzer has issued an appeal to Guild locals to renew their contributions to the Irving Leuchter Memorial Scholarship, which has been drained after several years in which contributions were not actively sought. The fund pays tuition and other expenses for one participant a year in the Harvard Trade Union Program, a six-week residential course in which two-dozen TNG-CWA leaders have participated thus far.

Memphis banquet to feature Rivard

Robert Rivard, editor at the San Antonio Express-News, will be the keynote speaker at the Celebration of Liberty dinner March 4. The annual event is sponsored by the Memphis Newspaper Guild as a fund raiser for the Daniel Pearl Scholarship in International Journalism at the University of Memphis. Rivard is author of "Trail of Feathers," a book chronicling his six-year fight to find and bring to justice the men who killed Philip True, his newspaper's Mexico City bureau chief.

Local president to Equity Committee

Yoko Kuramoto-Eidsmoe, president of the Northwest Pacific Guild, has been appointed by CWA as District 7 delegate to the Committee on Equity. Kuramoto-Eidsmoe is among those who have spearheaded the "Next Generation" movement within TNG and CWA.

Guild pioneer dies

Rae Turner, a historian and journalist who broke many news industry gender barriers in the 1940s, died Jan. 22 at the age of 85. Turner was the first woman at the Elizabeth (New Jersey) Daily Journal to work nights and the first to cover the police and fire departments. She also was elected secretary of her Guild local and walked the picket lines during a strike at that time.

Up to 36 run out of Time

It's not just newspapers that are coping with layoffs: Time Inc. is swinging the ax at its stable of magazines, telling the New York Guild it will eliminate up to 36 TNG-CWA represented jobs.

The most crippling reduction is expected at the Picture Collection, which was ravaged by layoffs a few years back and at which seven of the 11 remaining Guild-covered positions will be eliminated by April. Elsewhere, up to five correspondents, four writers and four editorial assistants at Time magazine are to be cut, although the

managing editor said he was looking for up to 10 volunteers across the three job classifications.

At Sports Illustrated, an open call was issued for up to seven Guild or non-Guild employees to volunteer for layoffs. But while initial assurances were made that there would be no involuntary layoffs at the magazine, a corporate spokesman subsequently said specific jobs might be eliminated if there are too few volunteers. The Guild is seeking clarification of these and other apparent contradictions.

Other announced job cuts

include four at Money magazine, including two writers; and three to nine at Fortune, including writers, senior-writers and art staff.

According to a local advisory, Guild-represented employees who volunteer for layoff or who are terminated involuntarily are entitled to three weeks' severance pay for every year of service (rounded to the nearest six months) up to \$25,000; plus two weeks per year up to \$30,000, plus one week's pay for each remaining year of service not used in reaching the \$30,000 breakpoint.

Yucaipa joins bid

Continued from page 1

chief executive officer and chief financial officer.

Yucaipa Companies is a private investment firm that was co-founded in 1986 by Ron Burkle, 53, currently its managing partner. A rags-to-riches phenomenon who started out as a stockboy and became a billionaire through savvy mergers and acquisitions of supermarket chains, Burkle serves on several significant boards of directors, including Occidental Petroleum and Yahoo; is co-chairman of the eponymous Burkle Center for International Relations at UCLA; and is a trustee of the Carter Center, the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the National Urban League and other civic and

arts organizations.

More to the point, Burkle enjoys credentials as a friend of labor, having been awarded the AFL-CIO's Murray Green Meany Kirkland Community Service and the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor Man of the Year awards. When Yucaipa announced last year that it would invest \$150 million in Pathmark Stores, Joe Hansen, president of the United Federation of Commercial Workers, said that was "great news" for his members.

"If you asked UFCW members today, who worked in Yucaipa operated stores, I'm confident they would say the company was very fair as well as a good place to work," Hansen explained.

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Court affirms 'evergreen' clause

A bald attempt by Guild nemesis Michael Zinser to rewrite labor law was summarily shot down Feb. 15 by a federal district court judge, as *The Guild Reporter* was going to press. The 11-page opinion not only affirms the legitimacy of the evergreen clauses found in many TNG-CWA contracts, but opens the door for many pending arbitrations filed by the Memphis Newspaper Guild, which has been skirmishing with Zinser in contract negotiations for a couple of years.

The ruling by Judge J. Daniel Breen dismisses a lawsuit filed by Zinser in August, 2004, eight months after the start of contract negotiations with the Commercial Appeal. The contract that expired Jan. 10, 2004, included a clause stipulating that all of the expired agreement's provisions—including dues check-off and grievance and arbitration of disputes—would remain in force while a successor agreement was being negotiated. Although such "evergreen" clauses had been in the local's contracts

since at least 1977, in this round of bargaining the company decided it would not submit to arbitration of disputes.

Zinser's lawsuit, seen by Guild officials as a high-stakes roll of the dice to disrupt meaningful negotiations, sought a summary judgment that would have invalidated the evergreen clause. TNG-CWA counterclaimed, seeking an order compelling arbitration of four grievances that had been filed after the Jan. 10 contract expiration.

In ruling against Zinser, Breen

relied on several precedents that a contract's expiration does not automatically extinguish an employer's duty to arbitrate post-expiration grievances. Moreover, his opinion stresses, "National labor policy favors the arbitration of labor disputes."

TNG-CWA general counsel Barbara Camens and the Memphis local's attorney, Samuel Morris, argued on behalf of the Guild.

"Judge Breen's decision confirms that the best labor relations policy is one that respects the relationship between the union and management," observed TNG-CWA President Linda Foley. "Unfortunately for Michael Zinser,

his strategy of destroying years of policy and practice between the Guild and the Commercial Appeal was dealt a severe blow. Both the newspaper and its employees will be better off in the future because of it."

Indeed, Zinser's loss may have back-fired. "This decision has given the folks in that local a really big shot in the arm," said Carrie Biggs-Adams, executive secretary of the TNG-CWA contract committee. "They were feeling a little beaten down before the judge issued his ruling, but now they see that by sticking together and fighting for what's right they can win, and win big."

Canadian Guild ponders public broadcast future

The Canadian Media Guild is organizing a national discussion among its members at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to develop a proposal for the future of public broadcasting.

In a communiqué to Guild members, Guild President Lise Lareau and CBC Branch President Arnold Amber observed that the recent election of a minority Conservative government "suggests that Ottawa's approach to the CBC is up for change" just as the CBC is seeking to renew its broadcast licenses.

"Because of the events of the past year, there is a keener recognition in Ottawa and elsewhere that CBC employees are the public broadcaster," they wrote, referring to last year's seven-week lockout. "People have looked to the Guild and its members for ideas, positions and informed opinion. Many of you discussed the future of public broadcasting informally during the lockout. We would like to formalize your ideas into a position that policy makers cannot ignore."

During the election campaign, the Guild asked candidates from all parties whether they supported an increase in the CBC's budget to enable—among other things—an expansion of local and regional programming. The Conservative Party's position was vague, asserting simply that it would "ensure that CBC and Radio Canada continue to perform their vital role as national public service broadcasters."

Bev Oda, the party's culture critic in the previous session of parliament and a top candidate to become

Heritage minister, last fall sponsored a resolution calling for a task force to review the mandate, role and services of the CBC-SRC. The day after the election, she told CBC radio's Toronto morning show that "Canada needs a strong public broadcaster and we should review its mandate to make sure that it remains relevant to all Canadians in light of today's technology and the different ways that people are accessing the news and information—and entertainment."

Just before the election, prime minister-designate Stephen Harper told CBC radio's *The House* that "We're going to have to look at the mandate (of English TV) and figure out how to adapt that to a multi-channel universe."

"While we don't know the shape a CBC mandate review will take, we expect it will be extensive and will put the role of the public broadcaster at the centre of a new national debate," Lareau and Amber wrote in their communiqué. As a result, they proposed that:

- Guild members participate in a national online discussion toward development of an informed position on the future of the CBC.

- A central working group develop key questions and areas for discussion and ensure Guild members everywhere have a chance to weigh in. CMG staff or additional help will do the administrative leg-work.

- Members interested in joining the discussion should send a message to guild@interlog.com with "Future of CBC" in the subject line.

Victoria local succeeds in placing organizing ad

A Guild-sponsored quarter-page ad that appeals to non-unionized media workers on Vancouver Island appeared in the *Victoria Times-Colonist* despite the publisher's initial refusal to run it.

Chris Carolan, president of the *Victoria Vancouver Island Newspaper Guild*, says no reason was given when the paper initially rejected the advertisement—and \$3,000 in revenue.

Pressed for an explanation, publisher Bob McKenzie said he was concerned that the ad would offend advertisers. He eventually accepted the ad after the Guild agreed to alter the text but not the message.

"Once you come up with an ad, it should be a walk in the park," said the local's grievance officer, John Hutchinson, who was assigned the task of placing ads in the *Times-Colonist* and on CH TV, both of which are owned by CanWest Global. "Because the *Times-Colonist* and CH are union shops and we were targeting non-union shops, we figured there'd be no problem. We were wrong."

The local's executive committee, which decided at its January meeting to reach out to employees at non-union newspapers, TV and radio stations and other media-related businesses, had chosen a "front-door" approach to organizing. VVING has had occasional inquiries from people who work at CHUM TV or on one of the island's 18 community newspapers owned by Black Press.

The first ad led off with a number of questions:

"Are you employed at a non-union newspaper, magazine, radio station, TV station, advertising agency, print shop or creative design shop? Do you want a fair contract of employment? Does your boss treat you fairly? Are you treated with dignity and respect? Is there someone in your workplace to help you if you have a problem or issue with the boss? Do you have a pension plan? Dental plan? Health benefits plan? Life insurance?"

But the open-ended nature of such questions, Hutchinson said, bothered McKenzie, who "thought there were implications in the ad that these employers were unfair."

"We didn't subscribe to that argument," Hutchinson added. "The (VVING) executive was PO'd, to say the least, that someone would try to censor us. Our position was that we were paying for this ad—it wasn't a freebie—and the paper wouldn't censor other customers."

But although the executive considered publicizing the censorship, ultimately it feared that would focus public attention on the dispute rather than on the ad's message.

Instead, the local converted questions into statements—and to calm McKenzie's fears that the ad would be interpreted as support by the *Times-Colonist* for union organizing drives, a "paid for by the Guild" line was inserted. The payoff? CanWest-owned CH television also accepted the McKenzie-approved ad.

CONTRACT ROUND-UP

'New day' in Gary pays off

With unexpected swiftness, the Gary Newspaper Guild has reached tentative agreement on a contract with the Hollinger-owned *Post Tribune* that abolishes a much despised "merit-only/pay for performance" wage structure. The four-year pact also restores numerous other provisions that were lost when Hollinger bought the paper from Knight Ridder in 1998.

The agreement apparently crystallized after John Cruickshank, chief executive of the chain's Sun Times Group, dispatched an emissary to Gary to help expedite a resolution. Cruickshank is in the early stages of a major restructuring of the company's U.S. newspapers, following the indictment of former Hollinger chairman Conrad Black and other company executives on charges of racketeering and other fraud-related crimes. His representative, editorial vice president Michael Cook, told the Guild bargaining team that he was aware of how badly union members at the newspaper had been treated and that "a new day" was at hand.

The assurance proved to be more than empty rhetoric. In addition to establishing a set of conventional wage scales with 2% across-the-board raises each April, retroactive to last year, the tentative agreement includes:

- Restoration of dues check-off;
- Restoration of a night shift differential, starting at \$2 a shift and rising to \$4 a shift in 2008;
- A near-doubling of the mileage rate, to 45.5 cents a mile from 25 cents;
- The first company match to a 401(k) plan, of 1% of salary, with a retroactive contribution for 2005.

A ratification vote was scheduled for Feb. 26.

Reuters

Further details of the agreement between the New York Guild and Reuters have been released, although at press time some language was still being ironed out.

Pay increases will be 2.5% retroactive to Aug. 1, 2004; 3% retroactive to March 1, 2005; 3% this year and in 2007; and 3.5% in 2008. In addition, employees who had been hired by March 1, 2003 and are still on payroll at contract ratification will receive a 2% bonus. Other key features include:

- The maximum number of employees who can be displaced each year by "subcontracts and transfers" is reduced to 35 from 50 for all but the last year of the contract;

- The workweek for TV employees will be reduced to 35 hours from the current 37.5 or 38;

- Reuters will make an annual 2% contribution to each employee's 401(k) plan and will match employee contributions up to 4% of their base wages.

The Guild is dropping a grievance and arbitration over retiree medical coverage in exchange for company-subsidized premiums for approximately 36 older employees.

Consumers Union

Also reaching tentative agreement on a new contract were New York Guild-represented employees of Consumers Union. The five-year deal includes a 4% general wage increase retroactive to Jan. 1, with subsequent annual raises of 4%, 3.25%, 3.25% and 3%.

The proposal also reduces to nine from 10 the number of years required for job security, effective 2008; slightly increases drug and out-of-network dental co-pays; and extends life-insurance to part-time employees.

News round-up

'Follow the money' still sage advice

Dow Jones, owner of The Wall Street Journal, has displayed a tin ear more than once when it comes to filling its board of directors—most notably when it gave the nod to Carlos Salinas, Mexico's former president, who subsequently ended up in self-exile in Canada and Ireland. But now it's embraced the poster child for rampant corporate abuse of workers and community interests: Wal-Mart Stores USA President and Chief Executive Eduardo Castro-Wright, 50, was appointed to the Dow Jones board effective Feb. 1. Separately, monopolistically inclined CanWest Global Communications has become a part owner of The New Republic, a weekly magazine whose founders included corporate lions Felix Frankfurter, Walter Lippman and John Dewey.

Still shooting themselves in the foot

In the "death by a thousand cuts" department: the Toledo Blade announced it is closing its Washington, D.C. bureau, while the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette laid off several non-union workers, including its long-time cartoonist—and, yep, its Washington, D.C. bureau chief. There is irony in both developments. The Blade's only Pulitzer Prize, a 2003 series about a Vietnam village massacre by an army unit known as Tiger Force, resulted from sources cultivated by one of its Washington reporters. The loss of cartoonist Tim Menees, meanwhile, came amid worldwide protests over other cartoonists' works, underscoring the power of a medium an increasing number of U.S. newspapers are turning their backs on.

'Industry blockheads' faulted in Davos

The International Federation of Journalists weighed in on the subversion of journalistic values at the World Economic Forum in Davos (see related story this page), with General Secretary Aidan White deploring "industry blockheads" whose short-sighted attempts to please Wall Street "accelerate the decline" of quality journalism. Speaking on a panel that included Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times; James Kelly, managing editor of Time magazine; and Hu Shuli, editor of Caijing Magazine in China, White contended that the drumbeat of spending cuts and layoffs "is killing public confidence in traditional media and creating low morale in journalism."

Lies, damned lies—and statistics

Providing more ammunition to those casting a skeptical eye at White House portrayals of the economy, a new report by the Center for Economic and Policy Research concludes that the government's Current Population Survey is overstating the share of American adults who are working by about 1.4 percentage points. "This corresponds to roughly 3 million fewer people working—almost as big a drop in employment as in a typical recession," asserted the report's lead author, John Schmitt. The CEPR analysis comes after five years of the slowest U.S. job creation on record (back to 1939), with private industry recording a net gain of 958,000 new jobs—which, on average, pay significantly less than the jobs that were lost. Worldwide, meanwhile, the number of unemployed people climbed to new highs, according to the International Labor Office; moreover, roughly half of all workers still earn less than \$2 a day, just as many as a decade ago.

If the government can, why can't we?

Another sobering economic statistic was provided this past month by the Federal Reserve, which disclosed that Americans spent \$42 billion more than they earned in 2005—the first time the annual U.S. savings ratio has turned negative since the Great Depression. The higher spending rate, fueled by borrowing or withdrawal of savings, may be attributed to wage increases that have lagged inflation.

Union membership stabilized in 2005

One bit of good news, relatively speaking: union membership in the U.S. held at a steady 12.5% of the workforce in 2005, the first time in several years the proportion of unionized workers didn't slip. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 15.685 million workers belonged to unions last year, with nearly another 1.5 million workers represented by unions but not members. A bit more than half of all union members live in just six states: California, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and New Jersey.

Anti-war demonstration set for April 29

A coalition of national organizations that includes U.S. Labor Against the War is calling for a national demonstration April 29 in New York City to "end the war and turn our country around." Three large CWA locals have endorsed the call, as have a score of other unions' locals and various state, central and district labor councils. Anti-war activists believe all labor organizations should support their efforts because the war is siphoning hundreds of billions of dollars from federal programs needed for job training, health care and rebuilding the storm-ravaged Gulf Coast. Much of that money, they point out, has been funneled to corporate cronies of the Bush administration while corrupting representative government.

Newly restored NLRB could spell union grief

The National Labor Relations Board is back up to full strength—and that could mean major grief for organized labor.

Last year was full of mischief-making by the board, even though it ostensibly was handicapped by having two of five seats empty. A series of 2-1 decisions by the Republican majority dealt several setbacks to organized labor, in some cases—as with the board's adverse decision on the Chinese Daily News—reversing years of precedent.

But the recess appointments early this year of Republican Peter N. Kirsanow and Democrat Dennis P. Walsh threaten to make 2006 even more difficult for workers. While Walsh is a former union attorney who served on the board from 2000 to 2004, and who therefore may be expected to support the National Labor Relations Act and its emphasis on workers' rights to organize, Kirsanow was a partner in the labor and employment practice group of the Ohio law firm Benesch, Friedlander, Coplan, and Aronoff LLP. Among the services the group offers is to "regularly counsel employers on maintaining a union-free workplace."

As noted in the Jan. 27 edition of the BNA Union Labor Report, the restoration of the NLRB's full complement "makes conditions ripe for deciding a number of important pending cases." Moreover, some of those cases threaten to continue the trend of reversing precedent, further affirming the board's transformation into a management tool.

Among the most troubling of the cases the NLRB may take up, as itemized by the three sitting board members in a BNA interview, is the question of how much time should be allowed to elapse before employees or rival unions can challenge an employer's card-check recognition of union representation. Current rules provide a one-year buffer to give newly recognized unions the opportunity to negotiate a first contract, but anti-union forces are arguing for doing away with that protected period.

Other questions awaiting board action include whether an employer must continue dues checkoff after expiration of a contract that doesn't have a union security clause; when an employer may withdraw

union recognition; and what standard will be used to determine if an employee qualifies as a supervisor and therefore exempt from NLRA protection. Also on the list, however, is a case involving a TNG-CWA local.

The Guild case arose more than three years ago, when the Register Guard in Oregon, then in the midst of bitter contract negotiations with the Eugene Newspaper Guild, banned the union from using the company's e-mail system to keep its members apprised of bargaining and mobilization developments. The ban apparently was orchestrated by attorney Michael Zinser, whose hiring by a management team usually signals a bellicose approach to negotiations—and in that sense the Eugene talks were typical.

The ban eventually was overturned, but not in response to the Guild's main argument, which contended that because e-mail systems are the electronic equivalent of bulletin boards or leaflets, the same rules governing how unions can communicate with their members—during non-work hours—should apply to e-mail. The administrative law judge, however, concluded more narrowly that the Register Guard had discriminated against the Guild because it allowed use of its e-mail for other non-work purposes, such as charitable solicitations.

TNG-CWA attorney Barbara Camens believes the Register Guard's discrimination is "so overt" that she doubts the NLRB will reverse the decision. But, she added, some industry observers are speculating that union opponents are honing an argument that charitable causes should be carved out as a special exception to non-discrimination protections.

Meanwhile, the balance in the broader argument seems to have shifted in step with the NLRB's increasingly partisan turn. Whereas e-mail and other electronic media once were wrapped up in free speech issues, the board now seems more receptive to arguments that e-mail is a property issue: since the company owns the system, it should be able to regulate how it's used, even if that has the effect of controlling speech.

When the Eugene case was first litigated, Camens said, union attorneys didn't have the slightest doubt they could win the broader point. Now, she added, people are "holding their breath."

Davos: one hand clapping

The U.S. social contract is dying and its death is damaging our workers, AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney told an economic conference in Davos, Switzerland in late January.

But whether the corporate and government leaders who heard his remarks—along with those of other union leaders at the annual World Economic Forum—will do anything in response is doubtful: the conference's final statement discussed development progress but didn't mention workers.

The annual Davos summit draws corporate and government leaders from around the world, including Bush Labor Secretary Elaine Chao, who spoke on the role of education in workforce development.

"We had a social contract, and it created a middle class that powered a strong U.S. economy and stable shared growth," Sweeney told one Davos panel. "The doubling of the global workforce has changed the ground rules, but we have not made the policy changes that are necessary to create a new social contract. Continuing to cheapen the workforce, using bankruptcy as a tool to shed costs and asking workers to make all the sacrifices while executives get big rewards—this is no social contract at all."

Sweeney specifically cited the bankruptcy petition filed by Delphi Auto Parts, which originally wanted to fire 18,000 workers and to cut the pay of the rest to Wal-Mart managers' levels. Although Delphi has since backtracked on the pay cut, Sweeney told the Davos panel that the firm still wants to give 600 key executives more than \$500 million in incentive pay, while dumping its workers' pension plan. Delphi's CEO, meanwhile, speaking to another Davos panel, defended pay and pension cuts as needed to stay competitive.

In a joint statement in Davos, the union leaders said corporations should realize that without cooperation with their workers and without union rights,

development will be undermined because trust—and productivity—will be undermined.

Half a world away, meanwhile, the approximately 60,000 people attending one of three "anti-Davos" conferences, in Caracas (the others were in Mali and Pakistan), deplored the murders of union leaders and opposed further privatization of essential resources, such as drinking water. But much of the activity at the World Social Forum was so overshadowed by its host, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, that a breakaway group held its own forum.

In past years the AFL-CIO sent at least one delegate to the World Social Forum, but its communications department could not confirm whether anyone went to Caracas.

At the WSF, U.S. activist Ariana Flores raised the "Killer Coke" issue, asking for a campaign against the company. Unions and human rights groups have long maintained that Coca-Cola either looked the other way or actually hired the right-wing paramilitary forces that have murdered eight union leaders at its Colombian plant over the past several years. Coke denies the charges, but the "Killer Coke" cause has been pushed by Students Against Sweatshops at several U.S. college campuses.

Chavez's urging of delegates to take "concrete action" against "political imperialism" and "neo-liberal, free-market economic policies" wasn't universally well received, as hundreds of activists dissented by forming their own week-long Alternative Social Forum. Although the alternative forum addressed many of the same themes, it also discussed the dangers of authoritarianism under a military strongman, a direct reference to Chavez, a former paratroop commander. The WSF "is acting as a stage of support for Chavez," claimed one alternative event organizer, Luis Silva of Venezuela.—Press Associates, Inc.

Is the strike dead? Hardly!

By Steve Early

Three years ago in Boston, downtown streets and office buildings were the scene of inspiring immigrant worker activism during an unprecedented strike by local janitors. Their walk-out was backed by other union members, community activists, students and professors, public officials, religious leaders and even a few "socially-minded" businessmen. The janitors had long been invisible, mistreated by management and, until recently, ignored by their own SEIU local union. Simply by making their strike such a popular social cause, they achieved what many regarded as a major victory.

On the same day in 2002 that the janitors' dispute was settled, a much larger strike—at Overnite Transportation—ended quite differently. Faced with mounting legal setbacks and dwindling picket line support, the Teamsters were forced to call off their nationwide walk-out against America's leading non-union trucker. The 4,000 Overnite workers involved were not able to win a first contract. And since their three-year strike was suspended, all have lost their bargaining rights in a series of "decertification" elections.

The intersecting trajectory of these two struggles—one hopeful and high-profile, the other tragic and now-almost-forgotten—raises important questions about the state of the strike and the future of labor in America. Maintaining "strike capacity" is no less important than shifting greater resources into organizing new members, and is just as essential to union revitalization and growth. Unfortunately, developing new ways to walk out and win has not been a big part of recent debates about "changing to win."

Labor's strike effectiveness and organizational strength have long been connected. Throughout history, work stoppages have been used for economic and political purposes, to alter the balance of power between labor and capital within single workplaces, entire industries or nationwide. Strikes have won shorter hours and safer conditions, through legislation or contract negotiation. They've fostered new forms of worker organization—like industrial unions—that were badly needed because of corporate restructuring and the reorganization of production. Strikes have acted as incubators for class consciousness, rank-and-file leadership development and political activism. In other countries, strikers have challenged—and changed—governments that were dictatorial and oppressive.

In some nations (including Korea, South Africa, France and Spain) where strike action helped democratize society, general strikes are still being used for mass mobilization and protest. In recent years, millions of Europeans have participated in nationwide work stoppages over public sector budget cuts, labor law revisions or pension plan changes sought by conservative governments. In Brazil, voters have even chosen a one-time strike leader, Luis Inácio ("Lula") da Silva, to

serve as president of their country.

In the U.S., on the other hand, "major" work stoppages have become a statistical blip on the radar screen of industrial relations. As the recent experience of transit workers in New York City and mechanics at Northwest Airlines has shown, striking continues to be a high-stakes venture as well. Considerable legal and financial risks are involved, particularly in the public sector, where walk-outs are severely restricted and, as in New York, subject to draconian penalties. Since 1992, walk-outs by 1,000 workers or more have averaged fewer than 40 annually. In 2003, there were only 14, with just 129,000 union members participating. In contrast, at the peak of labor's post-World War II strike wave in 1952, there were 470 major strikes, affecting nearly three million workers nationwide.

As strike activity continues to decline in the U.S., the pool of union members and leaders with actual strike experience shrinks as well. That's why union activists need to analyze, collectively and individually, their strike victories and defeats, summing up and sharing the lessons of these battles so they can become the basis for future success, rather than a recurring pattern of failure. Attorney Bob Schwartz's new book, "Strikes, Picketing, and Inside Campaigns: A Legal Guide For Unions," makes a valuable contribution to this educational process. It's the latest in a series of easy-to-read guides from Work Rights Press, which also publishes the author's best-seller, "The Legal Rights of Union Stewards."

As in his previous books, Schwartz provides useful sample letters, legal notices and answers to commonly-asked questions—in this case, about the many different types of union picketing and strike activity. There are also relevant case citations, tracking the development of labor law in this area over the past 25 years.

Beginning with the PATCO disaster in 1981, when thousands of striking air traffic controllers were fired and replaced, the U.S. labor movement entered a dark decade of lost strikes and lock-outs. Many anti-concession battles ended badly: at Phelps-Dodge, Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern, Continental Airlines, International Paper and other firms. The lost-strike trend discouraged many unions from using labor's traditional weapon. Among those that did, set-backs continued into the mid-'90s, at firms like Caterpillar,

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Bridgestone/Firestone and A. E. Staley.

Yet even during this difficult period, there were contract campaigns that bucked the tide of concession bargaining, and Schwartz's book discusses some of the tactics and strategies they used. In 1989, for example, 60,000 members of the Communications Workers of America and

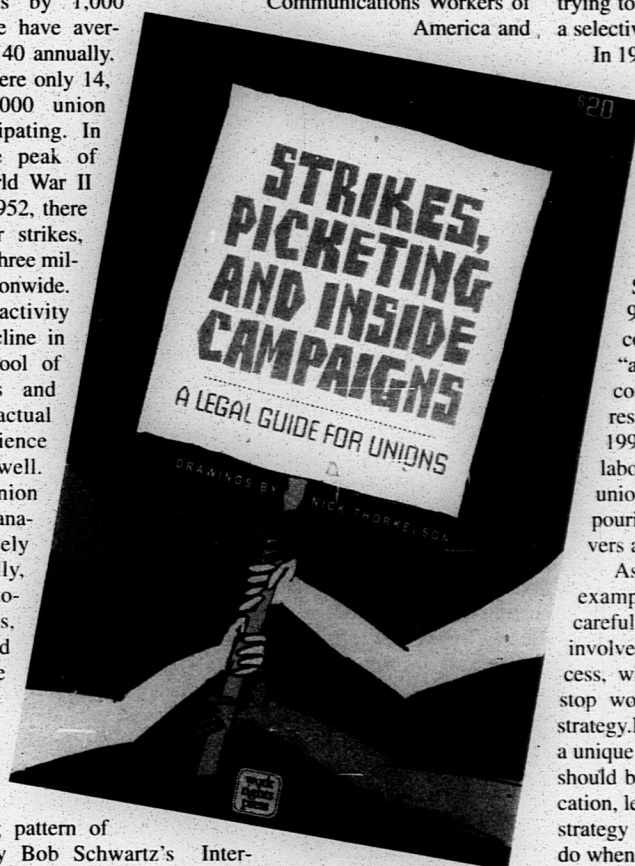
Pittston strike in a wide-ranging corporate campaign orchestrated by the United Steel Workers of America. The USWA leveraged international union connections to put mounting pressure on key financial institutions and investors who were tied to the employer. (See chapter 5 on finding the pressure points of "integrated businesses," including their "foreign connections.") Despite massive hiring of replacement workers and other union-busting measures, Ravenswood was finally forced to end its lock-out and settle with the USWA. Since that victory, the ILWU and Bay Area hotel workers have both turned the table on offensive lock-outs by employer associations trying to thwart shop floor action or a selective strike.

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As these and numerous other examples illustrate, creativity, careful planning and membership involvement are essential to success, whether a union chooses to stop work or pursue a non-strike strategy. Bob Schwartz's new book is a unique tool to hone such skills and should be used in membership education, leadership training and union strategy discussions about what to do when a contract expires. In situations where striking is a necessary and viable worker response, Schwartz's book outlines what it takes to make a walk-out effective, while helping unions anticipate likely employer counter-measures at the bargaining table, in court and at the NLRB.

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Also worth a look

A fitting companion for Robert Schwartz's book, reviewed at left, is the recently released second edition of "Union Steward's Complete Guide," from Union Communication Services.

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The 'new' AP has lost its soul

'They've taken an organic thing and tried to make it into a machine'

[As U.S. newspapers eliminate overseas bureaus and radically cut back on state and federal government reporting, they often rely on the same wire service to fill the gaps. Good news for Associated Press? Not according to many of the wire service's most seasoned hands, who complain that AP coverage is being "dumbed down" by cost-cutting bureaucrats and editors who impose a New York or Washington perspective on events. Mort Rosenblum struck a chord for many AP veterans with the following open letter—slightly condensed for reasons of space—to AP Chairman Burl Osborne.]

January 31, 2006
Mr. Burl Osborne, Chairman,
The Associated Press
450 W. 33rd Street
New York, New York 10001

Burl,

You may remember my last open letter to the AP Board and to my colleagues, in November 1990, a tribute to Mike Goldsmith, who died on the job at 68, the victim of a Liberian soldier's gun butt and a malarial mosquito.

"If his breed is not to die," I wrote, "we must understand what fed the fires of a man who spent 45 years working himself to death in AP service. He knew that all of the AP's fancy machines and systems are so much useless junk without the one thing at the heart of our being: the reporter's link to news."

That letter praised AP directors for supporting reporters like Mike. The message is different this time. Without hyperbole, Burl, I believe that AP's present course represents a grave danger to a world that badly needs it.

Inexperienced managers of a "new AP" must understand that however they rearrange the furniture, the wire's integrity depends on the reporters who actually gather the news upon which billions of people shape their reality.

Since 2002, AP has fired, retired or otherwise squandered many centuries of hard-won experience and contacts. Valuable old hands live in fear of the ax. With so much busywork heaped on those left and constant second-guessing from New York, many young people who planned an AP career now look elsewhere.

AP still has plenty of superb correspondents and locally hired reporters—courageous, committed people of skill and energy. I know most, and I urge you to sit down with any, with no one else listening, to discuss this letter. Do a blind survey. As one ex-colleague told me, "Morale hasn't been this low in 30 years."

I've resisted writing this because I am among those your new executive editor fired. Living in France, I don't like sour grapes. But I didn't spend a lifetime at AP because I had no other offers. Now I teach students and young reporters eager to cover the world. AP badly needs this sort of fresh talent. But, given the present course, what do I tell them? When told in 2004 that I had chosen to retire, I was asked to agree not to "disparage" AP. I refused on principle: that defensiveness shows what's going wrong. How could someone disparage

AP after defending it for 40 years?

The point is: what is the AP? I worked for six executive editors, four head guys, and a zillion Board members. In a non-profit cooperative, these jobs amount to temporary public trusts. AP is that network of people out where it counts, the bylines you know; the young hopefuls; and all those invaluable "locals" you've never heard of who are your strongest link to reality. "AP" stands for reliable news, however difficult it may be to gather and whomever it may irritate.

After air, water and food, it is the most basic of human needs.

Recently in Buenos Aires, where I was bureau chief from 1973 to 1976, I reread your new editors' statement of principles. It stresses what won't go on the wire, with emphasis on anonymous sources. But any reporter knows that what is not said is often far more important than what is. Sources who risk dismissal or death for telling the truth depend on anonymity.

AP broke the news of how the Argentine military was "disappearing" many thousands because a troubled U.S. embassy spook told me about it on very deep background. We defied death squads to take the story to the wire, step by step, with our editors' support in a way that would be impossible today. Back then, a bureau chief, a news editor, and three English-language writers worked with a sizeable Argentine staff. This allowed us to go find news, not merely react to it in case it wandered across our desk.

This time, the only English-language writer—the bureau chief—was on a well-earned vacation. His backup had been let go. I know him to be a good hand, eager to get out more. But like all bureau chiefs, he is tied down with daily planning schedules and time-wasting process generated by distant bureaucrats.

There are fewer dramatic kidnappings. But during that week, a French water company left Argentina in disgust, dimming global hopes that private-public waterworks could meet a major world need. And a huge chunk of melting iceberg floated past Mar del Plata. That, Burl, is big news.

Is this about economy? The bureau then earned a large surplus because I had time to nurture subscribers. We could afford to take embassy spooks to lunch. We traveled

the provinces in search of real news.

Is the new way better? When I called on the long-time editor of AP's biggest Argentine client, he snorted at the idea of faceless executives a continent away selling him a news agency as if it were a newspaper supplier. Our profession doesn't work like that.

The new buzzword is profitability. But AP is a .org, not a .com, with a nobler purpose. The "essential global news" has been reality since 1848, when editors formed a cooperative to cover stories beyond their own reach. The more newspapers and broadcasters—AP's collective owners—slash staffs and have to guess at the news from a distance, the

more AP is vital to sane, safe life on earth.

God knows the old AP had its failings. But when you boast of Mark Twain's and Gandhi's encomiums, you mean AP's endangered spirit. The historic role is to report the world, not to enrich shareholders. With technology and security, the price of foreign news is rising fast. Publishers who seek 25% to 30% profits can fill their papers with AP copy at a fraction of what staff writers cost. But can they then insist that AP dues increase at less than the rate of inflation?

Another new direction troubles me deeply. Reporters' performance is measured now in output, words per shift, rather than by what matters. Tiers of editors, some with no foreign experience, shape the report from a distance. They rewrite copy and impose guidance that is often based on misperceptions. Arbitrary word limits leave out context. Stories are spiked without explanation.

The effect is devastating, especially to those in remote places. News agencies need alternating current; reporters' energies must help power the process. AP now works on DC—a one-way flow from top. Even Duracell bunnies can soldier on for only so long.

Your best people work their hearts out because of inner motivations that are lost on managers who don't get it. Their goal is not a paycheck but rather the satisfaction of getting a story right. Instead, too many are like tiny cameras on a colonoscopy probe. They penetrate the world's least attractive places only to send back raw data to "specialists" in clean clothes who decide what it means.

In Frankfurt, we recently honored Steve Miller, a quintessential AP bureau chief. Steve rushed off all too often to help his Balkan reporters escape trouble or, in extremis, to comfort families. He died of cancer but fought to the last to preserve AP values he defended for 30 years. Steve knew that if AP did not inspire new hires, meeting their expectations, it faced a harrowing future.

I saw old pals, "locals" who routinely put their lives on the line. Some earn less in a year than it takes to feed a board member at an annual meeting. One had an amusing twist on the corporate viewpoint of the hand that feeds you: A Bosnian cameraman once lost his patience with an AP boss on a rare visit, telling him, "You eat from my camera. Your wife eats from my camera. Your children eat from my camera. To me, you are para-zeet."

A hopeful presence in Frankfurt was a foreign editor, respected by all. Debbie Seward spent decades abroad, learning flawless Russian, French, German and Polish, seeing up close how peoples interact. She cared at a human level but understood tectonic shifts of global power. We knew her dilemma, bolstering morale while her bosses rattled a heavy chain of command. She was delegated to "retire" me, and I know she felt bad about it. Now she is gone. Ask her why.

You avoided buy-outs because U.S.-based AP correspondents work abroad without contract or union. Cost-of-living differentials were just slashed. Many AP people get no adjustment at all because reporters sent from New York have been replaced with lower-

paid locals. If editors disrespect reporters' copy while managers trash their family budgets, what do you expect for the future?

This *cri de coeur* should not veer into the dismissal of one dispensable ex-reporter, now happily doing other things. But few of AP's "disappeared" are free to speak, and my own case is a useful example of squandered AP resources.

Here is why my case is instructive. Firing old hands at AP wages doesn't save much money. Good reporters, in fact, cost less. Under the old one-riot-one-ranger approach, a single Mike Goldsmith can do more with a

telephone than a handful of tyros can do in days on the ground. But whatever it may save AP members, what is the greater cost to a news report dependent on living memory? Who is to take over when smart young people see what might happen to them?

My email was cut before I could pass along contacts and files. Even before I left New York, the stories came in a rush. Arafat, whom I'd known since 1967, flew to Paris to die. The Pope died in Rome; I'd trailed him since Poland, to Sarajevo, to Africa, to the Holy Land, covering reality

behind the ceremony. The tsunami struck Southeast Asia, where I'd spent three years.

Ivory Coast blew up; I'd just returned from a fresh visit. The edges of Paris caught fire, with impact across Europe. I'd covered that tension since the 1980s. Then, Sharon; I was the first reporter into south Lebanon when he invaded. And now there is Hamas.

And I'm just one example among far too many. Apart from those fired, others have decided to leave, disgusted by writing they see on the wall. Among those who stay, edges have been chipped off essential enthusiasm. You know the names and the circumstances. If you don't, you should find out.

No school can shape a seasoned correspondent. Young people must work with veterans. Background, vital to any story that matters, depends on long memories. Any eager neophyte can hop into a hairy situation—then what? Danger is one thing. Experience saves more lives than flak vests or Centurion courses. But even in placid situations, it takes practice to find the program, let alone the players. Fresh reporters who prove themselves quickly must feel they have a solid future when they cost more and talk back.

You may respond with numbers and logs, but professional consumers know how to judge an agency's worth. It is not the occasional scoop or faster bulletin but rather depth and breadth over time. They are not fooled by promotional flimflam. Real beats are measured in months and years, not minutes. Serious coverage is mostly about "why" and "what next."

This lack of depth is critical. Much was made over how AP ignored the London Sunday Times' Downing Street scoop, a smoking gun that revealed how evidence was faked to start a war. AP London did not relay the story, credited to the Times, the simplest of routine tasks. Then editorial inaction in New York let it slip away. In a different AP, a

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The more newspapers and broadcasters—AP's collective owners—slash staffs and have to guess at the news from a distance, the more AP is vital to sane, safe life on earth.

Reporters' performance is measured now in output, words per shift, rather than by what matters. Tiers of editors, some with no foreign experience, shape the report from a distance.



LOOKING AHEAD

Press freedom cuts two ways

By Linda Foley, President

When you were a kid and some smart aleck called you a name, you had the perfect retort: "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names can never hurt me."

As we have seen recently, in today's world of instantaneous messages and globalization, names (or in this case, published cartoons) actually can cause a lot of harm. The violent response in the Middle East and elsewhere to publication in a Danish newspaper of 12 cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad resulted in riots, embassy burnings and more than a dozen deaths. The angry reaction by Muslims around the world sent shock waves through Denmark and other Western democracies, where publishing provocative images and xenophobic propaganda is chalked up to the price of having a free press.

But this crisis did not arise because "we" believe in freedom of the press and "they" do not. It came about because of the deep cultural, political and economic differences that divide "us" and "them." This kind of polarization is not confined to Judeo-Christians vs. Muslims. Unfortunately, it has overtaken most political debate and public discourse throughout the world, including in the United States. And the ability of democratic governments to govern effectively is being threatened by the shrillness of the exchanges it engenders.

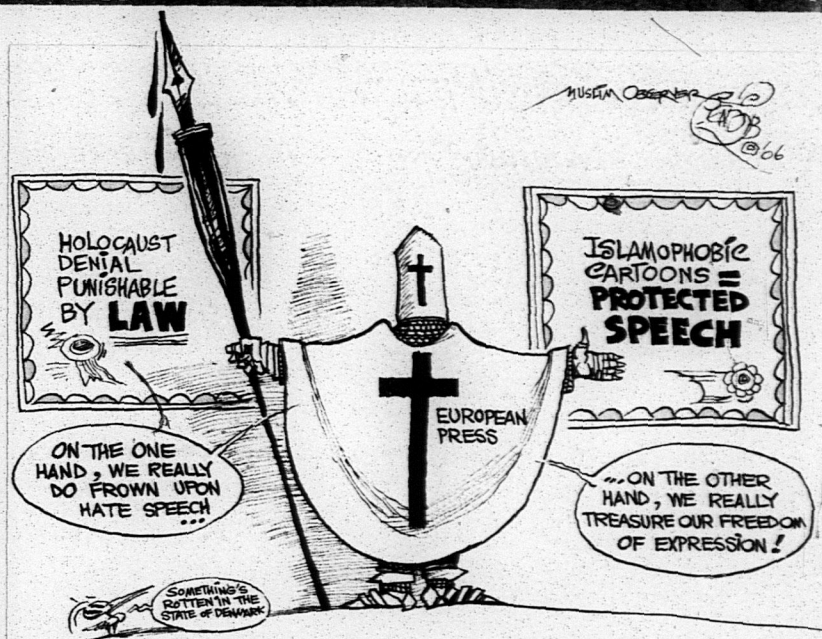
The Danish government did not have a hand in publishing the offending cartoons.

The decision to publish them was solely that of the newspaper Jyllands-Posten. Yet Danish embassies were set ablaze, and all Danish products have been boycotted. In most of the countries where the violence was worst, there is no free press, only government-sanctioned media. It would not be difficult, therefore, for citizens in countries like Iran, Syria and Lebanon to conclude that the Danish government was as culpable as the newspaper for the perceived offense against Islam.

Another part of their reaction has to do with how the Danish government handled the debate following publication of the cartoons in September. Both the government and Jyllands-Posten were dismissive of initial protests raised by Danish Muslim clerics. Only after they were ignored in their home country, the Danish clerics claimed, did they take their complaints to Muslim leaders in the Middle East.

Apparently the original 12 images were subsequently embellished with even more unflattering portrayals of the prophet, which further fueled Muslim anger. Radical fundamentalists, along with a few autocratic governments with their own agendas, used the opportunity to foment even more rage.

No image or article could justify the level of destruction and violence that ensued from publication of these cartoons. However, ask yourself: How far removed from such violence are the hateful blogs and death threats by e-mail that have become



common reactions of the radical right and left to perceived published offenses in the United States? The Washington Post's ombudswoman, Deborah Howell, was the latest target of such an abusive barrage. Others on the receiving end have included Sen. John Kerry, Dan Rather, Sen. Richard Durbin, Eason Jordan, Richard Clarke, Judith Miller and yours truly, just to name a few.

What are the lessons for journalists in all of this?

First, if you are privileged enough to be free to write or publish anything you choose, you must be prepared to deal with the consequences of what you disseminate. In other words, exercising freedom of the press carries a responsibility to pay attention to and, in some cases, manage the public discourse generated by publication. (That goes for

bloggers as well as publishers.)

Second, all of today's media is global; no issue can be confined to one community. Gauging the impact of a published image, article or opinion should take into account the possibility it could reach far beyond its intended audience, causing unintended interpretation and reaction.

Third, the ability to use modern technology to repeat, magnify and distort information means that misjudgments and mistakes can spiral out of control before they can be corrected.

Finally, we need to understand that with globalization, no country truly can have press freedom until the whole world has it. As long as some in this world have no choice but to resort to sticks and stones, no one can count on the right to publish freely without getting hurt.

AP is still a calling, as well as a business

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diplomatic reporter like Art Gavshon, or a Mike Goldsmith, or a Steve Miller, would have broken the story first.

Walker Lundy, who edited the Philadelphia Inquirer, put it wisely: newspapers are eating their seed corn. Foreign bureaus are shutting down. This puts pressure on AP to cherish its best old hands. We are seeing the opposite, and it seems to be as much about management style as it is about money.

An AP editor abroad, whose professional health depends upon anonymity, summed up his bosses' new approach with bitterness: "They've taken an organic thing and tried to make it into a machine. It doesn't work."

You haven't asked, of course, but here are some suggestions from someone who has worked abroad for AP for a quarter of its nearly 160 years.

- Don't let AP be a Voice of America. Many non-U.S. subscribers, I know, are already distressed. Yes, AP does some excellent critical U.S. reporting, with stalwarts like Terry Hunt. But I mean focus. Compare the coverage of Katrina to Kashmir. Or 9/11 to Madrid; proportionally, the death toll was similar.

- AP should set the agenda and define news rather than follow trends. Play may suffer if you're ahead of the pack, but the long run counts. Obsessing over Hermes not opening up late for Oprah Winfrey in Paris was

not your finest hour. By one recent poll, American readers clicked most on a newspaper's story about some guy's sex act with his horse. The world needs your leadership.

- A top editorial title carries authority but not necessarily prescience. New York desk training confers status, but street smarts come only with time. Stars like, say, Kathy Gannon or Aida Cerkez must earn respect the hard way, far from New York, and that can take far more time than it should.

- While some reporters are gentle, lovable souls, many others are cutting tools, with hard edges. This is what enables them to break down doors and get at reality. Allow them to talk back, to argue, to insist on reporting what they see.

- Do not dumb down the report. People who care about news want real background. Just before the Iraq war, the top editor roasted me for mentioning Nasser, saying no one knew who he was. That was the point. You can't explain this conflict without tracing how, or why, Muslims and Arabs grew radicalized.

- Don't bury news with false balance. That was why Serbs got away with mass murder for so long. For examples, look at Israel v. Palestine.

- Don't let unnamed sources keep real news off the wire. Arab reporters obtain crucial interviews with Iraqi insurgents who can't be identified. The copy seldom reaches

the wire, which carries a flood of stuff about brave U.S. troops.

The Iraq War is rich in distressing example, starting from Charlie Hanley's brilliant but spiked reporting that Americans were unlikely to find WMD, or his wasted exposé of Powell at the U.N. Coverage was shaped in Washington and micromanaged from New York. Compare AP to others on U.S. troop interaction with civilians, for starters. Hamza Hendawi, Denis Gray and others did a lot of excellent work, true enough. But news organizations are judged in their entirety.

I've been long and harsh because so much is at stake. This is not to question anyone's best intentions or professional commitment. But AP is still a calling, a family, as well as a

business. The old policy of promoting only from within had its obvious drawbacks, yet everyone understood its purpose.

When I wrote in 1990, directors were listed proudly in the AP directory. This time, it took me days to find them under the money in an annual report. I can't believe that pride is gone.

Burl; as an editor you helped build AP. Defend it now. Think of the future. Correspondents and "locals" have the time, the tools, and the editorial respect they need. There is no new AP. Those old letters still stand for reliable news in a tumultuous world. And we all need that badly.

Sincerely,
Mort

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor,

Eleanor Roosevelt was a woman of many accomplishments, but writing the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not one of them, as Linda Foley suggested in her Dec. 16 column, "Our rights are being attacked."

Madame Roosevelt did indeed chair the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission, but the actual drafting of the declaration was the work of Dr. John Peters Humphrey, a young law professor at McGill University in Montreal. According to the Canadian Peace Hall of Fame, the U.N. asked Humphrey to

set up its Division for Human Rights in 1946. As director of the division, Humphrey prepared a 400-page background paper for the proposed universal declaration and wrote its first draft in 1947. Various U.N. officials and committees subsequently amended the draft, but the declaration the U.N. adopted in 1948 was still substantively Humphrey's work.

Canadians in general—and Montrealers in particular—are quite proud of Dr. Humphrey's work.

—Paul Waters,
Montreal Newspaper 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 for letters and articles: Friday before publication. (Next deadline: March 10.)

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

Friedan's 'Mystique' shook up a nation

By Debbie Thomas
TNG-CWA Human Rights Director

Over forty years ago, when Betty Friedan wrote her best selling book, "The Feminine Mystique," much of what she wrote and advocated was shocking and revolutionary. The feminine mystique was said to have ushered in a new wave of feminism. Friedan asserted that there was more to life than having a husband and babies, and that women should aspire to separate identities.

Friedan died Feb. 4, her 85th birthday. Although you may not agree with her politics, you must admit that she changed our way of thinking. So who was this catalyst for the women's movement in this country?

Her mother worked as an editor for the women's page of a newspaper before quitting to be a housewife, but she always encouraged Betty to pursue journalism. While Betty was still in high school, she and a male classmate became co-editors of a magazine. He once told her he would like to be her best friend—if only she were a boy.

Betty went on to Smith College, where she was editor of the college weekly paper and once argued for the unionization of maids on the campus. She then went on to Berkeley to do graduate work in psychology. Offered a scholarship to obtain a PhD, she turned it down because—rumor has it—she was afraid she'd become a spinster if she studied for four more years.

Instead, she left Berkeley for New York, where she went to work for the Federated Press, a workers' paper. Her stories denounced racism and sexism and promoted unions—and after three years she was fired, for reasons that are still disputed. Her next job was as a reporter for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, where she wrote stories about strikes, labor disputes and workplace discrimination against women. She was even critical of the union itself for its pay disparities, and of how women were fired without cause after World War

II to make room for the returning male soldiers.

During this time she met and married Carl Friedan. She requested and got maternity leave for her first child, but two years later, when she again requested a leave, she was fired.

Betty continued working as a freelance journalist and homemaker, but by now she began to perceive her life and the lives of those around her as built on myths. These seeds of discontent soon germinated to produce "The Feminine Mystique," described by a 1999 New York University survey as one of the century's best examples of journalism.

How has the mystique changed us? Are we a better society? I received an e-mail the other day announcing that Equal Pay Day—the day an average man can start working and still earn as much by year's end as the average woman—will come in April. It included some statistics from an article by Clara Jeffrey, deputy editor of Mother Jones, titled "Why women can't win for trying":

- Women are paid 80% of the male dollar;
- Since 1963, when the Equal Pay Act was signed, the wage gap has closed by less than half a percent per year;
- Every industrialized nation except the U.S. and Australia has parental leave with a guaranteed job on return;
- 80% of the guests on Sunday morning political shows are men;
- Women over 65 are almost twice as likely as men to be poor;
- Heavyset women get fewer promotions and face more job discrimination than heavyset men;
- 31.5% of Iraq's parliament is made up of women—compared with 15% of the U.S. Congress;
- 69% of men believe America would be better off if women occupied more top political jobs; only 61% of women agree. Among Republicans that split is 52% to 34%.

As the saying goes, "You've come a long way, baby"—or have you?

Broun judges named

Continued from page 1

numerous special reporting projects.

Bill Raspberry returns as a Broun judge after having served on the panel in 1979, when it awarded the prize to Carl Hiaasen, Patrick Malone, Gene Miller and William Montalbano of the Miami Herald. Starting at the Washington Post as a teletype operator in 1962, he quickly advanced to a reporting position and in 1965 won the Capital Press Club's "Journalist of the Year" award for his coverage of the Watts riots. The following year he began writing a column for the Post's local section, moved to the op-ed page in 1971 and became syndicated in 1977, eventually getting published in 225 newspapers.

Raspberry won the Pulitzer Prize for Distinguished Commentary in 1994, the same year he received its lifetime achievement award from the National Association of Black Journalists. He retired from the Post late last year and currently teaches at Duke University, where he holds the Knight Chair in Communications and Journalism.

Connie Schultz's Pulitzer Prize for commentary is of more recent vintage, awarded last year for her columns for the Cleveland Plain Dealer for work that the judges said "provided a voice for the underdog and the underprivileged." She was a Pulitzer finalist two years earlier for feature writing, for a series chronicling the ordeal of a man who had been imprisoned 13 years for a rape he didn't commit; the real rapist turned himself in after reading her stories and is serving a five-year sentence.

Married to Congressman Sherrod Brown, with whom she is raising four children, Schultz also is about to become a newly published author. "Life Happens—And Other Avoidable Truths," will be published this

April by Random House.

Rem Rieder is editor and senior vice president of American Journalism Review and writes a regular AJR column commenting on media issues. Prior to 1991, when he started editing the magazine, Rieder held senior editing positions at several major metros—including the Washington Post, Miami Herald and Milwaukee Journal—and served as executive editor of States News Service in Washington, D.C.

A graduate of Harvard University, he also has taught journalism ethics, magazine editing and production and advanced public affairs reporting as an adjunct professor at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism, University of Maryland.

Neil Macdonald, an 18-year veteran of CBC Television News, began his journalistic career at three Canadian newspapers—the Montreal Gazette, Ottawa Citizen and Vancouver Sun—in a variety of positions, including editor, investigative reporter and parliamentary correspondent. On joining the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation he covered Parliament Hill, specializing in fiscal policy, then spent five years in Jerusalem as Middle East bureau chief.

Macdonald was named the CBC's Washington correspondent in 2003 and won a Gemini Award last year for best Canadian reporting. He speaks English and French fluently and is conversant in Arabic.



Rem Rieder



Connie Schultz



Neil Macdonald

Wolf in sheep's clothing

An organization calling itself the Center for Union Facts made a splash at press time, running full-page ads in the Washington Post, New York Times and Wall Street Journal. The "center" is in fact a propaganda campaign that's

being funded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in an apparent counter-offensive against card-check recognition.

A more complete report about the center and its director, Richard Berman, will be published in the March Guild Reporter.

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DAYBOOK

New England District Council,
Feb. 25-26, Providence

Mid-Atlantic, Southern Councils,
March 3-5, Memphis

Celebration of Liberty dinner,
March 4, Memphis

CWA Leg.-Political Conference,
March 12-15, Washington, DC

Knight Ridder Council,
March 17-19, San Jose

Western District Council,
April 1-2, San Francisco

CWA Customer Service Conf.,
April 19-22, Houston

CWA Civil Rights, Equity Conf.,
April 27-30, Philadelphia

CMG biennial convention,
April 28-30, Calgary

Freedom Awards Banquet,
May 3, Washington, DC

FROM THE MORGUE

Seventy years ago this month:

Under a page 1 banner headline, the Guild Reporter avows that "newspaper labor history is being made in Milwaukee in a brave strike by 29 members" of the Guild against Hearst's Wisconsin News. . . . The United Mine Workers of America contributes \$2,000 to the cash-strapped Guild "in recognition of the vital organizing role" of the fledgling union. . . . The Living Newspaper, a federally-funded theatre project sponsored by the New York Guild, is censored by a federal administrator, who decides that heads of foreign governments may not be depicted on stage.

Fifty years ago this month:

Citing repeated convention warnings against long-term contracts, the Guild's executive board denies the Washington local permission to sign a five-year pact with the Washington Post and Times-Herald. . . . Newspaper industry observers, blaming inadequate wages, fret that only a third of journalism graduates seek newsroom jobs. . . . U.S. newspaper revenue in 1955 is reported to have hit an all-time high of \$3 billion, up 13.9% from the previous year, when it also set a record.

Twenty-five years ago this month:

The Guild and the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine announce plans for the most extensive study to date on the health effects of using video display terminals. . . . Guild president Charles Perlik warns that time is again running out on merger talks with the Typographical Union, now in their 38th month. . . . Two members of the New York Guild are seriously injured in a bomb blast in Munich while working in the offices of Radio Free Europe.

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