

THE GUILD Reporter

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TNG-Canada now on its own

Canadians gain autonomy but fail to win seat on CWA exec board

Delegates to the 68th annual CWA convention fulfilled their leadership's highest hopes, avoiding internecine bloodshed en route to approving a 10-point strategic plan and creation of a "Strategic Industry Fund." But the gathering proved more fickle in response to a Canadian request for executive board representation, prompting the TNG-Canada delegation to walk out in protest.

A subsequent press release from TNG Canada described the convention proceedings as an "injustice" and vowed an appeal. But in a July 17 letter to Arnold Amber, director of TNG Canada, CWA General Counsel Mary O'Melveny wrote that the union does "not believe that any such complaint would have merit" and expressed a "hope we can bring this matter to a close."

The flap capped a week in which TNG-Canada took significant strides toward becoming an autonomous unit within CWA, blurring its relationship with the Guild and moving the larger union toward something resembling a North American federation. Most notably, the CWA and TNG-Canada have agreed to create a Canadian Region within CWA that henceforth will "make all governance, policy and operational decisions affecting Canadian members."

Details of the agreement, many spelled out only in broad terms and some still awaiting further discussion, are contained in a memorandum of understanding (see page 5) signed by the three top officers of CWA, the four top officers of TNG-CWA Canada and CWA vice presidents Chris Shelton, Annie Hill and

Linda Foley. Shelton and Hill head Districts 1 and 7, which until now have included Canada.

But there was no discussion of the change within TNG-CWA prior to the Guild sector conference. And while negotiations over the memorandum started in January, few TNG-CWA members knew about them until the agreement was distributed July 8 at the conference, prompting more than a few complaints. "People hit this convention utterly ignorant of what was happening," protested Barry Lipton, president of the New York Guild. "A number of us are very unhappy with the way this was handled," added Bill South, another New York delegate. "This is not the way to do business within the Guild sector."

Yet as the memorandum underscores, the definition of "Guild sector" is itself changing, sometimes in unpredictable fashion. TNG Canada indicated as much four years ago, when it officially changed its name to The National Guild of Canadian Media, Manufacturing, Professional and Service Workers/CWA. Just as the name change suggested a broader organizing perspective than that of a single sector, so the creation of a new "region" blurs the traditional role of CWA's districts north of the border.

"Does this mean TNG will be split?" rhetorically asked a fact sheet distributed by the Canadians to support the change. "Not unless TNG members make that decision," it answered. "Canadian TNG members—most are still employed in the media—want to work with TNG, but we understand political

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Delegates to the TNG-CWA Sector Conference listen to Chairperson Carol Rothman's opening remarks.

SECTOR CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS:

Bernie keeps hair, Seattle eats crow — and more!

It's not often that the word "menopause" can be woven into the introductory comments of a Guild sector conference—but this was Las Vegas, after all, and "Menopause the Musical" was playing in the hotel theater down the hall.

"Menopause—it's a good metaphor for what we're doing here," reasoned TNG-CWA President Linda Foley. "Change is good, even if painful."

For the 151 delegates representing 47 TNG-CWA locals at the union's 71st convening, change was in abundant supply. Meeting July 7 and 8 in the Las Vegas Hilton, they heard for the first time about an agreement to create an autonomous Canadian wing (see story above); endorsed a newspaper code of ethics formulated by the executive board over more than a year of discussion; pressed for greater transparency in CWA; and endorsed a 10-point strategic plan for CWA as well as creation of a multi-million dollar strategic campaign fund.

Conference delegates also elected Lois Kirkup to the executive board by acclamation. Kirkup, president of the Ottawa Newspaper Guild and secretary of the TNG Canada Representative Council, will represent eastern Canada.

They witnessed the humbling of the Pacific Northwest Guild, whose representatives were forced to don Steelers jerseys as their reward for placing an ill-fated—and very publicized—wager on the Seahawks in this year's Super Bowl.

And they contributed more than \$1,000 to the CWA COPE

Text of all conference resolutions, p.4

Canadian memo of understanding, p.5

Excerpts of Barbara Easterling's address, p.6

Fund, paying \$5 per vote to determine if TNG-CWA Secretary-Treasurer Bernie Lunzer should trim his locks or keep his pledge not to cut his hair "until we have a labor-friendly administration in the White House." (To a query from Providence delegate Tim Schick, who wanted to know the price of a beard, Lunzer replied "that's not negotiable.")

Foley, who makes little effort to hide her dismay at Lunzer's tonorial splendor, kicked in \$100 first thing Friday with the announcement that she was casting 20 votes to tell Lunzer "go cut your hair." But her ballot box stuffing was thwarted by lock-loving Southern California delegate Vicki DiPaolo, who had a good run at the craps tables and decided to share some of her gains. The final tally: 88 votes to cut now, 124 votes to outlast the Bush administration.

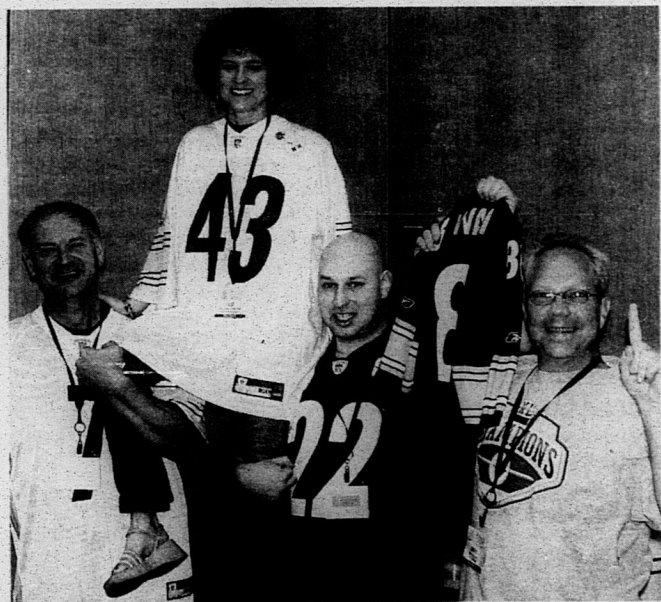
Light-hearted though it was, Lunzer's attempt to highlight the

importance of COPE—CWA's political lobbying war chest, funded completely through voluntary contributions—reflected a growing emphasis on the two external legs of the "CWA Triangle," political action and community outreach. The latter was seen most readily in the CWA initiative to create the Strategic Industry Fund, which Guild delegates endorsed with only one dissenting vote, cast by Luis Rafo of Alberta.

The SIF, CWA Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling told delegates, is "the cornerstone" of a 10-point strategic plan variously known as "Ready for the Future" and "Proposition 1." Financing for the fund is to come from membership dues currently earmarked for the CWA strike fund, also known as the Members Relief Fund, which is being capped at approximately \$390 million; the dues will revert to the MRF any time it sinks below that amount, but otherwise will fund the SIF.

Exactly how SIF funds will be distributed is still being hammered out, but the money is to be allocated by industry in proportion to membership size. Foley told delegates she thinks the Media SIF—comprising TNG, the print sector and NABET—initially will receive an

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Decked out in Steelers gear, Pacific Northwest Guild members Gene Achziger (left) and Jim Geluso hoist Liz Brown on their shoulders to the approving smile of Mike Bucsko, president of the Pittsburgh local—home of this year's winning Super Bowl team.

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estimated \$2.5 million. SIF money is to be used for "big projects" that will build the union and increase its bargaining power, she added, citing the Guild's recent attempt to buy several newspapers, from McClatchy as a "perfect project" for the fund.

Delegates also turned their sights on the CWA itself, unanimously approving three resolutions to increase the union's transparency in decision making. Two of the resolutions—one to compel more timely publication of board minutes, the other calling for annual publication of local and district directories—were anticipated by the CWA executive board, which adopted policies incorporating their recommendations ahead of the sector conference.

The third, more controversial resolution called on the CWA executive board to open its meetings to union members, recessing into executive session only to discuss legal or personnel matters or for strategic bargaining and organizing planning. "It's not our obligation to explain why CWA executive board meetings should be open, it's their obligation to explain why they should be closed," Providence delegate Tim Schick, who introduced the resolutions, told the sector conference.

Although the CWA resolutions committee declined to recommend the resolution to the CWA conven-



Tom Joyce credits the rest of the York Newspaper Guild for being awarded the annual TNG-CWA Service Award.

tion, it sent a letter July 9 to CWA President Larry Cohen advising him that the issue "deserves further study." The committee recommended "that there be an ongoing dialogue between CWA Executive Board members and concerned



Bernie Lunzer remains unshorn.

rank and file leaders."

Guild delegates also unanimously adopted the TNG-CWA code of ethics, titled "Professionalism and Honesty in the News Media" (for complete text, see May 19, 2006 Guild Reporter, p. 7). Addressing publishers and their employees, both editorial and commercial, the code describes each party's responsibilities to the others and to the public in addition to defining unethical conduct.

"This is what we're really all about here," said TNG-CWA vice president Scott Edmonds, explaining that the code was an attempt to reclaim turf that had been usurped by profit-driven publishers and owners.

Away from the conference floor, the "NextGen" caucus met to brainstorm how best to expand its influence and involve more young members in TNG-CWA. One suggestion was to create NextGen chapters in each local; another was to push for professional development programs within TNG-CWA, analogous to those operated by craft unions. That, in turn, led to discussion of creating a virtual "hiring hall" within the Guild as a way of helping members advance within the industry.

One of those attending the NextGen caucus, Tom Joyce of York, was awarded the annual Guild Service Award. Joyce was honored for his tireless work as the local's mobilization director.

NLRB files ULP charges against York newspapers

The National Labor Relations Board's general counsel, citing more than half-a-dozen examples of unlawful labor practices, has charged the York Newspaper Co. with refusing to bargain in good faith. A hearing on the charges, expected to last up to two weeks, has been scheduled for Oct. 24 in Baltimore.

Employees of the MediaNews-owned York Daily Record and York Sunday News have been frustrated in contract negotiations over the past year by an employer who "engaged in bargaining with no

At press time, the Guild Reporter learned of a tentative agreement in York that was to go to a membership vote July 26. Details will be reported in the August issue.

intention of reaching an agreement," the NLRB complaint notes. Among the alleged violations:

- Refusing to grant unpaid leave to members of the York Guild bargaining team while insisting that negotiations occur during work hours.
- Insisting on contract proposals "that are predictably unacceptable to the Union," including proposals that would limit employees' union rights.
- Refusing to process a grievance regarding management harassment of local president Michele Canty.
- Delaying or simply refusing to respond to bargaining-related information requests.
- Designating on half-a-dozen occasions a bargaining agent who "lacked sufficient authority to bargain in a meaningful manner."

Most of the time the York company has been represented at the table by Jim Thompson, an associate of the Tennessee-based anti-union law firm of King & Ballow. And Thompson was back at the table July 13 in fine fettle, appar-

ently eager to demonstrate his lack of concern over the NLRB charges.

"It seemed pretty obvious to the members of the negotiating committee that Thompson was trying to punish us for the NLRB complaint," said Tom Joyce, a committee member and the local's mobilization director. "His manner was combative and dismissive, and he took a numbers of steps that seemed calculated to harass and annoy us."

Those steps included refusing an unpaid day off for one of the union negotiating team members who has already used up all her vacation days—mostly in bargaining; canceling two of four bargaining dates that had been already scheduled; and announcing he would not tolerate any union caucus of more than 10 minutes. "He concluded by essentially pledging not to negotiate with us unless and until we accept some proposals that are manifestly unacceptable to us," Joyce summarized.

Meanwhile, the union and community supporters have petitioned the U.S. Attorney General to revoke the antitrust immunity that was granted to the York Daily Record and the York Dispatch, which are published under a joint operating agreement. Although the two newspapers have represented themselves as having two separate owners, TNG-CWA has submitted evidence that in fact both newspapers are owned by MediaNews.

Guild briefs . . .

MercNews refuses contract extension

The switch to new ownership of newspapers once part of the Knight Ridder chain has not been without problems. At the San Jose Mercury News, where its contract expired June 30, the San Jose Guild proposed on June 15 a one-year extension with a 2% raise to help ease the transition. The offer was rebuffed, and at press time there was no indication when bargaining with the new owner, MediaNews, might commence.

More of surplus to be distributed

An arbitrator has concluded that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation violated collective bargaining agreements when it distributed only \$134 million of a \$1.1 billion pension plan surplus earmarked for employees and retirees. The Consultative Committee on Staff Benefits had recommended that \$336 million of the surplus be distributed to 16,000 current and former employees, most of whom are represented by the Canadian Media Guild. The actual amount of additional distributions will be determined in separate hearings over the next few months.

Halifax printers vote for affiliation

Sixteen pressroom workers at the Halifax Chronicle-Herald have voted unanimously to join TNG Canada/CWA, creating a separate bargaining unit. The Halifax Typographical Union already represents approximately 100 newsroom employees and 11 compositors at the daily newspaper.

Detroit grieves use of cameras

In another sign that "multitasking" is spreading throughout the industry, the Detroit Guild has filed a grievance over the Free Press's unilateral assignment of photo work to reporters and reporter work to photographers. Although supervising editors initially told staff that use of cameras and digital audio recorders was optional for reporters and photographers, such use is now being required. Meanwhile, the Washington Post has started distributing digital video cameras to its bureaus, where reporters are "encouraged" to interview, report, write and shoot.

Court upholds freelance decision

The Minnesota Guild won another round in its battle with the Star Tribune over its use of freelance material, as the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld two lower court decisions supporting the union's position. The dispute dates back to 2004, when the newspaper published five pieces by a television mete-

orologist in the news pages, violating a contract provision barring use of freelance material in space usually filled with staff-generated copy.

Newsweek, Guild agree on contract

A tentative agreement on a new, three-year contract between Newsweek and its Guild-represented employees, announced in early June, includes a 3% bonus in the first year and annual 3% raises in the second and third. The agreement also clarifies and improves seniority rights during layoffs; sets a limit on the use of unpaid interns and raises salaries for paid interns; and rejects a proposal that would have allowed company-scheduled vacations.

S&P employees ratify 5-year pact

Guild-represented employees of Standard & Poor's ratified a five-year contract June 23, 275-10, after 15 months of negotiations. The pact includes wage increases of 3.75% in each of the first three years, retroactive to April 1, 2005, and annual increases of 3.5% in 2008 and 2009. It also compromises on a company effort to restrict employees' stock trading, requiring that shares be held 35 days before they can be sold for a profit; the company had demanded a 60-day holding period.



Evy Dubrow

Evy Dubrow, labor legend, dies at 95

Fabled labor lobbyist Evelyn "Evy" Dubrow died of a heart attack June 20 at the age of 95. The lead lobbyist for half a century for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and its successor, UNITE, Dubrow studied journalism at New York University, worked as a reporter for the Paterson (N.J.) Morning Call and was one of the earliest members of the American Newspaper Guild, her first union. Her many accomplishments included being a founding organizer of Americans for Democratic Action and of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, being instrumental in the 1970 creation of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the 1991 passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, and in leading the Vietnam-era campaign to lower the voting age to 18. In 1999, she was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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News round-up

'Kentucky River' could swamp workers

Union members across the U.S. demonstrated the week of July 10 over three cases currently before the National Labor Relations Board that could bar eight million workers from belonging to unions. Known collectively as "Kentucky River," the three cases feature an attempt by employers to broaden significantly the definition of "supervisors," nearly doubling the number of such employees. Further fueling organized labor's anger has been the NLRB's refusal to hold hearings on the issue. A decision is expected by September.

Labor Dept. increasingly loses its way

The U.S. Dept. of Labor continues shifting its focus away from defending workers and toward greater oversight of labor unions. A House Appropriations subcommittee has taken a \$10.2 million bite out of the proposed budget for next year's wage and hour enforcement, reducing it to a level 6.1% lower than when George Bush took office. It also approved a 12.1% budgetary increase for the Office of Labor Management Standards, which enforces new financial reporting and disclosure rules for unions, raising total funding for that effort by 49.6% since fiscal 2001. Meanwhile, the number of wage-related cases filed in federal courts has doubled since 2000, with most involving overtime claims, creating one of the fastest-growing legal battlefronts between workers and employers.

Staff, money cuts create EEOC backlog

Thanks to a smaller staff and shrinking budget, the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is losing ground in enforcing civil rights laws in the workplace. The EEOC is expected to have a backlog of 47,516 charges of employment discrimination next fiscal year, up from an estimated 39,061 this year and 33,562 in 2005, according to the American Federation of Government Employees. The agency's full-time staff of 2,343 has shrunk by more than 19% since 2001, according to the Office of Personnel Management.

AFL-CIO to sink \$1 billion in New Orleans

The AFL-CIO has launched a 7-year, \$1 billion reinvestment program for New Orleans and parts of the Gulf Coast, tapping money, in three federation investment trusts. The initiative, designed to bring back high-wage jobs to the ruined city, includes \$250 million to build or rehabilitate multifamily housing; \$100 million for commercial and economic development, especially in hotels; \$100 million to be invested in health care facilities and hospital construction; and \$250 million for low-cost home mortgages.

Ralph's acknowledges it broke the law

Approximately 17,000 unionized employees of the Ralph's grocery chain in Southern California will share approximately \$50 million, following its guilty plea in an out-of-court settlement of a state lawsuit. The agreement gives money to workers locked out by Ralph's during the Southern California grocery struggle of 2003-2004, when the chain broke conspiracy and identity fraud laws by hiring 300 of the locked-out workers for other stores under assumed names. Ralph's also agreed to pay a \$20 million fine for breaking numerous laws.

Cognitive dissonance on CEO pay

The people who decide how much to pay corporate executives just don't see eye-to-eye with the people who actually own those corporations. According to a recently released report by consulting firm Watson Wyatt Worldwide, two-thirds of corporate board members believe that U.S.-style executive pay and perks have contributed to company achievement—but only one-fourth of institutional investors share that view, and nearly all believe that executives at most U.S. companies are overpaid. In 2005, the average U.S. chief executive officer was paid 821 times as much as a worker earning the minimum wage of \$5.15 an hour—a level that hasn't changed since 1997.

Does your boss suck? Spill the beans!

Got a bad boss? Working America, a community affiliate of the AFL-CIO for workers who don't have a union, wants to know and is giving away prizes for the juiciest details—starting with a week-long vacation in a resort condominium and \$1,000 for airfare. All you need do is visit www.workingamerica.org/badboss and submit your tale, as well as vote for your favorite. Prizes will be awarded each week through Aug. 10, and the grand prize vacation will go to the worst of the worst chosen from the five finalists' stories.

Library of Congress exhibits Herblock

Approximately 40 original cartoon drawings by Pulitzer Prize-winning political cartoonist Herbert Block, more widely known as Herblock, are on exhibition at the Library of Congress through Jan. 20. "Enduring Outrage: Editorial Cartoons by Herblock," covers most of the presidential administrations from the 1940s through the 1990s, as well as six major themes of lasting importance to Herblock, including the environment, ethics, extremism, the Middle East, privacy/security and war. The exhibit is on view from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Mondays through Saturdays, in the Southwest Gallery of the Thomas Jefferson Building.

McClatchy's plans fall in place—more or less

As predicted, the sale of their newspaper company to McClatchy Co. was approved by Knight Ridder's shareholders June 26, who voted 97% in favor. McClatchy promptly moved forward with its plans to sell 12 of the 32 newspapers it acquired, but the hand-off has not proceeded as smoothly as planned.

Even before McClatchy's acquisition was consummated, the Dept. of Justice had announced it needs more time to review the antitrust implications of the sale of three Knight Ridder properties in California, the San Jose Mercury News, the Monterey Herald and the Contra Costa Times. The three newspapers and their various subsidiaries were to be acquired by MediaNews in a complicated transaction that involves its largest regional rival, the San Francisco Chronicle.

But the prospect of a bothersome delay turned into outright challenge July 13, when prominent businessman Clint Reilly filed an antitrust lawsuit to block the transfer. Reilly six years ago similarly attempted to block the Hearst Corp. from acquiring the Chronicle after it paid a local publisher to take the San Francisco Examiner off its hands. Named as defendants in his latest lawsuit are MediaNews and two of its partners, Gannett and Stephens Media Group, as well as Hearst.

While legal complications are overshadowing the California properties, the financial burden McClatchy is assuming has clouded its fortunes on Wall Street. Standard & Poor's Rating Service downgraded the company's credit rating one notch the day after the Knight Ridder shareholder vote, although it remains at investment grade. And McClatchy's shareholders continued to vote with their feet, driving the stock to a five-year low June 27, down 26.6% since the company announced the deal March 13.

By comparison, the S&P publishing index—which tracks newspaper share prices—had fallen approximately 5% since the beginning of the year. The drop

means Knight Ridder's shareholders are getting nearly \$500 million less for their company than initially expected because the purchase is being financed through a combination of cash and McClatchy stock.

Meanwhile, McClatchy announced it had found a buyer for the last of the 12 newspapers it is unloading. The Times Leader in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. is being bought by the paper's former publisher, Richard Connor, and a group of local investors. The announcement means all 12 papers are going to non-publicly held companies; it also means the TNG-CWA-backed bids from Yucaipa Cos. were completely shut out.

While MediaNews struggles to take possession in California, the sale of the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News to a group of local businessmen in that city closed as planned June 29. The occasion was celebrated by the new owners and their employees with champagne, a noontime pep rally, free hoagies, Eagles cheerleaders and singing Mummies, as virtually everyone at the two newspapers got swept up in the hope that a debilitating penny-pinching age had ended.

Indeed, although viewed with suspicion by some staffers because of his history as a heavy-handed public relations consultant, new CEO Brian Tierney seemed to go out of his way to assure employees that his primary concern is that of restoring the newspapers' journalistic luster. He also promised a \$5 million print, billboard and broadcast advertising campaign to promote the papers, as well as new promotion and subscription drives.

But the real test of the new owners will come later this summer, when the newspapers' contracts with the Philadelphia Guild and the Teamsters expire at the end of August.

Although Knight Ridder is now history, its former chairman and chief executive, Tony Ridder, has a second life—on McClatchy's board of directors.

As Tribune twists in wind, others are second-guessing

With Knight Ridder consigned to history's dustbin, the search is on for the next publicly-held newspaper company to topple. "Maybe Gannett," speculated Jon Fine, Business Week columnist. "To a lesser extent, possibly Journal Register."

But while Fine concluded that there probably won't be a second act any time soon, Tribune Co. is still teetering and others are busy trying to slim down. The Belo-owned Dallas Morning News, for example, announced a voluntary buyout program for its non-unionized newsroom staff June 26, even as it attempts to beef up its internet operations. Thus far, there are no indications the company plans the same for the Providence Journal, whose employees are Guild-represented.

Dow Jones, meanwhile, said it is laying off 23 IAPE-represented employees in finance operations as it outsources their jobs to IBM. It also is axing eight unionized employees in customer service—and eliminating more than 90 positions at its non-unionized plant in Chicopee, Mass., according to IAPE president Steve Yount. The layoffs were announced as Dow Jones also said it is forming a company-wide task force to reassess the way it delivers news across all its print and online properties, raising the spectre of additional staff cuts.

It is Tribune Co., however, whose outlook is most troubled. Following its announcement of a \$2 billion stock buyback and a challenge to that plan from the Chandler Trusts, now the company's largest single shareholder, only 85% of the offering was subscribed. Forty-five million shares were tendered, or eight million fewer than the company was hoping to acquire. Management subsequently announced it will buy an additional 20 million shares on the open market in an effort to retire 25% of the stock.

But the Chandler Trusts, which now hold approximately 14.3% of Tribune, have continued to insist that there are better ways to increase share value—including a possible dismantling of the company. That insistence has sparked expressions of interest from various potential buyers. Among them: Ronald Burkle, whose

Yucaipa Cos. investment firm was enlisted by TNG-CWA in its attempt to make worker-friendly bids for the dozen Knight Ridder papers sold by McClatchy, has indicated an interest in buying the non-unionized Los Angeles Times.

Also high on the list of potential bidders for Tribune properties is the Abell Foundation, which was started by the families that once owned the Sun newspapers in Baltimore. According to a story in the Sun, Robert C. Embry Jr., president of the foundation, said it has called the paper's owners once a year for about a decade to see if they would sell. Until now, the answer has always been "no."

Thus far, however, Tribune has maintained its course while resorting to traditional cost-cutting maneuvers to maintain some semblance of financial equilibrium. Earlier this month it said it is "restructuring" its foreign bureaus, a move that includes closing the Sun's South Africa and Moscow bureaus within 18 months. The company also will close Newsday bureaus in Beirut and Islamabad. The Sun, which sent its first correspondent overseas in 1887 and which still had eight foreign bureaus just a decade ago, will be reduced to one correspondent in Jerusalem—writing for the entire chain.

The flagship Chicago Tribune also is taking its licks, announcing it will eliminate approximately 120 positions, 40 of which are currently vacant. How many slots in the non-unionized newsroom will be cut won't be decided until later this summer.

But such belt-tightening is a mere blip against the backdrop of a \$2 billion stock buyback—a buyback financed by borrowing that will increase Tribune's debt to nearly \$6 billion. While the Chandler family has been criticized for tactics that some see as too self-serving—principally because of its efforts to avoid a tax hit—it has made one compelling point: once Tribune has mortgaged itself to the hilt, where will it find the resources to actually implement a corporate growth strategy?

Barring a convincing answer to that question, the Chandlers may yet succeed in turning Tribune into a Knight Ridder sequel.

Resolutions

[All resolutions are published here as adopted at the TNG-CWA Sector Conference in Las Vegas, July 7-8.]

FACILITATING COMMUNICATION

CWA locals and leaders need the ability to quickly communicate with each other on issues of mobilizing, dealing with common employers and identifying common problems. It is inefficient and time consuming to require locals to communicate with each other by contacting district or sector officials who in turn relay information to other locals through their district or sector counterparts.

The TNG-CWA Sector Conference applauds the CWA Secretary Treasurer's decision to prepare and distribute annually to each CWA local a directory of locals and districts, containing office addresses, phone numbers, e-mail addresses, and names of local officers and staff.

INFORMATION TO MEMBERS

Union officials and boards work for our members, and members will benefit by having more and timely information about the activity of their union especially at the highest levels. The Executive Council, committees and district councils of TNG-CWA should report to their members in a timely and accessible manner.

The Executive Council, committees and district councils shall, and locals are encouraged to, make available to members accounts of the meetings within a few weeks of the meeting.

The Executive Council, committees and district councils of TNG-CWA should discuss policies to protect sensitive information, individuals and strategic discussions.

IN MEMORIAM: MAY 2005 - JULY 2006

Larry McInnis, 1931 - 2006

Larry McInnis, who died in May just days short of his 75th birthday, led the Montreal Newspaper Guild for nearly two decades. Journalism was Larry's second career, one interspersed with distinguished military service. He brought the discipline learned there to the way he organized and ran his local. Larry was crucial in building the local from nothing

CHANGE FOR THE FUTURE: UNION SUNSHINE

The business of the union is the business of its members. CWA members, with rare exceptions, have the right to expect the officers and Executive Board of their union to conduct union business in a manner open to the rank and file.

Openness strengthens the union and permits informed discussion of issues by rank-and-file members and local leaders, allowing them to advise their elected leadership.

In the spirit of openness that is more important than ever as our union gets ready for the future, the TNG-CWA sector conference calls on the CWA Executive Board to affirm that its meetings are open to CWA members. The Executive Committee may go into executive session to discuss strategy involving pending and ongoing litigation, personnel matters, strategy involving collective bargaining and potential and ongoing organizing campaigns.

The TNG-CWA sector conference applauds the CWA Executive Board's recent decision that minutes of meetings be distributed to locals within 30 days of the meeting and maintain a permanent archive of Executive Board minutes on the CWA web site. The sector conference urges the CWA Executive Board to maintain this policy in the spirit of openness.



to a membership of 700. The closing of one of the city's major papers cut that to 63, but Larry doggedly rebuilt the local to 400 members. Before retiring in 1998, he was a pioneer of TNG Canada, which he served as eastern vice-president. He left a lasting impression on both the Montreal local and the Canadian labour movement.

Teri Currie

The Newspaper Guild-CWA of Albany mourns the loss of our friend and colleague, Teri Currie.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE & ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE

Las Vegas, July 2006
(all numbers are pre-audit)

SECTION I: FINANCE REPORT

The Guild Sector of the Communications Workers of America has spent \$1,887,465, or \$152,689 more than the \$1,734,776 budgeted for the eleven-month period (ending April 30) of this fiscal year (8.8% over). Expenses were \$113,508 over budget for full-time staffers. Part-time salaries and expenses (including all lost-time and expenses for committees and E.C. meetings) was \$18,609 under budget. Supplies and printing were \$12,022 over budget. Postage and freight is \$43,246 over budget for the period.

The Segregated Fund has a current balance of \$10,545 as of May 31, 2006. The Guild's Mobilization and Defense Fund has \$15,492 in checking and \$2,378,897 invested, for a total of \$2,394,389 on May 31, 2006. Duff and Phelps and Ownership Associates (ESOP consultants on K-R sale) received \$119,614 as of May 31, 2006, although the final payments will more than double that amount. Canadian Media Guild received \$77,661 in assistance with mobilization prior to the CBC lockout. The Puerto Rico Guild received \$100,000 for help with legal costs from previous campaigns. \$65,000 was used in Youngstown for a recirculation campaign, and the Youngstown Newspaper Guild received \$5,274 for unpaid bills related to the strike. The Guild's severance fund has a total of \$272,525. The Irving Leuchter Fund holds \$2,648. The Barr Scholarship holds \$2,176. The Anti-Discrimination Fund holds \$38,528. The Executive Council is considering requests from the Boston Newspaper Guild, the Rochester Newspaper Guild and IAPF.

Performance for the Guild Mobilization and Defense Fund investments, with Manning & Napier, was 7.53% for the most recent 12 months ending May 31, 2006, and 6.44% since inception on Dec. 15, 2004. Asset allocation was 50.31% equity, 48.25% bonds and 1.44% in cash.

SECTION II: MEMBERSHIP

The CWA Membership Department reports TNG-CWA Sector membership at 31,095 for the month of June 2006. District One—16,344; District Thirteen—1,834; District Two—2,133; District Three—983; District Four—2,791; District Six—484; District Seven—3,432; and District Nine—3,094. Membership by Guild Regions: Canada East, 6,808; Canada West, 642 (does not include CMG members who vote within the district in which they live); Region One, 4,121; Region Two, 3,116; Region Three, 2,648; Region Four, 4,119; Region Five, 5,475; Region Six, 3,240 and News Media Guild, 926 (who vote in the district in which they live).

In our last round of bargaining, Teri joined three of her colleagues at the table to discuss our proposal for an adoption benefit. She overcame her natural quietness to discuss why adoptive parents could use some help. She discussed the long, difficult process of adopting each of her two daughters, the frequent meetings with a social worker, the lawyer's fees she had to pay. It took eight months or so for each of her children.

But she explained it was well worth the struggle.

"My life is very rich, and I have no regrets," she told bargainers from both sides.

They were powerful words then. They are heartbreaking words now.

The sudden news that Teri had stomach cancer, and her rapid decline in health, left her colleagues, especially in the advertising art department, stunned and saddened. Each day they worked alongside Teri's empty desk, her photographs—she was an avid photographer—served as a vivid reminder of their friend.

We anticipate an improvement in membership reported, as several delinquent locals begin to work to catch up.

SECTION III: 2006-2007 BUDGET

Personnel Exp.		
Line 1	FT Salaries (O&S)	\$1,293,230
Line 2	FT Other	263,860
Line 3	Employee Benefits	296,956
Line 4	Employee Taxes	142,530

Admin Unit Exp.		
Line 1	Full-time travel	275,132
Line 2	Part-time sal. & exp.	60,480
Line 3	Office Operations	161,753
Line 4	Rent	94,000
Line 5	Legal	349,000
Line 6	All Other	6,234

Total **\$2,943,176**

SECTION IV: SALARIES

Guild President: Linda Foley	\$136,137.91
Guild Secretary-Treasurer:	
Bernie Lunzer	115,521.10
Administrative Assistant/Organizing:	
Eric Geist	104,077.17
Administrative Assistant/Guild Coordinator:	
Kathleen Price	73,799.13
Executive Secretary Contracts Committee:	
Carrie Biggs-Adams	86,009.60
Director of Contract Administration:	
Kathy Mulvey Brennan	86,009.60
Editor/Guild Reporter:	
Andy Zipser	86,009.60
Director of Human Rights:	
Debbie Thomas	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Mike Burrell	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Darren Carroll	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Bruce Meachum	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Bruce Nelson	88,414.25
Sector Rep. Jim Schaufenbil	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Jay Schmitz	86,009.60
Sector Rep. Marian Needham	86,009.60

***Two Sector Representative jobs have been vacated for the last two years. The Guild's web support/tech job has been unfilled since September 2004. The reduced TNG/CWA staff has had a negative impact on the Sector's ability to provide service to locals. The Sector Conference recommends that CWA authorize the Sector to hire two Sector Representatives and one web support/tech during the fiscal year.**

SECTION V:

TNG's Sector Executive Council shall prepare an analysis of expenses associated with TNG/CWA Canada's membership in TNG, and a report concerning TNG/CWA Canada's position in TNG. Such analysis and report shall be submitted to the 2007 Sector Conference for discussion and approval by the delegates.

Teri's words at the bargaining table, along with those of her colleagues, won that adoption benefit. Because of her, Times Union employees who wish to give a child a home filled with love will get help when they choose to adopt. It's a small part of her legacy—her daughters by far are the most important part. We will miss you, Teri, taken from us far too young. But we are so glad you were part of our lives. We will never forget.

(There followed the names of 100+ other Guild members.)

Mixed bag for Canadians

Continued from page 1

representation would be different. How? Who knows, and we would have to work that out."

Despite that lack of clarity, the fact sheet stressed TNG Canada's fidelity to the Guild, and Amber devoted the lion's share of his welcoming remarks at the sector conference to assure delegates that the Canadian contingent is "as loyal to TNG today as in 1995," when TNG Canada was created. But the problem, he explained, is that CWA is not structured in a way that recognizes fundamental differences between the U.S. and Canada, with their separate governments, labor laws and union cultures. And while TNG Canada has doubled in size since 1995, Amber added, it won't continue growing if it is perceived in Canada as an American appendage.

When pressed by delegates about the lack of prior disclosure of the autonomy discussions, Amber and Foley both stressed that the changes are merely structural and that none require amending either the TNG or CWA constitutions. "None of this was done to hide anything," Amber added, explaining that he hadn't felt he could share the memorandum of understanding until the two CWA district vice presidents had signed off—which they had promised to do later that day.

While many TNG-CWA delegates were not mollified by such explanations, most also appeared supportive of the concept of greater Canadian autonomy—it was the lack of details that caused the most consternation. Indeed, the memorandum is so vague about its financial and other consequences for TNG-CWA that the Finance and Administration Committee approved the following amendment to the finance report:

"TNG's Sector Executive Council shall prepare an analysis of expenses associated with TNG/CWA Canada's membership in TNG, and a report concerning TNG/CWA Canada's position in TNG. Such analysis and report shall be submitted to the 2007 Sector Conference for discussion and approval by the delegates."

Conference delegates approved the report as amended.

(A second amendment, which would have required the Guild's U.S. members to vote on the agreement, was defeated in committee on a tie vote. The agreement, however, must be ratified by the Guild's Canadian members.)

Having won over their Guild peers, the Canadian contingent initially found the going easier at the CWA convention, where a floor motion to seat the TNG Canada director on CWA's executive board received relatively easy approval. But a mere 24 hours later, a delegate who had voted for the motion said he had reconsidered and was moving to table the issue indefinitely. The ensuing uproar so divided the convention that it ultimately went to a cliff-hanger of a roll-call vote, 218,571 to table vs. 211,083 against.

Canadian reaction, so jubilant Monday evening, turned into bitter confusion Tuesday. "I can't even tell you what they did—I don't understand what happened," said Scott Edmonds, one of two Canadian vice presidents on the TNG-CWA executive board. Blaming the reversal on "some little cabal" within CWA, he added, "They essentially turned around a democratically-reached decision that had been reached on the convention floor."

That theme was echoed by Amber, who observed, "Certain powerful people in the union decided they didn't want it—that's what really happened." But TNG Canada will file a formal appeal, he added, and if that fails—as foreshadowed by O'Melveny's letter—it will revisit the issue at next year's CWA convention. That convention, ironically, is to be held in Toronto.

Meanwhile, a July 17 press release from TNG Canada acknowledges creation of the new Canadian Region and its "full autonomy for all governance, policy and operational decisions." Nonetheless, it adds, the Canadian delegates "are unanimous in their resolve to correct the injustice that has occurred, and for Canadian members to assume their rightful role among the leaders of this union."

Jeffrey Rechenbach, CWA's executive vice president, countered that creating the Canadian region "moves us forward in further recognizing the distinct issues and needs facing our Canadian members." While the issue of board representation created "an emotional debate," he added, it "was handled in complete accordance with the democratic processes which have historically insured that every delegate has a voice and a vote in determining the policies and structure of our union."

The CWA executive board, Rechenbach said, "is committed to looking at a whole range of issues regarding structure and union diversity for future convention action."

CWA Resolutions

Delegates to the CWA Convention adopted 12 resolutions placing the union on record as:

- adopting a "ten step plan to build bargaining power through an army of stewards and other leaders equipped and ready for the future."
- adopting "the Executive Board's proposal for establishment of a Strategic Industries Fund."
- working "to build grassroots support for universal coverage and Medicare for All" and for developing "a tool kit for locals to use to hold elected representatives and candidates accountable for taking bold action now to assure quality health care coverage" for all.
- officially joining "the National Coalition for a Cesar A Chavez National Holiday, and in so doing, . . . working together to ensure that the legacy of Cesar E. Chavez is . . . celebrated . . . with an official holiday."
- going "on record as condemning the Washington Post for its actions" toward the Mailers' Union/CWA Local 14201 and pledging its support for the local.
- "wholeheartedly" supporting and working toward "the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to secure the promise of this key civil rights law for years to come."
- resolving "to support to the fullest extent its IUE-CWA Industrial Division and work with the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Council for fairer trade policies."
- fighting "for immigration reform that secures our borders and includes a legalization process providing a path to citizenship for all workers presently here," opposing "the expansion of 'guest worker' programs" and working "to reduce and eliminate the H-1B visa program."
- launching "a national 'Speed Matters: High-Speed Internet for All' campaign" to "promote action by the federal government to adopt a national broadband policy that will result in deployment of universal, affordable high-speed network of at least 10 megabytes per second (mpbs) to all Americans by 2010."
- standing "behind the Mesaba Airlines flight attendants in their quest to maintain liveable wages and benefits."
- pursuing "formation of CWA State Councils where none exist today in order to strengthen all sides of the CWA Triangle."
- "condemning the National Captioning Institute, supporting striking local members and urging the NLRB to conduct a complete and open hearing of the issue."

Memorandum of Understanding Regarding CWA Operations in Canada

The Communications Workers of America is an international union seeking to unite workers it represents to improve their working conditions and standards by building alliances and pan-world organizations to combat the power of large multi-national corporations and the evils of "globalization." As a progressive, large and important union the CWA is at the forefront of this fight: we belong to, and in many cases, lead many international union associations and industry groups.

The underlying principle of building a truly international union must be a solid partnership between the Canadian and American sides of the CWA. The border may separate the rules under which labor operates but it should not stop all areas of cooperation and help between us. Our joint focus must be serving our members and taking on the multi-national companies that are well established in both countries. We have differing experiences, approaches and best practices that can be shared for the common good.

Toward that end we must move to a new CWA structure that builds our partnership. The CWA in Canada should operate within a

structural framework which recognizes its own national context instead of the situation now where its membership is divided between two districts dominated by U.S. members. Why? For starters there are different legal and political frameworks in both countries. One example: Canadian members are under the labor jurisdiction of 11 different governments (the federal and 10 provincial ones) none of which have anything to do with the U.S. Department of Labor. The rules for organizing, dispute resolution, and work stoppages are widely different and more favorable to labor in Canada than in the U.S.

The Canadian side of the CWA is small in numbers now but has good potential for growth. Through organizing during the past few years it has grown at a much faster pace than other areas within the CWA. Belonging to a truly international union with more Canadian members and presence will make CWA in Canada even more attractive to potential new members. We have more than doubled in size over the past ten years and expect our growth to continue.

Building a strong truly international union will take time, goodwill, experiment and care. But to

get to a union whose traditions, culture and symbols fairly represent our members in our two neighboring but different countries is a goal worth aiming for.

1. In order to accomplish this task within the existing governance structure of the CWA guided by the Constitution, the Communications Workers of America shall approve the authority for TNG-CWA Canada to act with full autonomy to make all governance, policy and operational decisions affecting Canadian members in accordance with the Constitution of the CWA through a Canadian Region. TNG-CWA Canada will continue as an autonomous entity within The Newspaper Guild and the CWA.

2. The President with the concurrence of the Vice Presidents of District 1 and District 7 and The Newspaper Guild shall assign to the elected national Director of TNG-CWA Canada all administrative and constitutional obligations. The Director shall act in the best interests of the Union in accordance with the CWA Constitution.

3. The Canadian Region will be financially self-sufficient. Per capita from Canadian members will remain in Canada, where they will be administered by TNG-CWA

Canada to fund its programs and operations. TNG-CWA Canada and its locals will continue to participate in the Member Relief Fund. TNG-CWA Canada and its locals will continue to participate in the CWA Defense Fund. The CWA Executive Board shall continue to approve all expenditures from the Defense Fund consistent with Fund rules.

4. Arrangements for TNG-CWA Canada's expenses for its membership in TNG are to be agreed upon by the two groups as will decisions concerning the position of TNG-CWA Canada within the Sector, including any shared costs and any Canadian contributions to CWA beyond the MRF and Defense Fund. TNG-CWA Canada will participate in the appropriate strategic industry funds once they are established by the CWA.

5. All financial and other records pertaining to the Locals of TNG-CWA Canada will be maintained and administered by TNG-CWA Canada's head office. TNG-CWA Canada will finance and run its own legal program for its Locals as is done now through the CWA legal program. TNG-CWA Canada will provide an annual audit to the CWA Secretary-Treasurer. TNG-

CWA Canada will work with CWA Secretary-Treasurer to verify voting strengths in international elections.

6. TNG-CWA Canada members will continue to have all rights of membership in the CWA and participate in all appropriate CWA elections, including those for the TNG-CWA Executive Council, IUE-CWA Executive Board and CWA international officers. TNG-CWA Canada members will be eligible to sit on any of the various committees set up by CWA.

7. Any formal disputes between members and their Locals will be heard by the Director of TNG-CWA Canada and, if not resolved, will be forwarded to the CWA President under the same appeal process available to any CWA member.

8. The CWA Executive Board shall, as it does now, approve all strikes on the effective recommendation of the Director of TNG-CWA Canada.

9. This Agreement shall require ratification by the Canadian membership.

10. An appropriate transition period shall be established to ensure the effective operation of TNG-CWA Canada under this new system.

CBC must fight privatization threat

By Lise Lareau
President, Canadian Media Guild

It is time to get Canadians excited again about public broadcasting, instead of simply focusing on one problematic programming decision. There is no question that CBC TV is taking a direction that should be troubling to Canadians—and is worthy of a national debate.

Our public broadcasting network is now completely obsessed with ratings and revenue targets, to the point that it measures the performance of journalists who create news and current affairs shows according to audience numbers. CBC TV has stooped to using employees and audiences to make money. And that means it is not treating viewers respectfully, as citizens with a desire to know and to be engaged in the important issues of our day. It is abandoning innovative and, yes, distinctive programming that doesn't

garner one million eyeballs right away.

"This is Wonderland" and "Da Vinci's City Hall" are gone, victims of the quest for ratings-above-all-else. "ZeD TV" and "Morgan Waters," two critically-acclaimed shows for younger audiences, also were axed.

For now, CBC TV runs on a slightly different business model from the private TV networks in Canada. A big part of CBC's government subsidy comes directly from a parliamentary appropriation; therein lies the kernel of public television. Private networks, on the other hand, make do quite nicely with subsidies composed of grants from the Canadian Television Fund and tax credits, as well as from regulations that allow them to simulcast U.S. fare and reap the commercial rewards.

But it doesn't take much imagination in this political climate to figure out that the more CBC goes down the commercial route, the more likely—and quickly—it will be pri-

vatzed altogether. As the National Citizens Coalition, former home of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, asked this week, if CBC TV acts like a private network, why should it receive any parliamentary appropriation? CBC brass has not responded to that question yet. For Canadians' sake, and particularly for the sake of cultural workers in this country, I hope they have a very good answer.

If CBC TV goes the way of a fully commercial network, that will be the end of English Canadian programming on the public airwaves in prime time. The private networks have made it plain as day. It is not profitable to run Canadian shows, even subsidized ones, when you can simply, and more cheaply, buy the license to run an American show that will draw more viewers and garner four times the amount of advertising dollars.

So, instead of just one American reality show preempting the National, the CBC schedule could easily be filled with crime

procedurals (CSI and its clones) and reality shows.

We must never forget that it is actually possible to have a real public broadcaster in Canada. A Senate committee has endorsed the idea. Most Canadians say they want it. Many other countries have one.

But defeatism will not help us.

The NDP, the Liberals and the Bloc Québécois all voted in May in favour of a motion to "maintain or enhance" parliamentary funding for public broadcasting. The Conservatives voted against the motion and have said nothing of substance on their plans for the CBC. Canadians deserve to know what our government has in mind.

In the meantime, the people in this country who support the idea of public broadcasting, and can imagine the possibilities beyond the current reality, should make their views known whenever and wherever they get a chance.

Labor's strength is in its own hands

[Excerpted from a July 7 speech to Guild Sector Conference delegates by CWA Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling.]

If the past nine years have proven anything, it's this: The Newspaper Guild and CWA are made for each other. We're both in the business of communicating with the public. We're both in the information age industries of the future. We're both on the cutting edge in representing the white collar, professional workforce. And we're both deeply committed to the principles of social and economic justice, equal opportunity, and solidarity.

All of us know that simple equity demands that we shatter glass ceilings wherever they exist, advance affirmative action and go the extra mile to ensure that our gov-

erning body reflects our membership. This is a matter of morality, of fairness, of justice—of democracy.

That's true of any organization. But it's all the more important in a labor union, because inclusion and diversity are what we are supposed to be all about. Diversity is critically important not only for principle but also for a practical reason: it makes us stronger, more effective and more powerful.

The broader the perspectives we bring to the Executive Board room, the smarter the decisions that emerge from it will be. The more our leaders reflect our members, the more responsive to their needs we will be. The greater the range of backgrounds and experiences we use to guide our union, the swifter we will move toward our destination.

That's why CWA Ready for the Future

includes language pledging to, and I quote: *Bring to the 2007 convention a proposal on Executive Board structure that includes specific proposals on increasing Board diversity.* And that's exactly what we are going to do.

I chair the Executive Board committee on adding more diversity to the board. In the next few weeks, three additional members of the Executive Board will be appointed to serve on this committee. The National Women's Committee and the Committee on Equity will each appoint two members.

Over the next year, the committee will meet regularly, develop options aimed at increasing Executive Board diversity and submit a report, with proposals, for consideration by the 2007 convention.

Together, we will make it happen. On that, you have my word.

The challenges we face today are even greater than they were in the early 1980s. For one thing, we face a president who makes Ronald Reagan look like a moderate, and a Congress headed not by the likes of Tip O'Neill but hard-core ideologues and big business cronies trained in the Tom DeLay strategy of scorched-earth extremism.

We face economic trends, including rampant outsourcing, that pose greater threats than any that existed 20 years ago. We face shrinking union density in many key industries.

There's no beating around the bush, so to speak: we face a threat to our very survival. . . . But in response to all these challenges and threats, the words of Heywood Brown ring louder than ever, and I quote: "The strength of a labor group remains within its own hands."

Sisters and brothers, it's up to us.

Union split: 'sliced bread' vs. 'the box'

By Thomas Palley
AFL-CIO Chief Economist (retired)

For the past year there has been a widening split within the ranks of American organized labor, and this split risks hardening as the new Change to Win (CTW) coalition increasingly takes on the complexion of a rival labor federation.

Thus far, the argument has focused on union organizing efforts and how unions should be structured. Yet, in many ways the split is without purpose because the AFL-CIO is already on the same page as the CTW coalition regarding these issues. This should surprise no one, since CTW leaders were powerful members of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council for the past decade, where they profoundly influenced federation policy.

In many regards the split is simply the result of frustration at an inability to reverse union decline. The tragedy is that the real issue remains out of focus on both sides (I'll make no friends here). That issue is the significance of economic policy and politics in union strategy. It is an issue that does not warrant a split, but it does warrant prime time and could even provide the frame for a galvanizing debate that jump-starts the entire union movement and changes national politics. This crucial debate can be framed as "sliced bread" versus "the box."

The sliced-bread strategic approach comes out of the Service Employees International Union, a major force within the CTW. Late last year, SEIU launched a "greatest idea since sliced bread" competition that asked ordinary Americans what

they thought were the most critically needed policy initiatives. The goal was to launch an unprecedented national conversation about how to strengthen the economy and improve life for working men and women.

The sliced-bread competition was jazzy and attention grabbing, reflecting the imaginative and innovative characteristics that distinguish SEIU. But sliced bread was much more than a one-time competition. It also was a statement about where unions should be headed. From the sliced-bread perspective, unions must find those economic initiatives that people want, are important, and are doable. The challenge is to work within the existing system, and find a new place for unions.

Such a view leads to talk of "partnering with our employers" and of unions taking over and organizing outsourcing. It posits that when it comes to globalization, there is no going back and unions must adapt innovatively to the new environment—the core parameters of the economic system are given, and unions have to live and work within those parameters. Only later, after unions have rebuilt themselves, can these parameters be re-visited and changed.

This framework contrasts with the box, a concept that has gradually emerged at the AFL-CIO and whose political implications are still being digested. The box depicts workers as boxed in on all sides by the new economic order. Imagine a square whose sides are labeled globalization (west), less-than-full employment (north), privatization and small government (east), and labor market flexibility (south). Private sector workers are pressured by globalization, which allows

corporations to put them in international competition with oppressed low-wage workers. Public sector workers are pressured by privatization, which places them in competition with private sector workers.

Both groups are pressed from north and south by less-than-full employment and labor market flexibility. Less-than-full employment is where the Federal Reserve enters, since it puts a floor to unemployment in the name of price stability. Labor market flexibility strips workers of employment protections and unemployment insurance, degrades the minimum wage and makes union organizing nearly impossible.

A box perspective leads to radically different conclusions than the sliced-bread view. The current system has unions running just to stay in place. As quickly as they organize new workers, companies ship existing union jobs offshore. Manufacturing was first to feel this, but in the future many parts of the service sector also will. From a box perspective, the problem is systemic and the challenge is to change the system—not to adapt to it.

Right now, corporations have workers boxed in. The challenge is to reverse the situation and put CEOs and corporations in the box, as did the institutional innovations of the New Deal. That task is easier said than done. Not only must the economics of corporate globalization be discredited, but new affirmative arguments for an alternative must also be put forward. Unions also must provide a compelling alternative to free market rhetoric and ideology, a task that has barely begun.

The CTW sliced bread and AFL-CIO box perspectives imply radically different

road maps. The former grudgingly accepts today's economic structure. Consequently, the policies that determine the structure of the economy and the economic ideas that drive these policies are not the key issue. Instead, organizing is, and the belief is that organizing can be successful regardless of structure. Moreover, since ideas and policy are not on the critical path, unions can even reduce engagement with Washington and party politics.

In stark contrast, the AFL-CIO box demands immediate system change, and that in turn requires new economic arguments that can change policy and politics. Organizing cannot succeed without this change because it is the structure of economic arrangements that is tearing the heart out of unions. Changing the economic policies that shape the economic structure is therefore squarely on the critical path. At the political level, it forces a profound intellectual break with the current Democratic Party elite because Rubinomics (the economics of the Clinton administration) is the box. This political strategy is dramatically different from reduced political engagement.

Where next? First, as of the moment the split looks to be festering. This is a tragedy. A head-to-head debate on these issues is needed, not a split within organized labor. Second, for the AFL-CIO the challenge is to break with the Democratic Party elite without splitting the party, as that could hand victory to Republicans whose version of the box is even more extreme. In effect, the AFL-CIO is dealing with an economic box within a political box.



LOOKING AHEAD

Rx for healthy Guild locals

By Bernie Lunzer, Secretary-Treasurer

[I originally wrote the following column in 1997. I'm reprising it now, with some modest changes, because I think it still asks the right questions. Moreover, the Guild's executive council and staff will be raising many of the same issues at the fall round of district council meetings, as part of our "healthy locals" initiative. This process is vital and a natural fit with CWA's Ready For the Future project.]

Is your local healthy? When put to the test, will its members stand together? The question has grown in importance as our employers use increasingly hostile tactics.

Finances are certainly one measure of health, and your local should have a strong defense fund. The TNG-CWA Constitution attempts to establish a benchmark for how much a local should have; many locals have gone beyond it. But I wouldn't assess the health of your local by its institutional status. The more important measures include how decisions are made, how information is shared and how people talk to each other.

Do you have regular executive committee or representative assembly meetings? Are they well attended? Many locals struggle with this. In most cases the number of people tending the local's day-to-day business is not large. Establish a number for how many people should be involved, then recruit them.

Do you have regular membership meetings? You're constitutionally required to have four per year. It's essential that you hold them, that people get proper notice and that they're run in a democratic fashion. Most, if not all, locals have low attendance at membership meetings. Unless an issue that affects them is being covered, most members will stay away. They'll say they are just too busy. Often they are. Note that contract ratification meetings, which have a direct impact on members, are well attended.

Does your local hold departmental meetings? Does your leadership hold smaller forums, addressing specific membership concerns? If you go to the members, meeting as close to their work area as possible, you can draw them out. Although it takes work, a series of smaller, focused meetings generally increases member involvement.

Do you have identifiable stewards and a mobilization structure? Most members don't know who their stewards are. Are stewards given training at least annually? A healthy local understands that getting and keeping stewards is critical. The best communication in any organization happens in one-on-one conversations. Stewards not only tell their co-workers what is happening, they also listen. This two-way dialogue is the backbone of a healthy local. Regular stewards' meetings should be places to share that information. A mobilization structure using a 1-to-20 ratio (mobilizer to member) is highly effective.

How are decisions made in your local? Are members made aware of upcoming decisions? Are they given information about choices being made? Are agendas for executive or representative assembly meetings posted in advance? In the worst case, one or

two people in a local make critical decisions without talking to anyone. They will tell you that people don't want to be involved, but the effort to create a full circle of leadership must be made. The true strength of a union comes from its diversity of viewpoints. Sharing decisions and reaching out for ideas is the hallmark of a healthy local.

Is information shared? Do your members see regular financial information? Members have a right to know the financial details about their local. Audit information should be shared with any and all members at least annually. Budgets should be approved at membership meetings. Some will argue they don't want to share this information with the employer. I've never seen a case where there weren't ways to share information with members and still keep it from the employer.

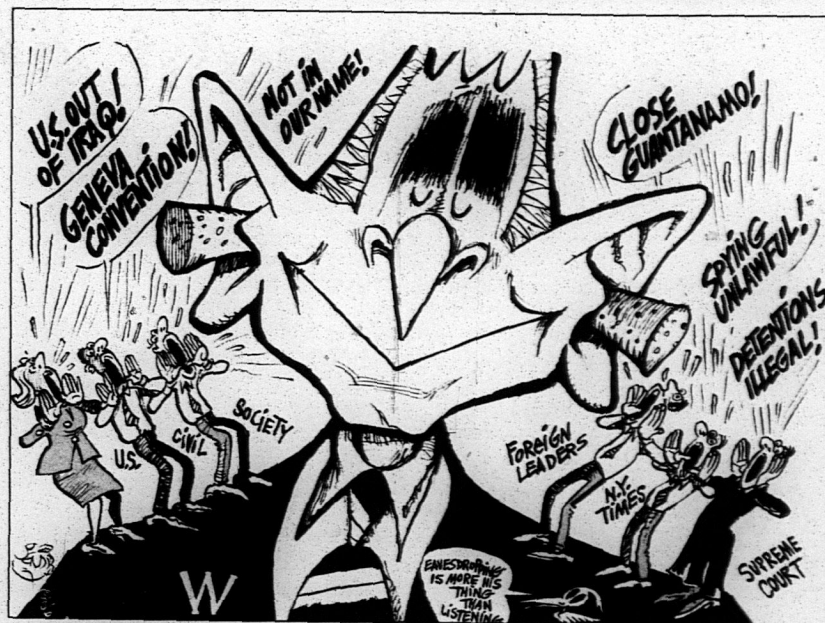
Do members see tentative agreements early enough to read and understand them? Bargaining is often a rollercoaster ride, sometimes with a dramatic conclusion. Agreements happen in a fast and furious fashion. Members should have time to review agreements and ask questions about their impact.

Does your local have a functioning grievance committee? A grievance committee reviews conflicts in the workplace and makes informed decisions about whether grievances are filed or pursued. Sharing this critical decision-making can be the best way to expand your leadership base. A monthly meeting, often attended by the potential grievants as well, is a strong building block to a healthy local. Grievance committee members often go on to be bargaining committee members because they have the best understanding of their contract's strengths and weaknesses.

Does anyone talk to new members? Are they invited into the union? People should be approached in their first week of employment. The Guild can play a critical role in providing information to new hires that companies don't. A workplace is a community, and caring about each other is what makes us want a union in the first place. Push your local to have a program that identifies new hires and makes certain they're talked to.

Are politics handled in a fair and open fashion? Or have they become petty, personal and vindictive? This is a difficult topic, but I've seen otherwise healthy locals drive members and potential members away with their bickering. Finding a healthy way to disagree, or to resolve differences, is necessary to a healthy local. How can we argue for fair treatment from the employer if we don't treat each other fairly? If your local has become a clique, you won't survive when the next challenge comes.

Finally, does your local have an organizing committee? Every local is required to have an organizing fund, sustained by at least one dollar per month per member. Committees should meet and set goals of identifying new organizing targets. Plans should be developed to make organizing as regular a part of local life as contract enforcement is. Under the CWA Constitution, locals should be using 10% of their resources on organizing.



Belligerence turns off young Guild members

By Dan Higgins
Albany Newspaper Guild

Delegates to The Newspaper Guild's Quad Council Meeting in Toledo, discussed plenty of important business in late May, but also made a surprising observation. Even in a room full of journalists and newspaper industry pros, it's still possible to "bury the lede."

The last order of business May 21, before everyone packed up and left the Seagate Convention Centre, included a rollicking discussion of the Guild's future and how, exactly, The Next Generation fits into it. But the topic that got everyone's lips moving was the Guild's image among younger and prospective members.

What's important, the NextGen members said, is for the Guild to display a more positive image to people who are not yet familiar with what it does. More to the point, the Guild must shed its image among young people of an organization of cranky, emotional co-workers who are quick to anger and not that quick to explain why.

I was among those NextGen members who presented this plea to our more experienced colleagues, and here's something close to what I said:

"We haven't been through the battles you all have. And maybe because of that, it's hard for us to understand why some members in our own locals automatically react to any disagreement or even difference of opinion with management with something like belligerence."

"Belligerence" seemed to be the provocative word in what proved to be an open and even heated discussion.

Our message was that while we support deep skepticism—and even cynicism—in dealing with management on our behalf, what's the point of getting so angry all the time? It turns people off.

We have all had discussions like this with our younger colleagues, at papers from Gary to Detroit to Buffalo and Albany. And even in buildings hundreds of miles apart, we've all heard people paint the Guild with the same broad brush: that Guild members, the

really active ones, are the men and women most likely to seem irrationally angry about something. Where our managers are acting with what appears to be icy calculation, our brothers and sisters in the Guild are sometimes literally yelling and throwing things.

This is not how to win friends and influence people.

We were nervous presenting this viewpoint to our more vintage colleagues. We didn't expect it to be a popular message. After all, who wants to hear from a bunch of "kids" (I'm not really a kid—and have a mortgage and receding hairline to prove it, thanks) who just joined the organization tell us that we're not happy enough? We weren't sure how this would go over.

But we were embraced.

One after another, Guild members talked about the things that shaped them and shaped their anger over years of fighting for the rights of their colleagues. And yet, they said, they recognized how legitimate anger might look a lot less savory to someone fresh out of college who until recently didn't know there even was a Guild.

The crowd kept us in front of the room for a half-hour, in what we thought would be a 10-minute presentation.

So what to do about this? "Think positive" seemed to be the take-away message. How can locals strut their stuff to younger members in a way that's not just reacting to a problem? One suggestion was for employee recognition programs run by locals—in-house journalism or customer service awards, for example. Other ideas included greater outreach on college campuses and in high schools.

Henry Holcomb, president of the Mid-Atlantic Council, closed the discussion by saying that the meeting had "buried the lede." The NextGen, discussion, he said, was long overdue and more productive than he could have hoped. It should have been at the top of the agenda, rather than the bottom.

Others said they hoped that the momentum and the discussion begun in Toledo would continue. As more people in their 20s and 30s enter the workforce and consider joining the Guild, it most certainly will.

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: August 11.)

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

TNG takes two steps forward

By Debbie Thomas
TNG-CWA Human Rights Director

The National Association of Hispanic Journalists held the first of this summer's minority journalist conventions, June 14-17 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The Guild had a booth this year, and as providence would have it, we were in a well-trafficked area, so I ended up fielding numerous inquiries about Guild membership.

Some convention-goers were interested in associate membership and some wanted to know if the Guild has anything to offer freelancers, but others wanted to know how they could benefit from full Guild membership. Many of the seasoned journalists who stopped by knew about the Guild and the benefits of union membership and thought we were a welcome addition to the job fair.

Convention highlights included a controversial satellite interview with Ricardo Alarcon, president of Cuba's national assembly, by former New York Times reporter Mirta Ojito. The newsmakers' luncheon on immigration reform, meanwhile, featured New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, CNN's Lou Dobbs, former Mexican foreign minister Jorge Castaneda and David Beckman, president of Bread for the World—a grouping of disparate opinions and attitudes that made for a lively discussion.

Separately, the NAHJ announced it has formed a partnership with The New York Times to establish a training program in journalism for Latino students.

On the home front, meanwhile, the Guild's newly formed Human Rights and Equity Committee met at the sector conference in Las Vegas and crafted its mission statement, which reads as follows:

"The goal of the TNG-CWA Human Rights and Equity Committee is to increase participation of equity-seeking groups at all levels of the union and in all leadership positions at the Local, National and International levels and as delegates to the District Council, Representative Councils and the Sector Conference. We will strive to achieve a diversity of leadership that reflects our communities."

The committee was created this past January by action of the Guild's Executive Council, which directed each District Council and the two Canadian regions to select representatives at the sector conference. Michael D'Souza (chair), Shelia Lindsay, Datejia Green, Matt Harper, Carl Younger, Richard Peery, Randy Gilliam and Yoko Kuramoto-Eidsmoe were chosen and met several times during the conference, laying out a list of goals and objectives, some of which they have started working on.

Aside from renaming the committee so it won't be confused with the standing sector conference committee on human rights, committee members have started a network to which any Guild member can be added—just drop me an e-mail (at dtthomas@cwa-union.org) if interested. Other developments are underway, so stay tuned to this column for updates on the committee's progress.

Corporate priorities don't mesh with journalistic ones

By Mark Gruenberg
Press Associates, Inc.

Media cartels and the pursuit of 30% profit margins reduce quality journalism—in print, broadcast, cable and elsewhere—and the quality of information available to the public, according to a panel co-sponsored by the Washington-Baltimore Guild and the College of Journalism at the University of Maryland. The one bright spot? The public, once aware of the issue, gets very involved, panel members said.

"We need to have a voice in the general media," including newspapers, broadcast and cable channels, said TNG-CWA President Linda Foley. "Unless we have some influence over that, we'll never have free and open discourse" as envisioned by the framers of the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The June 29 session came the day after the Federal Communications Commission launched a new effort to rewrite—or dump—rules on how many newspapers, broadcast stations, cable channels and other media one conglomerate may own. In response, TNG, the AFL-CIO and other groups launched their own campaign, complete with a www.stopbigmedia.com website.

A previous effort to rewrite the rules was derailed by TNG-CWA-led protests in which the GOP-run FCC was deluged by three million letters and petitions and the GOP-run Congress rebelled. Eventually, a federal



Panelists (l to r) Rem Rieder, Ben Scott and Linda Foley listen as moderator Harold Meyerson frames the issues of journalistic quality.

appellate court in Philadelphia ruled the agency did not follow its own rules when pondering the issue.

But now the media landscape is changing, the panelists said, with major newspaper chains being broken up in response to the demands of Wall Street investors.

"The key here is to make sure that the ownership" of media firms is redirected from cartels "to all different types of groups," said Foley. "At a minimum, you have to get in the game" and have bidders other than media moguls for newspapers, cable channels and TV stations that go up on the auction block—as the Guild attempted when the Knight-Ridder chain was sold.

Meanwhile, other panelists stressed that the major media must rethink their ad-based business models so they can reemphasize editorial quality. Joseph Torres quoted a financial analyst who told the National Association of Hispanic Journalists about eight factors that determine a newspaper's value to investors. "Quality doesn't fit in," he noted.

NEWSDOKU

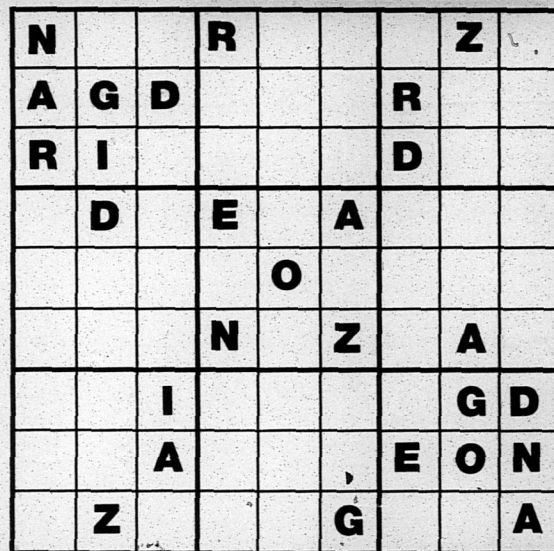
Newsdoku rules are the same as in Sudoku, but applied to letters. Fill in the grid at right so that every horizontal row, every vertical column and every 3x3 box contains the letters O-R-G-A-N-I-Z-E-D without repeating any. There is only one solution to the puzzle, which is based on reasoning and logic.

Entries postmarked no later than August 21 may be mailed to: The Guild Reporter, 501 Third Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001; one winner will be chosen at random from correct entries. The answer to this puzzle will be published in the August issue.

The winner of the June Newsdoku was John Fendrich of Peoria, IL, who will receive a copy of "Letters to a Young Journalist" by Samuel Freedman.

U	G	W	I	L	E	N	S	D
S	L	N	G	U	D	I	W	E
E	D	I	N	S	W	U	G	L
L	S	G	W	I	U	D	E	N
I	U	E	D	G	N	S	L	W
N	W	D	S	E	L	G	U	I
G	N	L	E	D	S	W	I	U
D	I	U	L	W	G	E	N	S
W	E	S	U	N	I	L	D	G

JUNE PUZZLE SOLVED



MIDDLING DIFFICULTY

DAYBOOK

CWA Minority Leaders Institute,
Sept. 17-29, Silver Spring, MD

TNG Canada School,
Sept. 28-29, Ottawa

TNG Canada Rep. Council,
Sept. 30-Oct. 1, Ottawa

Western District Council,
Oct. 20-22, Long Beach, CA

Great Lakes District Council,
Nov. 4-5, Location TBA

Midwest District Council,
Nov. 11-12, Denver, CO

Media Reform Conference,
Jan. 14-17, Memphis, TN

Deadline for Broun, Barr entries,
Jan. 26 (postmark)

New Local Officers Training,
Feb. 16-19, Meany Center, MD

Labor's Voices III conference,
April 26-28, New York, NY

FROM THE MORGUE

Seventy years ago this month:

The Guild strike against the Wisconsin News starts getting viewed as a test of Republican attitudes toward organized labor because its owner, Randolph Hearst, is a major supporter of GOP presidential nominee Alf Landon. . . . Guild President Heywood Broun announces his personal support for Franklin Roosevelt in the upcoming presidential campaign. . . . Hard on the heels of the Guild vote to affiliate with the A.F. of L., the federation extends a \$2,000 loan and an additional \$4,000 is loaned by the United Mine Workers to assist the union's organizing efforts.

Fifty years ago this month:

Sixty-nine locals and the wire services send a record 249 delegates to the Guild's 23rd annual convention, a five-day affair in Toronto. . . . Among the convention's major actions: a ban on contracts running more than two years without prior approval of the executive board. . . . Annual compensation for a U.S. executive surpasses \$700,000 for the first time.

Twenty-five years ago this month:

Convention delegates vote to increase members' dues by 50 cents a month to finance the addition of at least two international reps. . . . The convention also approves—in one of its most heavily debated decisions—creation of a subsidized residential seminar for new officers of locals too small to have their own professional staffs. . . . Floor nominations of 13 candidates for six at-large vice presidencies result in the first roll call run-off since 1947 to pare the field to 12.

THE GUILD Reporter

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